



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



P188,3

1902
17



N. Hurd & Co.

BOSTON.

THE
FOREIGN
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. III.

PUBLISHED IN

SEPTEMBER, MDCCCXXVIII,

3

AND

JANUARY, MDCCCXXIX.

LONDON ;
TREUTTEL AND WÜRTZ, TREUTTEL, JUN. AND RICHTER,
30, SOHO SQUARE.

1829.

P/88, 3

✓
✓
✓

BOUND NOV 2 1913

London: Printed by C. Roworth,
Bell-yard, Temple-bar.

CONTENTS

OF

No. V.

- ART. I.—Chrestomathie Arabe, ou Extraits de divers Ecrivains Arabes, tant en prose qu'en vers. Par M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy. page 1
- II.—Analytica Institutiones Linguae Hungaricae : and nine other books on the Language and Literature of the (Hungarian) Magyars. 28
- III.—Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre depuis l'avènement de Charles I. jusqu'à la chute de Jacques II. Par M. Guizot. Tom. I. et II. 76
- IV.—Histoire de la Révolution de 1688 en Angleterre. Par F. A. J. Mazure. 93
- V.—Traité de Mécanique Céleste. Par M. le Marquis de Laplace. Tom. V. 111
- VI.—Histoire de l'Empire de Russie, par M. Karamsin. . . . 148
- VII.—Essai sur l'Histoire de la Philosophie en France, au XIX^{ème} Siècle. Par M. P. Damiron. 185
- VIII.—1. Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce. Par M. le Comte de Choiseul Gouffier. Tom. II.
2. Voyages dans la Grèce, accompagnés de Recherches Archéologiques, &c. par F. O. Bröndsted.
3. Voyage de la Grèce. Par F. C. H. L. Pouqueville.
4. Histoire Moderne de la Grèce depuis la chute de l'Empire d'Orient. Par Jacovaky Rizo Neroulos. 197
- IX.—1. Tableau des Pyrénées Françaises ; contenant une description complète de cette chaîne de Montagnes, et de ses principales vallées depuis la Méditerranée, &c. Par M. Arbanère.
2. Essai sur la Constitution Géognostique des Pyrénées. Par J. Charpentier.
3. Voyage Pittoresque dans les Pyrénées Françaises, et dans les departemens adjacens. 223

CONTENTS.

X.—1. Frithiofs Saga. Af Esaias Tegner.	
2. Die Frithiofs Sage, von Esaias Tegner. Aus dem Schwedischen, von G. C. F. Mohnike.	254
XI.—La Dernière Heure des Turcs, ou Rétablissement de l'Equilibre en Europe. Traduit de l'Allemand du Baron de B. . .	
Par M. L. de Sévelinges.	282
Notice to Correspondents	301
CRITICAL SKETCHES—FRENCH—THEOLOGICAL.	
XII.—1. Statistique des Eglises Reformées de France, &c. Par A. Soulier.	
2. Liturgie en Usage dans les Eglises Reformées de France. Par J. M. F. Roux.	302
XIII.—Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme, &c. Par M. Jacques Matter.	307
MATHEMATICAL.	
XIV.—Canons de Logarithmes. Par Hoene Wronski. . . .	309
HISTORICAL.	
XV.—Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence de la Monarchie Espagnole. Par M. Sempere. . . .	311
ROMANCE.	
XVI.—Cinq-Mars, ou une Conjuración sous Louis XIII. Par le Comte Alfred de Vigny.	314
ITALIAN.	
XVII.—1. Lettere su Roma e Napoli.	
2. Lettere su Firenze e Venezia.	316
GERMAN.	
XVIII.—Van der Veldt's Lebenslauf und Briefe.	318
XIX.—Dramatische Dichtungen, von Grabbe.	319
MALTESE.	
XX.—Grammatica della Lingua Maltese, di M. Vassalli. . .	320
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL.	
XXI.—Dictionarium Editionum tum selectarum tum optimarum Auctorum Classicorum, &c. a Dr. W. Hebenstreit. . . .	321
Miscellaneous Literary Notices, No. V.	322
List of the Principal Works published on the Continent from May to August, 1828.	345

CONTENTS.

OF

No. VI.



ART. I.—1. Discours prononcé à la 4 ^{me} Séance annuelle du Conseil de Perfectionnement de l'Ecole spéciale de Commerce et d'Industrie de Paris. Par M. Adolphe Blanqui.	
2. Histoire de l'Exposition des Produits de l'Industrie Française en 1827. Par M. Adolphe Blanqui.	
3. Discours de S. E. le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat du Commerce et des Manufactures, sur le Budget de son Département.	page 359
II.—Essai Politique sur l'Isle de Cuba, par Alexander de Humboldt.	400
III.—Esprit, Origine et Progrès des Institutions Judiciaires des principaux pays de l'Europe. Par J. D. Meyer. . . .	433
IV.—Mémoires de Michel Oginski, sur la Pologne et les Polonais.	477
V.—Introduction à l'Etude de l'Harmonie, ou Exposition d'une nouvelle Théorie de cette Science. Par Victor Derode.	506
VI.—Mémoires de Vidocq.	522
VII.—Geschichte der Hohenstauffen und ihrer Zeit, von Friedrich von Raumer.	559
VIII.—Réponse à Sir Walter Scott, sur son Histoire de Napoléon. Par Louis Bonaparte.	597
IX.—Gysbert Japicx Friesche Rijmlerye, &c.	602
X.—Reise Sr. Hoheit Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen Weimar Eisenach durch Nord-Americka.	630
XI.—Pétition des Propriétaires de Vignes du Département de la Gironde.	636

CONTENTS.

CRITICAL SKETCHES—FRENCH.

XII.—Cours de Philosophie par M. Victor Cousin.	page 650
XIII.—Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture, par Reveil.	652
XIV.—Histoire de l'Ecole Polytechnique. Par A. Fourcy.	653
XV.—Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne.	655
XVI.—Mémoires anecdotiques sur l'Intérieur du Palais, &c. Par L. F. I. de Bausset. Tom. III. et IV.	657
XVII.—French Almanacks for 1829.	660

ITALIAN.

XVIII.—Serie di Testi di Lingua Italiana, &c., da Gamba.	662
XIX.—La Fidanzata Ligure, ossia Usi, Costumanze e Caratteri dei Popoli della Riviera ai nostri tempi.	663

GERMAN.

XX.—Geschichte der Carthager, nach den Quellen bearbeitet. Von Dr. Wilhelm Bötticher.	665
XXI.—Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt. Von J. Ph. Fall- merayer.	666
XXII.—German Almanacks for 1829.	669
Miscellaneous Literary Notices, No. VI.	674
List of the Principal Works published on the Continent from September to December, 1828.	693
Index.	707

THE
FOREIGN
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Chrestomathie Arabe, ou Extraits de divers Ecrivains Arabes, tant en prose qu'en vers ; avec une Traduction, et des Notes, à l'Usage des élèves de l'Ecole Royal et Speciale des Langues Orientales vivantes. Seconde édition, corrigée et augmentée. Par M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy. 3 tom. 8vo. Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1826, 1827.*

WITHIN two centuries after the Arabs issued from the desert to propagate a new faith, their empire and their language prevailed over an extent of two hundred days journey, from India and Tatory in the east to the shores of the Atlantic in the west. The facility with which this extraordinary people acquired all the arts of peace is not less astonishing than the rapidity of their conquests. The same enthusiasm which led them to victory stimulated their progress in the career of letters, and in both cases was attended with similar results. The great fabric of empire so speedily constructed wanted all the elements of stability, and owed its duration only to the weakness of its neighbours; while the fruits of a literary culture, which did not await the natural season of developement, never attained the strength of complete maturity. The dominion of the Caliphs rose on the weakness of the Roman empire, and in like manner the literature of the Arabians was destined to replace, by a more beneficent revolution, the fading enlightenment of the Christian world. Fortunately, however, for mankind, the vicissitudes of letters are far less destructive than those of empire; and the power of knowledge, though slowly acquired, outlives many political dynasties. The glory of the Roman name was preserved in its language, and long after that vast empire had fallen to dissolution, recalled the greatness of the power which had diffused it over half the world. In like manner the language and literature of the Arabians, the classic study of the East, are the monuments of a dominion which never had solidity, and has long since ceased to have existence. In each of these instances, indeed, religion helped to extend the currency of her adopted tongue. But still the languages of the Mass or of the Koran could never have extended far beyond

the precincts of the altar or the mosque, if they had not possessed intrinsic merits. Every vulgar tongue possesses, in the fact of its being used, an advantage too decisive to be overcome by anything but a striking superiority in copiousness and structure. But it is not merely the splendour of the Arabian name, nor the innumerable host of Arabian writers, nor the large portion of the earth which still cultivates the Arabic as a classic language, that recommend to our attention the study of Arabian literature; its character is so peculiar and decisively marked, its origin and vicissitudes are so singular and instructive, that, without an adequate explanation of them, the history of the human mind would be incomplete.

The epoch at which Arabian cultivation attained its meridian splendour, while the nations of Europe were enveloped in darkness, cannot fail to catch the attention of the most careless observer. Its situation too, in the midst of Goths and Celtiberians, is no less remarkable. The Moors in Spain transmitted the torch of civilization from antiquity to modern ages, and yet the beneficial influence which they exerted on Europe can be but imperfectly developed, and is yet reluctantly acknowledged by the literary world. This ingratitude, as well as the historical obscurity which gives birth to it, are both to be referred to the peculiar character of Arabian literature, of which we shall now proceed to take a brief survey, endeavouring to trace its character from its history, and from both these to deduce its influence on modern Europe.

While the Arabs yet wandered over the desert, dividing their time between the care of their flocks and petty warfare, the attention they paid to language augured and facilitated their future cultivation. It appears instinctive in man in every stage of society to pique himself on the purity of his speech. Even the Greenlanders mock the stranger who mispronounces his uncouth polysyllables; and we find that language frequently attains, as among the Indians of North America, a high degree of copiousness and regularity, long previous to any social or literary advancement.

The history of the first improvement of the Arabic tongue, like that of all others, is lost in remote antiquity; but we are able to discern many circumstances which contributed to regulate and enrich it. The seclusion in which the inhabitants of the desert lived from the rest of the world preserved the analogy of their language in its original integrity; while their division into tribes gave rise to a variety of dialects, which again commingling in the general concourse at Mecca, a flourishing commercial city, swelled the copious and classic idiom of the Koreishites who dwelt there. The idea of superior rank or extraction is naturally

associated with propriety of expression, and the Arab, who prided himself on the nobility of his birth, endeavoured to confirm the traditions of his genealogy by the purity and correctness of his language. Thus, while their literature did not as yet extend beyond some pithy sentences and wild poetical effusions, of a passionate but monotonous character, the Arabs possessed, in the fulness of their language, the aptest means of literary improvement. It was not until near the time of the Prophet that they became acquainted with the art of writing. But the natural results of this signal step in civilization were at first rendered abortive by the fanatical excitement which soon after followed; and it was not till the fury of the religious fever had subsided, that the combination of fortunate circumstances began to produce its natural consequences.

The first extraneous stimulus which the Arabs felt towards the cultivation of letters was from the Greeks. As soon as the triumph of Islamism was complete, and the Caliphs began to rest from their career of conquest, the taste for luxury and refinement, the inevitable result of leisure and unbounded wealth, became manifest in their courts. The great superiority of their conquered subjects over their own rude followers, in every thing that adorns or enlivens social life, could not fail to strike them, and their palaces were soon filled with Greeks, Jews and Syrians, who recommended themselves to notice by their superior learning and intelligence. The era of Arabian cultivation dates from the dynasty of the Abassides, or the middle of the eighth century. Three princes in succession, Almansor, Alraschid and Almamon, but particularly the last, who is the Augustus of the Arabians, used every means in their power to promote the growth of learning among their people. We will say nothing of the treaty made by Almamon with the Emperor Michael III. in which among other conditions imposed by him as conqueror, he demanded copies of all the Greek authors; nor of the hundreds of camels seen to enter the gates of Bagdad laden with precious volumes of imported learning. Suffice it to say, that already, at the commencement of the ninth century, the Arabians were acquainted with the medicine, philosophy, mathematics and natural history of the Greeks; they possessed translations of Hippocrates, Galen, Theophrastus, Ptolemy, Euclid and Aristotle.

The literary infancy of nations, like the first years of the individual, appears to be characterized by an ardent thirst of knowledge, with but little sensibility to the pleasures which arise from taste. This may in some measure explain why the masterpieces of Grecian poetry and eloquence were never clothed in the rich garb of the Arabian language; why translations of Homer,

Sophocles, Sappho or Demosthenes were not laid at the feet of the Caliphs, among other contributions to the accumulating stock. There are many causes assignable for this omission, to every one of which, indeed, we may allow a partial operation. The beauties of poetic diction, and the grandeur of poetic conceptions, are so blended with the idioms of a language, and with national modes of thinking, that a foreigner must possess all the patience and acuteness of a scholar before he can perceive them in a foreign dress. The language of every people is in some measure a picture of their mode of life; and so great was the difference between the social state of the Greeks and that of the pastoral tribes of Yemen, that it would, perhaps, surpass the power and flexibility of any language to convey the sentiments of the one so as to make an adequate impression on the minds of the other. The unskilfulness of the translators in so difficult an attempt, might easily deform the productions of genius to such a degree as to render them quite unpalatable. Besides, the mythology of the Greeks was so mixed up with their poetry, as to render it an abomination in the eyes of the rigid Moslem. This circumstance, perhaps, more than all the rest, deprived the growing literature of the Arabians of the correct taste and bold spirit which animated the Greeks. But however the beauties of literature may be in their nature national, the facts of science appear to be the joint property of all mankind, and the successors of the Prophet scrupled not to convert the knowledge of unbelievers to the benefit of the faithful. Bagdad was the centre of this literary movement, the impulse of which was communicated as wide as the language and profession of Islam. Every portion of the Mahometan dominion shared in the benefit of increasing cultivation. Balkh and Bochara became famous for their schools: Africa teemed with poets and astronomers; many of its princes, nay even whole dynasties of them, were distinguished for their learning: Cairo boasted a library of 120,000 volumes; and even Fez and Morocco derived a transient lustre from the fame of their academies. Such was the progress of this extraordinary people.

But Spain was the country in which the harvest of Arabian literature was crowned with the richest abundance. The gentle influence of the climate, and the industry called forth by the lavish bounty of nature in a grateful soil, mitigated the ferocity of the Moorish conquerors of that country, and appear to have wrought on the inflexibility of the Oriental character to an unusual degree. It was there that the civilization of the Arabs, or rather of the Mahometan world, reached its utmost limit.

In the early part of the tenth century, the University of Cordova was founded by Alhakem, the Mamoun of the West. The private library of this prince contained, according to some of the

Arabian writers, no less than six hundred thousand volumes, the catalogue alone extending to forty-four. His example was sedulously followed by his successors, so that an endowed college was ere long to be found in every principal town of Spain, and no less than seventy public libraries were open in that kingdom at a time when all Europe besides could not boast an equal number.

The literary ardour of the Moorish princes continued as long as their political independence. They were the zealous patrons of learned men so long as the weakness of the Spaniards left them scope and leisure to pursue their inclinations. The care of literature was with them a part of the kingly office, and many of them paid more attention to the interests of letters than to affairs of state. Spain, under the Moors, produced unquestionably more royal authors than any other age or nation in the world. The courts of those princes resembled academic meetings, in which the sovereign conversed on a footing of equality with his accomplished associates. The successful orator or poet was rewarded with the ring, or shawl, or pelisse of the Caliph, who placed it on him with his own hands, and treated him with the familiarity of a friend. The politeness of the court was gradually diffused abroad, and the people caught the literary ardour of their rulers with that plastic fidelity which seems in a great degree characteristic of eastern nations. The Moors were viewed with awe-struck bigotry by their ignorant neighbours, who, by an ill-intended flattery, intelligible at the present day, ascribed to magic their great superiority in the chemical and other arts. So great was the multitude of their authors, and such has been the ingratitude of posterity, that in all probability we are at the present day less adequately acquainted with Arabian literature from its remains, than with the Greek or Roman.

Hadji Khalfa, who lived in Constantinople in the seventeenth century, was able to form a catalogue of nearly twenty thousand authors, the majority of whom were Arabians; the works however of only a small proportion of these are known to be in existence. But the remnants of Arabian literature, which are still preserved, sufficiently testify the extent of its cultivation. Encyclopædias were an Arabian invention. These, with dictionaries of every kind, and repertories calculated to abridge the labour of erudition, evince the existence of a very ample literature. But besides those works which imply the retrospect of a wide field of knowledge, there are others of a whimsical minuteness or condescension, indicating that exhaustion of worthy topics, which forms the complaint of sterile genius in every literary age. Such are the

histories of remarkable camels and horses, and geographical treatises, in which the position of every well and fountain is carefully particularized. Almost every town in Spain had its illustrious list of native authors, and its literary history—or rather histories—each immortalizing the aspirants in a different path of fame; for so numerous were authors among the Moors in Spain, that the literary offspring of a single town could not be all enumerated within the limits of an ordinary work. Among the difficulties connected with the attempt to write a complete history of Arabian literature, one of the greatest, according to M. de Sacy, arises from the great number of literary histories which are extant in Arabic, the careful examination of which would be the work of many years and many men.

But what availed all this literary ardour, all this busy authorship? Its only result was the dissemination of Arabian literature, not its improvement. The Arabian writers multiplied books; they spread abroad whatever knowledge they possessed, and carried the softening influence of mental cultivation into every rank of society. But Arabian literature, notwithstanding its ample expansion and teeming fertility, seems never to have changed its character; it was in the taste which adorned, as well as in the material which composed it, the same in the fourteenth as in the ninth century. The pleasures of intellect or imagination are so much modified by the extent of our knowledge and our social customs, that we naturally expect to find taste continually change with the age and circumstances of our social existence. That which fills the savage with rapture, appears extravagance to the cultivated man, and those abstract images and endearing associations, which woo the imagination of the latter, escape the gross perception of uncultivated minds. There can be no standard of taste but in the constitution of the human heart, and as that is differently tutored, the ideal standard of beauty and excellence will necessarily vary. The causes which prevented the growth of taste among the Arabians, deserve our attentive consideration, as they throw considerable light on the fate of their literature. There is no error of more frequent occurrence in reasoning respecting mankind, than attributing every variety of character and disposition to an original physical constitution: to save the trouble of unweaving the complicated web of moral and political circumstances, everything is referred to the all-powerful agency of nature. But in truth that which is called the natural character of any race, is nothing but the effect of those circumstances and relations in which nature has placed it. From these, therefore, we will endeavour to trace the peculiarities and immutability of the Arabian character.

The Arab lives in continual action : he shifts his tent as often as the scanty herbage fails him : his delight is in the fleetness of his horse. Accustomed to discern the approaching caravan when the clouds of dust first gather in the horizon, and to gallop on his prey with the speed of an arrow ; all his movements and all his perceptions partake habitually of the same rapidity. Temperate diet, constant exercise, and the cheering aspect of an unclouded sky, preserve unimpaired the elasticity of his spirits, and leave him all the enjoyments of a lively sensibility. But the tiptoe volatile sprightliness of animal spirits, whatever show it may have of intellectual superiority, is never able to avail itself of the benefits of discipline. It bounds lightly from first to last, and gathers no impetus in its rapid transit. Bodily activity, indeed, keeps the mind in health, but it binds it closer to the senses : it repairs the thinking engine, but, at the same time, it suspends its use. The robust athlete cannot be "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." The current of his blood is too strong ; his respiration too deep-drawn and audible not to disturb the halcyon reign of the intellectual essence. Besides, deep feeling can hardly consist with sensitive habits. Vibrations awakened by every breath of wind last but a moment. A too-ready play of susceptibilities anticipates the full weight of impressions, and foils in some degree the effect of appeals which would reach the heart in cooler natures. The child of the desert, reared in continual wandering, possesses in the fullest degree the healthy activity of sense. His spirit is all abroad in his perceptive organs. He is voluble and sagacious, quick, passionate, and sympathetic ; but by no means intellectual. He can pour forth a full tide of feelings in copious language : he can listen unexhausted to the longest narratives ; but he is not a contemplative being. Reflection would require an effort as incompatible with the restless fervour of his habits as with the torpor of natural stupidity.

The levity and absence of reflection which characterize the Arabians, rendered them more peculiarly creatures of habit. None but independent thinkers can shake off the tyranny of old ways. Some principles or modes of action are agreeable or necessary to all, and those who cannot frame them for themselves, must take them from others. This, among other circumstances, contributed to perpetuate the original tone of their literature. But besides the dispositions of the people, fostered by their mode of life, there were other circumstances which helped to weaken among them the influence of literary cultivation. In the first rank of these we are disposed to reckon the genius of their language. The influence which thought and the medium of expression mutually exercise on one another, is too

evident to be disputed. Language is indeed the creature of social intercourse, and it is hard to conceive it so constructed as obstinately to hinder the developement of mind; but nevertheless it is capable of affecting, in the early stages of cultivation, the intellectual habits of those who use it, and the thinking agent insensibly accommodates itself to the character of its instrument. The Arabic—in common with the Semitic family of languages in general—rejects all compound words, and is totally deprived of that power of endlessly modifying the sense by means of particles, which from the Greek and Teutonic sources is spread more or less through every European tongue. To compensate for this defect, it abounds in regular forms which modify according to a fixed analogy the meaning of every part of speech. The associations presented by such a language are not arbitrary: they grow of necessity out of grammatical forms, and ideas are connected in castes. Grammar, like government, is very apt to abridge, unnecessarily, the natural rights of man, and withdraws the parts of speech from the jurisdiction of intelligence and experience. The tyranny of long-established legitimacy in language is so much the more formidable as it is less observable, while it really clogs the intellectual operations which it was intended to assist.

But passing from these metaphysical considerations, we may observe, that the superficial genius of the Arabs soon discovered, in the richness and regularity of their language, the source of pleasures perceptible to sense alone. Rhyme was early introduced into their loose versification, and afterwards became the ornament of their prose; and this circumstance we are disposed to think had a powerful influence on the character of their subsequent literary productions. Those whose organs are not capable of relishing the rich and varied cadences of blank verse, will naturally prefer the more obvious melody of rhyme. That it is agreeable to the ear, none can deny, but directed as it is to sense alone, it is impossible not to admit that it hinders the flight of true poetry, the eloquence of which is directed to the soul. It is not perhaps going too far to assert, that if the poetry of every people had in the first instance been garnished with rhyme, the world would never have known good poetry. If Modern Europe can boast good rhyming poets, it ought to be considered that our literary taste has been formed from the great models of antiquity, the charm of whose verses flows wholly from the eloquence of truth and nature. The profound adoration which Dante paid to the shade of Virgil, was not so much a homage to that poet's genius, (for Virgil was but a pigmy to the Florentine,) as an acknowledgment of the depth, grandeur,

and reality of blank verse. The vulgar poetry of his day was all jingle and puerility: sonnets and acrostics, rhyming difficulties and frigid conceits. These are the true progeny of rhyme, as is abundantly set forth in the works of the *Seicentisti* of Italy, and the small poets of every country. When we speak of the infancy of literature in Modern Europe, the phrase which is intended to express the period of our first literary efforts is liable to be considered also as offering an explanation of its character. But man in the first stages of his cultivation is still masculine in his sentiments. His genius may be rude, but it is not therefore absurd, and we must in consequence seek some positive cause for the infantile character of the early literature of Europe. This was unquestionably the rhyming mania, which, from the Arabians, infected the genius of the day, and diverted the attention from sense to sound. The revival, however, of classical literature in Europe, soon effected a revolution in taste, by presenting models to contemplation which soared far above the appropriate element of rhyme. But this, though no longer allowed to govern taste, could not be rejected altogether; for men will never part with anything that is agreeable, merely from an estimate of its speculative disadvantages; and we endeavour to avail ourselves of the music of rhyme without admitting its impertinencies. With us the contemplation of severe models has subdued the love of false ornaments and metrical difficulties. Criticism has checked the diseases of our literary infancy. But the Arabians had rhyme without either criticism or model, so that their literature grew up according to its first bias, untaught and undirected by foreign comparisons.

The life of the desert is the same to all: it excludes the numerous and complicated relations of advanced society, together with the great variety of feelings and sentiments to which they give birth. The individuals of pastoral tribes resemble each other in habits as much as wild animals; their national characteristics are therefore strongly marked where few anomalous individuals break the steady outline. Amid such uniformity of sentiment, criticism could hardly have birth. There was no diversity of feelings to be reconciled, no aim to pourtray the features of human nature abstracted from the traits of national peculiarities. Taste is the offspring of society, where it learns to reconcile the sentiments of all, and teaches genius to assume a catholic demeanour. When towards sunset, the Bedoween quit their tents, and under the shady palm-tree, gather close round some story-teller or poet, they seek nothing more than a passive enjoyment. Adventures are congenial to their wild life: they enter heartily into all the feelings, dangers and distresses of

the hero of the tale: they shout with joy, or cry with indignation; invoke heaven to protect their favourite: their excitement breaks out in violent gestures: they are agitated with the fury of the combat, and are again as easily melted into tenderness. Round and harmonious sentences fill their craving ears; an unintermitting volubility leaves no time for reflection, and to an audience, all eye and ear and excitability, a rapid train of wonders yields the fullest gratification. Such are the Arabs at the present day, and such were they no doubt at all times. Their literary perception partakes of the swiftness of passion, and the nature of the enjoyment which they seek from their narrations, precludes all idea of criticism. To find all their faculties and feelings absorbed and carried away in the torrent of wonderment and excitement, is their chief delight; the interference of taste or reflection is never allowed to stay their entertainment. That which seems to the Arab the most important constituent of a delightful story, after the merits of the language, is the wonderful. No novelty of creation can astound, no boldness of expression can baffle his ready apprehension. The most extravagant flights of imagination will fill him with delight, provided they only kindle the sympathies of an acutely sensitive and ardent being. Thus the Arab has no speculative or contemplative habits; impatient of a slow progress, he pays less attention to thoughts than words; and in these he prefers the glittering and superficial beauties to those of a more profound and genuine description.

The literature of the Arabians was, in its commencement, rather the creation of authority, than the natural and spontaneous growth of general improvement. The interests of learning were guarded by inquisitive, but narrow-minded princes. In endeavouring to adopt in their language only works of utility, they showed themselves quite ignorant of the moral operation of literary taste. Poetry and the drama were rather shunned than sought after; and the distinct object of the Caliphs seems to have been, not to modify and improve the national mind and character, but simply to acquire knowledge. Thus the progress of improvement was not natural and unrestrained; the influx of ideas was regulated by the arbitrary power of an individual; and the pulp of science was administered without the nutritive juice of literature. To this injudicious censorship of the Caliphs, we must ascribe the feeble influence of Greek civilization on the manners of the Arabs. A stock of learning was at once engrafted on the ignorance of the desert, and curiosity was gratified with the least possible disturbance to established modes of thinking. Literary cultivation can certainly modify the character of a nation, but it can

Fixing

only do it slowly; if it be brought to strive at once with popular ideas, national character will rather modify it. A popular literature is only desirable when in the natural course of improvement it spreads from the enlightened to the rude and ignorant: it is thus diffused as it matures, and emanating from an active source, carries with it the promise and capability of fresh increase. A literature, on the other hand, which belongs rather to the people than to the aristocracy of mind, is sure to hallow or perpetuate every vulgar prejudice and national peculiarity. It thus tends to prevent improvement, as air in the interstices of porous bodies prevents the imbibition of other fluids. The haste with which learning was introduced among the Arabians did not allow time for the national mind to adapt itself to new ideas; the accommodation was therefore effected at the expense of the translated work, and the Greek authors were travestied in Arabic in such a manner as to suit the notions of a wild people. The changes made in them were often, perhaps, owing to the ignorance or inadvertence of the translators, but they were generally calculated to gratify the cravings of a subtle and credulous people. Thus the solid reasonings of Aristotle were gradually converted into such a tissue of absurdity, so well accommodated, nevertheless, to the specious purpose of seeming wise, that the memory of the schoolmen, who were in Europe infected with the dialectic learning of the Arabs, still casts a sort of shadow over the reputation of that great philosopher. Fragments of Grecian history, mingled with the fictions of the desert, eked out many a romance; and the material alone appears to have met with attention in productions which we deem models of classical elegance.

Thus the history of their early cultivation tends to explain the inflexibility of Arabian taste. But a more powerful agency would, perhaps, have been requisite to alter their habits of thinking, than is called for by the disposition of mankind in general. The life of the desert, with all its hardships, has something in it agreeable. The rapid course, the successful pillage, the amenities of the pastoral life, glimpses of which may be caught as often as a cluster of palm-trees and a carpet of fresh verdure invite to an abode of more than ordinary duration;—these, with the charm of liberty, sink deep into the spirit of the wandering Arab, and pre-occupy his attachments. All the ideas and habits of the primitive Arabians were blended with the fascinations of a roving life, and we may rest assured that their children, long after they were settled in populous towns, still cherished reminiscences so agreeable to the imagination, and that their traditionary sentiments and most active prejudices attached them firmly to the tastes of their nomadic ancestors.

In fine, we must consider the influence of government and religion, both of which contributed not a little to prevent the Arabians from feeling, in its full force, the influence of literary cultivation. The religion of the Koran, by strictly forbidding all intercourse with or imitation of the infidels, has above all things discouraged the study of foreign languages among the faithful, and has thus cut off the sure means of participating in the enlightenment of strangers. But it is not necessary for us to enlarge on the disadvantages attending every restraint on the activity of the human intellect. The relation subsisting between the government of the Arabians and their national literature may demand a little more consideration. Naturalists tell us that the productions of the vegetable kingdom always bear some analogy to the minerals of the soil from which they spring. The primary rocks and older formations are decked with the simpler vegetable forms, while minerals of a later date, and which contain within them the ruins of a former world, give birth to flowers of the most various and complicated organization,—flowers, in fact, more completely provided with the functions and adornments of vegetable life. Something similar to this may be observed in the moral world. The old and primitive forms of absolute or patriarchal government, under which societies exist with little organization, seem to impose on human genius a similar limitation. It is not until society has undergone successive revolutions, that the mind of man, as if in every convulsion it increased the elements of its constitution, exhibits all its capabilities. The government of the caliphs, however tolerant the disposition of the prince himself, must, like every spiritual authority, have proved adverse to freedom of thought. The guardianship of the faith was however, fortunately, entrusted to the same hands which held the secular power, so that the doctrines of the Koran were not maintained with the scrupulous jealousy that belongs to divided authority. The caliphs were often latitudinarians in favour of learning and politeness; and hence the Arabians under their sway were able to reach a higher degree of refinement than the character of their religion would lead us to suspect. Among the Turks, the sultan has suffered the authority of religion to pass, in a great measure, into other hands, and consequently, in his attempts to enlighten his people, he is sure to meet the opposition of the priesthood, who consider it their especial prerogative to regulate opinions. But still the government of the caliphs was too simple, and was attended with all the infelicitous consequences of arbitrary power. It afforded no stimulus to the people; it created no variety of relations, nor that perpetual discussion of moral obligations and sentiments which takes place

where men are called on, in any degree, to govern themselves. A literary court is a supreme tribunal of censorship; every sentiment which is not ratified, or, rather, which has not been authorized by it, is liable to be thought criminal. An arbitrary sovereign, ambitious of literary reputation, is apt to imagine that he has the monopoly of authorship, and views, with a sinister aspect, the interloping talents of those who venture to write without the license of court favour. In an enlightened age, the countenance of the great may encourage the happier efforts of the muse; but still wherever authority patronizes, it is evident that servitude is likely to be the condition of the favour. These truths are all to be found exemplified in the history of Arabian literature. The favour and disgrace of courts continually tormented the Arabian authors, and worked the anxious vicissitudes of their fortunes; freedom of thought was necessarily checked, and with it all excellence; genius, or rather ingenuity, stuck close to precedent, in order to be sure of a justification; and notwithstanding the extraordinary zeal and prolific industry of the Arabians, their literary taste underwent no alteration.

Thus we have endeavoured to trace in the original habits of the Arabians, and the circumstances which accompanied the early growth of their literature, the causes of its utter inefficiency in reforming their taste and national modes of thinking. During the course of five centuries the Moors in Spain were zealously devoted to learning: their authors were many thousands in number; books were multiplied; the language was fixed and improved; and the habit of versification was familiar to all; and yet, among their many thousand volumes, we find not a single original philosopher, dramatic writer, nor epic poet. They brought forth no masterpiece, nothing that could be adopted as a classical work in every language. Casiri, the enthusiastic eulogist of the Moors, ingeniously compares their poetry to those exquisite wines, whose flavour and perfume are of too delicate a nature to bear removal to a foreign climate. But the poetical beauties which are so delicate as to be endangered by translation, are evidently not entitled to the praise of excellences. If freedom of thought could have existed among them, if they had been a free people and a thinking people, their literary aspirations would soon have taken a new turn. The same vigour which animates the mind in philosophical pursuits, is quickly conspicuous in the field of literature, and prompts the soul to launch forward in bolder flights. Sublime poetical conception and profundity of thought are linked together, we are convinced, in close ties of natural kindred, and a people who, from idiosyncracies of social constitution or from incidental causes, would be incapable of

cradling the genius of an Aristotle or a Bacon, could never produce a Homer, a Sophocles, a Shakspeare, or a Milton. Thus the Arabians, in the most flourishing period of their literature, retained still, in some measure, the impression of the desert; though they had borrowed learning, they were still original in character; their marvellous tales, their wondrous narratives, their ideal world, in short, which exerts such an influence on the young minds of every generation, remained the same as at the outset. Among other nations who cultivate letters, every age brings forth its great minds, who, if they be not the authors, are at least the guides and standard-bearers of the intellectual march. But among the Arabians, we are struck with the absence of master-spirits: abundant ingenuity and matchless industry but ill supply the place of creative vigour; their prolific genius engendered a debilitated offspring, whose race became extinct when the favourable circumstances ceased under which they were brought forth.

But here again we are led to consider another characteristic of Arabian literature, and that from which proceeded its peculiar influence on Europe; it was wholly and essentially popular. The Arabians, unlike their Christian neighbours, had no learned languages; all their books were in the vulgar tongue: nor was their stock of knowledge merely accessible to all; their taste also was popular, and in general accommodated to the grasp of a thoughtless apprehension; the whole circle of their literature and science was in the hands of all. The difficulties of science were taught in popular verse: grammar, rhetoric, law, and theology, were treated in verse: dry annals, nay, even treatises of algebra, were composed in rhyme. But how different was it at the same period among European nations. The little learning that remained among them was locked up in a dead language, and in the possession of a particular order: the community was in total darkness; and as the vulgar tongues partook in a great measure of the political confusion of the day, the organized means of improvement were wanting. The gleams of learning which, during the dark ages, we see occasionally shooting from some European cloister, will not justify us in concluding that the quarter whence they came was in general more enlightened than the rest. The learned men who issued from the Irish monasteries, in the eighth and ninth centuries, indicate as imperfectly the civilization of that country, as the palm-tree does the fertility of the desert which spreads beneath it. The remnants of classical literature, preserved during those times, were like streams conducted across barren plains in aqueducts, which long conceal from view the precious treasure they contain. Among

the Arabians, on the other hand, a ruder mode of irrigation, to continue the metaphor, spread abroad at once the waters of literature, and produced a rank, though not perhaps a profitable, fertility. The exertions of Charlemagne, and of many after him, to promote learning, produced but momentary coruscations, and Europe relapsed into darkness as soon as the meteor passed by. The improvement could not be stable in which the people had no participation. But among the Moors in Spain, at the same period, the community was quite as civilized as Arabian literature could make it. They were therefore not only superior to their neighbours; their superiority was evident, and perhaps even heightened, by the contrast; and we may easily conceive how impossible it was to associate with them, without acquiring a tincture of the cultivation which was so widely diffused. Nay, even the imperfections of Arabian literature were well adapted to the circumstances of the European nations. It was less attractive to the learned than to the vulgar and illiterate. While the former visited the schools and libraries of Moorish Spain, to recover the works of Greek and Latin writers, the latter were insensibly impelled by imitation to the cultivation of the vulgar tongue. The Moors imparted to the Christians not their works, but their literary habits. A great portion of their literature was trivial in its nature, and not worth borrowing, but the habit of versifying on all occasions is not trivial in its consequences. The slow contagion of their popular cultivation effected gradually what no master-piece could have done; but yet from the insensible mode of its operation, it has escaped notice, and the most interesting fact in the history of literature has been hitherto but imperfectly brought to light.

While the Moors in Spain were so diligent in the cultivation of their language, the vulgar tongues throughout the rest of Europe were used only in discourse. All writing was in Latin; public business was transacted in Latin; epistolary correspondence, poetry, even the sermons and instructions of the clergy, though sometimes interpreted for the edification of the audience, were in the same language. It would have been considered a condescension, or even a degradation of ability, to adopt the use of the vulgar tongue. The little learning of the times was confined to the clergy, and Europe seemed threatened with a relapse to utter barbarism, or with the confinement of knowledge to a particular order. The example of the Moors, however, effected a revolution: poetry threw off the bondage, and dared to express itself in the language of the people.

Soon after the Moors had subdued Spain, their language became the ordinary accomplishment of the conquered people.

The Latin was reserved for the use of the church, and was cultivated by few but ecclesiastics; the mingled dialect remaining from the Goths, the Vandals and the Sueves, was used in the ordinary business of life; but all who possessed inquiring minds, or affected the praise of literary attainment, cultivated the refined and copious language of the Moors. This preference was carried to such a length as to call down the threats and reproaches of the clergy, to whom it seemed a homage no less impious than humiliating. In like manner the Moors, who at this period applied to learning with such extraordinary zeal, bestowed reciprocal attention on the language of the Spaniards. The proofs of this interesting commerce of language are still in existence. Many ancient documents and volumes are to be seen in the libraries of Toledo and the Escorial, written in Arabic by Spaniards, and even by ecclesiastics; while, on the other hand, among the works of Arabian authors we find a complete code of Arab laws written in Spanish, and a body of agriculture composed by Moors in the same language.* It is a natural inference, from this intimate correspondence between the two nations, that the ornaments of Arabian poetry as well as the habits of composition, would be quickly transferred by the Spaniards to their native tongue. Those who sought poetic or literary fame might, perhaps, prefer the Arabic, as having more polish and variety; but their vernacular tongue must have shared more or less in their refinement; particularly as it was the genius of the Arabian muse to versify on all occasions. Terse expressions, moral sentences and epigrammatic turns, were the highest beauties sought; and merits such as these might easily be attained in the language of common life. It is highly probable, therefore, that the cultivation of vulgar poetry by the Spaniards was the immediate result of their acquaintance with Arabian literature. It is impossible indeed to collect, from the scanty monuments of that age, any positive proof of this conjecture; but a tradition, preserved by Mariana, appears, in some measure, to confirm it.

When Calcanasor was taken by the Moors in the year 998, one in the habit of a fisherman appeared on the banks of the Guadalquiver, and sung in a very loud and mournful voice; "Almanser has lost his drum at Calcanasor." He sung alternately in Arabic and Spanish, and vanished on a sudden. This story, we may suppose, preserves the common consistency of traditionary tales, and gives a true picture of the times to which

* In the eleventh volume of the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, &c. lately published, (see our last Number, page 732,) there is an account by M. de Sacy, of a Spanish MS. written in Arabic characters, containing a Treatise on the Faith, Ceremonies, and Morality of Islamism, and he refers to an account of two similar MSS. which he had given in a previous volume of the same collection.

it belongs. If the apparition therefore sung in Spanish as well as Arabic, it is likely it did only that which was usual.

This advancement of the vulgar tongue would naturally be most conspicuous among the free Spaniards, who, not having acquired the language of the Moors, applied all their efforts to their own, but who still retained such a community of manners, as well as activity of intercourse with their subjugated fellow-countrymen, as to catch from them instantaneously every growing improvement. Accordingly the first specimens we can find of vulgar poetry of a known age and author are from Galicia: these are the verses of Gonzalo Hermiguez to Ourouana his wife. Many other fragments of Galician poetry still extant are unquestionably of great antiquity.

The rapidity with which the vulgar tongue in Spain proceeded to resume its proper rank and functions is very remarkable, and that was a signal step in the infancy of letters; for no means are so efficient in improving the manners of a people as the mediation of a cultivated language. The Spanish histories of the twelfth century are exceedingly numerous. Ferdinand and his son, Alphonso the Wise, contributed still farther to improve the vulgar tongue. The former of these princes had the ancient code of the Goths translated into Spanish, and thus published, in the language of the people, the completest body of legislation known in that age. He also adopted the Spanish language in despatches and public business of every kind; so that in Spain all legal proceedings from the middle of the thirteenth century are in the vernacular idiom. Alphonso, who was deeply versed in Arabic learning, proceeded still farther; he ordered, after the example of the first Caliphs, that all works of utility should be translated into Spanish, and thus exposed at once, to the eyes of the people, a vast body of erudition.

Although the history of the Spanish language exposes in the fairest light the influence of the Arabs, yet that tongue remained afterwards in comparative obscurity; nor is it deemed the principal channel through which the returning tide of literature flowed into Europe. This honour is attributed to the Provençal, or language of the Troubadours.

"In the South of Europe," says the Abbé Millot, "the Latin had given birth to those vulgar tongues which we now see arrived at such perfection; the French, Spanish, and Italian. The Provençal, with the same derivation, had incontestable advantages over the others, either because it participated in the beauty of the Greek, which had long been the language of Marseilles, or because it had the good fortune to be cultivated by superior talents. The Troubadours gave it additional charms and great celebrity; resorting to the courts of princes, even

beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees, they inspired the love of their language with the admiration of their poetry."

Here it is assumed that the language of the Troubadours originated in Provence, and that it spread from that country beyond the Pyrenees; but there is nothing more certain than that it came originally from Catalonia, and that under the name of the Limosin or Catalan, it extended over many countries on both sides of these mountains. "There is no language natural and polite," says Raymond Vidal, an early Troubadour, "but the Limosin;" and the meaning of this expression is thus explained by Gaspar Scuolano, an old historian: "The third and principal language of Spain is the Limosin, for it was used in all Guienne and Provence, and is still spoken in Catalonia, Valencia, and the islands."

The historian of Marseilles, Antonio Ruffi, tells us, that the idiom of that city was very much altered in the twelfth century, by the brisk commerce maintained there with many maritime states, and particularly by the introduction of Catalonian words.

We have then but little reason to believe that the first language of modern poetry was cradled in Provence, and subsequently spread beyond the Pyrenees. This hypothesis is totally unfounded; it is dictated by the national partiality of one country, and acquiesced in by the supineness of another. It requires but little research to discover that the language of the Troubadours first came from Catalonia, a country connected with the Moors no less than with the French. To multiply authorities in proof of this point would be more pedantic than difficult, but it is sufficiently elucidated by the history of Provençal poetry, which flourishing under the dominion and patronage of the Counts of Barcelona, and declining with their power, may with great probability be supposed to have been introduced by them. This is plainly declared by Pittoni, in his history of Aix, who ascribes to the Catalonian princes the revival of letters, and adds: "*Ce fut sous eux que nous Provençaux trouvèrent l'art de rimer.*" Hence we see why Toulouse under the Berengers was the metropolis of the Troubadours.

The French, who contest with the Spaniards the merit of priority in vulgar poetry, had also an early intercourse with the Moors. In the eighth century, Abderramen, king of Cordova, made an incursion into the territory of Toulouse; then followed the invasion of Spain by Charlemagne, which opened so rich a harvest to romance. The territories held by the French king in Spain; the possessions of the king of Navarre in Gascony, and of the Count of Barcelona in Roussillon, all opened to the French an easy access to Arabian literature. Much light is

thrown on the intimacy of the three nations by the history of Alphonso the Sixth of Castile, the conqueror of Toledo. Having been dethroned by his brother Sancho, and confined for some time in the monastery of Sahagun, he at length effected his escape, and found an asylum at the court of the Saracen king of Toledo, where he staid three years, till the death of the usurper. On his restoration to the crown of Castile, ambition overcame his sense of gratitude, and he turned his arms against the son of his benefactor. The siege of Toledo lasted five years, and forms a remarkable epoch. It was, in fact, a crusade, in which were engaged the counts of Flanders and Toulouse, Henri de Bourgogne, with many other French nobles. Alphonso himself was married to a French woman, and retained in his dominion almost all of that nation whom he had induced to join his standard. After the conquest of Toledo, the Moors remained in it under the dominion of the Christians, preserving by capitulation their laws, their property, and Grand Mosque; and Arabic continued for more than a century after to be the language of business in that city. Some years later, when Alphonso was defeated at Medina by the combined forces of the Kings of Cordova and Seville, he again obtained succours from France, but at last concluded the war by a remarkable negotiation; in consequence of which he married Zaïde, daughter of the Saracen king of Seville. All these occurrences exhibit the constant intercourse of the French with the Spaniards, and of the Moors with both; at a time too, when the civilization of the latter so much exceeded that of their Christian neighbours, that it could hardly fail of making an impression, and when, from the popular character of their literature, nothing was requisite for its diffusion but an acquaintance with their language.

The conquest of Toledo in 1085 was the event which contributed in the greatest degree to increase the opportunities of improvement. It brought together French, Spaniards, and Moors, to live under the same government, and in a city long famous for its learning and refinement. This then is precisely the brilliant epoch when the genius of Europe, kindled by the contact of Arabian cultivation, first blazed through the darkness of general barbarism. William of Poitiers, the first Troubadour of whom we know anything, accompanied Alphonso in his expedition against Toledo. But although he is the earliest Provençal poet of whom we have any knowledge, yet it is evident that the poetic art was not quite new in his time. The patriarchal rank in which he now stands is owing wholly to the invidious caprices of time and chance, which have sunk his predecessors in oblivion. He precedes only by a very few years a crowd of

Troubadours, whose poems still remain, and among the Spanish poets of that age we find abundant indications of superior experience and maturity. Alphonso of Aragon, the contemporary of William, was himself a poet as well as warrior, and indeed all the Spanish princes, like the Saracens, prided themselves on their patronage of polite letters. Few of the Troubadours omit to mention the princes of Aragon and Castile. They speak of them as of the natural protectors of men of letters, and to visit the Spanish courts is always a part of their poetical instructions.

Among the characters illustrative of the manners of that age, the *jongleurs*, or jugglers, are most remarkable. These were itinerant minstrels, who related amusing tales and sang popular verses. They generally united to the accomplishment of music and a good memory, some skill in legerdemain or natural magic, an art which had long flourished among the orientals. With these agreeable talents, they were sure to be acceptable guests in the castles of the rude and idle barons. They were the attendants of the Troubadours, whose verses they recited, and were probably coeval with the art of versification. Now these *jongleurs* appear to have been much earlier, and more familiarly known in Spain, than elsewhere. The testimonies of this are numerous and uncontroverted; but one piece to this effect is so singular a specimen of the age, as to render it worth while to make a short extract from it. It is a petition at great length from Giraud Riquier to Alphonso X., in the name of the *jongleurs*: jugglers, we would say, only that the translation detracts from the respectability of that once venerable order, who have continued to degenerate since the days of Giraud Riquier. The poet begins with a very elaborate dissertation on the division of ranks in society, in which he takes occasion to display his philosophy.

"You know," he says, "that men are distributed into different classes or conditions. All are men; this is the genus: but amongst them are clergy, knights, citizens, merchants, artificers and peasants; these are the species. Finally come the Troubadours, whose employment it is to sing the history of times past, and to excite the courage of the brave by celebrating the prowess of their ancestors. Such was jonglerie in its origin, but for some time back, alas! things are sadly changed."

After complaining that the profession of jonglerie has been degraded to the business of a buffoon, he thus continues:

"But you, Sire, you, who unite the authority, knowledge, and discernment necessary to correct so mischievous a disorder; you, to whom it belongs more than to any other, to act as becomes a mighty monarch; you, who reign over Castile, where jonglerie and knowledge have always found more protection than in any other country; you, who are so much esteemed for your bounty, and whose surname (the Wise) is so auspici-

ously adapted to the labour I propose; you, Sire, must undertake this reform; whatever you command will be universally observed. Forbid, then, that they who understand the art of composition, who can write songs and other poesies at once useful and ingenious—forbid, I say, that they shall be confounded with mere minstrels, and others of that stamp; give them a specific name, such as may appear to you appropriate.”

To this the King is supposed by the Poet to reply in the following manner:

“By the grace of God, we, Alphonso, King of Castile, taking into consideration the humble remonstrance made to us by Giraud Riquier in the name of the jongleurs, setting forth,” &c. &c. “We are of opinion, that the word jongleurs designates those whose profession it is to ramble through the world and visit courts; it is, however, a great carelessness of speech to name them all alike. *In Spain we have particular names for the different species of jongleurs*, from the lowest to the most elevated rank. It is not so in Provence, where the same name includes the genus and the species; this is a great defect in the language of that country,” &c.

Finally, he decrees a distinction of the versifying tribe into three classes, jongleurs, troubadours, and doctors of the poetic art. Here we see the superior antiquity of these minstrels in Castile asserted, and the assertion countenanced by their distribution into classes with particular designations, the result, it may be presumed, of familiar use and long-continued attention.

Now, although the Catalonians have not preserved any poetry so ancient as that of William of Poitiers, yet when we take into account the remissness with which the treasures of early Spanish literature have been examined,—when we consider that the cultivated language of the Troubadours was incontestably introduced into Provence from the maritime states of Spain, and that their poetry was reared under the encouragement of the Berengers, Counts of Barcelona,—when we see the multitude of Spanish historians and poets of nearly the same age, and find among these, too, the first art of poetry and first rhyming dictionary in a modern tongue, (the former by Raimond Vidal, the other by Giacom Marsh,)—when we consider how many of the Princes of Catalonia and Aragon were distinguished poets, and that so long as Provençal literature existed, the courts of the Spanish Princes were the habitual rendezvous of all who studied and professed it,—when we take all these circumstances into consideration, it is impossible to avoid concluding that the cultivation of modern poetry, instead of crossing the Pyrenees from the north, rather proceeded in a contrary direction, and spread into Languedoc and Provence from the contiguous countries of Spain. But if it be asked what gave birth to a poetic enthusiasm in that

country and in that age, the reply is obvious;—the example of the Moors. The ignorance of the Troubadours precluded the possibility of their learning the poetic art from the classic authors. The scarcity of books in the middle ages, indeed, renders this opinion quite untenable. Homer was unknown from the fourth to the fourteenth century, when the library of the Louvre, which Charles V. had been at so much pains to collect, contained something less than 900 volumes, and among these there were only three poets, Ovid, Lucan, and Boëthius, of whom the first alone, perhaps, ever met the eye of a Troubadour. In all the Provençal poetry, with two or three very slight exceptions, there is no allusion to Grecian fable or mythology; so rich a field of poetic flowers, that ignorance alone could have prevented the Troubadours from culling in it. Poetry, it is true, might have sprung up among the Spaniards without the lessons of the Moors; it is not a merely traditional art, but its seeds are scattered abroad in the passions of mankind. The first poetry of modern Europe, however, bears such a close resemblance to that of the Arabians, both in matter and form, as leaves no room to doubt its origin. The form of the sonnet, the tenzone and alternate rhymes, are all expressly copied from the Moors.

But the character of those early original effusions is still more decisive of their original; they are really at variance with the moral and political circumstances of those times. Licentious and sentimental songs, or madrigals, were far below the epic grandeur of the Gothic character. It is in this discordance that we find explained the brief duration of the Provençal literature. The songs of the Troubadours were, in short, like chivalry, the short-lived offspring of foreign fashion. Productions so weak and whimsical were certainly not natural among a rude and spirited people, whose thoughts were habitually engaged with war and religion, and not with trivial follies or mystic sentiments of love.

The times of chivalry, according to Sismondi, never existed except in romances. If this be true, and we think it is, then this world of romance must have been of foreign invention. But even if we admit the existence of knight-errantry as a general system, yet it will appear evidently on examination to have been a fashion of foreign growth engrafted in the turbulence of the times, and not by any means a consequence of the feudal institutions. The feudal system was in its nature a defensive one, calculated much more to check than to give birth to the license of knight-errantry. But where, then, had chivalry, in the literal acceptance, its rise? Not certainly among the sea-faring Normans; nor among the woods and mountains of Upper Germany, the strong holds of feudality. No; chivalry had a common origin

with the Arab courser, and owed its diffusion to the charms of Arabian fiction. In the early victories of the Arabs, the horse was allowed an equal share of spoil with his master, and the subsequent refinement of the Moors never deprived that generous animal of the rank and estimation which belonged to him in the desert. The mounted cavaliers, it is true, constituted the only strength of armies in the middle ages, but that military system was absolutely weak, and the bloodless battles of those times attest the insufficiency of a warfare which fierce nations had taken from romance and not from experience. In fact, the knights of Ariosto, who prick their steeds from Caledonia to Tattary, the courser who skims the horizon at such a rate, "*chè passa e vento e folgere e saetta*," are all animated with the spirit of Arabian fancy. The boundless plain and flying courser are the obvious materials of Arabian imagination, and of no other. But mankind in every form of society contemplate with pleasure the pictures of animated existence, and the genius of Arabian plains was easily transferred to the hills and forests of feudal Europe.

Among the Arabs we find, also, that principle of honour which constitutes the moral characteristic of chivalry. The enthusiasm of utter liberty begets its own restraints, and the Arab, who knows no superior, is bound by a sentiment of honour. Their chivalrous bravery was united, after the oriental fashion, with the most extravagant ideas of gallantry. Of this we have one most singular instance. When Berengere, the wife of Alphonso VIII. of Castile, was defending Toledo against the Moors, in 1139, she appeared on the ramparts, and reproached them as cowards who preferred besieging a woman to the glory of meeting the king's forces at the walls of Oreja. The Moors were too gallant to despise the censures of a lady, and marched off, celebrating her virtue and her beauty.

Thus the Moors exerted a beneficial influence on the manners as well as on the literature of Europe. The imagination, if it does not fix the character, at least ennobles it. The songs of the Troubadours, and the romances borrowed from the Moors, introduced into Europe that delicacy of sentiment which is the most honourable distinction of modern times.

The superior knowledge and civilization of the Moors was long acknowledged by the Europeans. Their schools of science were frequented by Christians in the tenth century, when the monk Gerbert, raised afterwards to the papal throne with the name of Silvester II., studied at Seville. In the following age his example was followed by Gerard of Cremona, Adelard, and many others. The emperor Frederic Barbarossa in the twelfth century ordered a great number of Arabic writings to be translated into Latin. Some knowledge of the Arabic language, too, was retained per-

haps in Europe as long as the scholastic philosophy flourished. But on the revival of classical learning, when the subtleties of the schools fell rapidly into contempt, it is astonishing how quickly, and how totally Arabian learning was forgotten. Petrarch, who in one place ascribes to the Arabians the invention of rhyme, declares nevertheless with some harshness in another passage, that nothing good could come from them. At the close of the fifteenth century there is little trace of oriental learning in Europe, with the exception perhaps of Pico Mirandola, who professed to study Arabic with ardour. When Clenard a few years after visited Spain, with the intention of acquiring the Arabic language, he found but a single person, Ferdinand Nuntius, who had even a superficial knowledge of it. The Moors were then a subjugated nation, and their weakness only inflamed the acrimony of religious hatred. The bigoted ecclesiastics destroyed their writings with the same zeal which led Pope Gregory to destroy Livy. Cardinal Ximenes burnt at once 5,000 splendid volumes; and according to another historian, no less than 150,000 volumes were destroyed by one Zegri, a Moor converted by force. In consequence of this wanton destruction, when Philip II. founded the library of the Escorial, he was unable to collect for it more than 300 Arabic manuscripts. The great store of Arabian learning afterwards added to it, was derived from a capture made near Salee in 1611 by one De Lara. Two Moorish vessels, having on board the King of Morocco's library, were seized by the Spaniards as they were about to enter that port, and by this adventure 3,000 Arabic MSS. were added to the collection of the Spanish king.* More than half of this treasure was destroyed by the fire which burnt down the library of the Escorial in 1671. Although the language of the Moors was never wholly forgotten in Spain, yet from national antipathy and religious prejudices, their literature seems to have been most neglected in the very country which it formerly illumined; and the first work printed by the Spaniards in the Arabic character was the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana* of Casiri in 1760-70. In Italy, where the literary and the commercial spirit were much more active than in Spain, the press had early engaged in the service of Arabian literature; but there, too, the jealous tyranny of the Inquisition was to be encountered. The Koran was printed at Venice in 1530, but it is generally believed that the whole edition was committed to the flames by order of Clement VII., because, as his apologists say, it was not accompanied by a refutation. About half-a-century later, however, the cause of literature obtained the ascendant, and an Arabic printing-press was established in the Maronite

* The ambassador of the King of Morocco told Erpenius a few years after, that the captured library consisted of 7,800 separate MSS.—*Erpen. Orat. II.*

College at Rome. In the seventeenth century the literature of the East appears to have been the favourite study of the learned throughout Europe, but more particularly in the northern countries, in which superstition had less influence, and where philological industry was prompted perhaps by the interests of commerce. It was then that Erpenius and Golius created an epoch in oriental studies, and procured that celebrity for the oriental school of Leyden, which Schultens and Scheid have since so well supported.

In England the oriental languages have always been studied, not indeed with ostentation, but with solid success. It was the English monk Adelard who first translated the elements of Euclid from the Arabic into Latin; and the first translation of the Koran was also made by an Englishman, Robert of Rutland, in the middle of the twelfth century. Subsequently, in the sixteenth century, when the Emperor Maximilian wished to establish an oriental school at Heidelberg, he sought his professors in England. But while Holland derived lustre from the philological abilities of Erpenius and his pupils, England, too, could boast her Selden, Graves, Pococke and Castell. The last of these, Edmund Castell, devoted his whole fortune and his eye-sight to complete his *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, a most extraordinary monument of learning and industry. It is important, however, for scholars to know, that the regular application of eighteen hours a day for seventeen years did not so far impair his constitution as to prevent his reaching the advanced age of seventy-nine.

In Germany the emulation of many rival universities has always stimulated the exertions of the learned, and its effects have been as sensible in the oriental as in other studies. But the fruits of rivalry are apt to betray the effects of forced culture, and the pretensions of Clodius, of Bahrdr, and some others, have provoked the sneers of even their own countrymen. The proximity of the Turks, and the frequent necessity of corresponding with them, had early induced the Austrian government to promote the cultivation of the Eastern languages. Vienna, too, was filled with oriental manuscripts, the fruits of pillage in the Turkish wars. At length, when Kaunitz became the minister of Maria Theresa, the academy of oriental languages was founded under his protection. As soon as the pupils of this school are sufficiently qualified by academic studies, they are sent to Constantinople, where, in the suite of the ambassador, they have abundant opportunities of becoming expert linguists. A few years after the foundation of this academy, the pupils exhibited their proficiency to the court by the performance of a dramatic piece, founded on the story of Godfrey of Bouillon, and composed in Turkish for the occasion.

The students of the Austrian school, however, appeared to be destined rather to the diplomatic than the literary career, until the active and fertile genius of Joseph von Hammer incited him to quit the routine of office and seek a nobler fame.

France in the seventeenth century felt the general impulse. Scaliger, Casaubon, and Salmasius, men whom their literary contemporaries were proud to imitate, applied themselves with ardour to Arabian literature. It is not, however, our intention to enumerate all the profound scholars in this branch of learning, but merely to point out its epochs and vicissitudes. Europe obtained from the school of Leyden a good Arabic grammar and a lexicon, while the zeal of the great scholars named above had collected in Golius's time not less than 5,000 MSS. Thus facilities were much increased to those who wished to penetrate the recesses of oriental learning. The ardour with which Arabic was cultivated in the seventeenth century appears to have been the result of a literary reaction; a rush of active spirits towards an uncultivated field. But similar effects were produced in the last age by circumstances of a very different nature. The wide extension of our empire in the East, and still later the designs of the French on Egypt, afforded fresh incitement to oriental studies. Among the distinguished orientalists of this second period, the most brilliant name is that of Sir W. Jones. But the person, to whom above all others the students of Arabic are most deeply indebted, is M. Silvestre de Sacy. Indeed, we question whether he alone has not done as much to facilitate the study of that language, as all his predecessors put together. The merits of his Arabic grammar are sufficiently known; it is indeed a model of what a grammar ought to be; perspicuous and complete, with an arrangement so judicious as greatly to assist the memory. But such is the scarcity of printed books in Arabic, and so great the expense of manuscripts, that the student who has mastered the grammar has still much to discourage him. However, here again M. de Sacy comes to his assistance. His *Chrestomathie Arabe* is a collection of elegant extracts, sufficiently ample to afford the scholar a perfect insight into the language: the design and motives of the work, however, will be best related in his own words.

"The principal object which I proposed to myself in forming this collection, was to supply to the pupils of the *Ecole Royale et Speciale des Langues Orientales vivantes*, a means of exercising themselves in the various kinds of Arabic compositions, without being obliged to procure many works, which were not to be had without difficulty and expense. But at the same time I thought it my duty to make my labours worth the attention of the learned, and, as far as the limits of such a

work would permit, to bring to light that rich collection of manuscripts which was open to me, and to which the duties of my office, as well as the courtesy of those who are charged with the care of it, gave me at all times a ready access.

"It was for the sake of the students that I multiplied and varied the extracts, so as to present examples of different kinds of style; and arranged them in such a manner that the difficulties increase in proportion with the proficiency, suppressing by degrees those aids which were absolutely necessary to the beginner. The same wish to render the work useful to the students, many of whom are destined to the service of diplomacy, has induced me to add to it several pieces of diplomatic correspondence. . . . In this second edition will be found a piece, important for the history of this expedition (into Egypt), but which prudence compelled me to suppress in the first edition. In order to render this collection worthy of the learned, both abroad and at home, I made it a rule to admit nothing in the text which had previously appeared in print."

Besides these obvious merits of originality and utility, M. de Sacy has added to his work an immense store of amusing erudition in the form of notes, critical and historical. His translation is in so copious a style, as to be rather a commentary than a translation. M. de Sacy doubts, perhaps, the possibility of doing justice to the text of an Arabic author by any affectation of oriental brevity. The sense of the Arabic is rendered completely, but the colouring is wholly lost. For nothing short of the impossibility of succeeding can excuse the translator who neglects to copy the character of his original. But as learners, (and we acknowledge ourselves to be such,) we submit to the authority of M. de Sacy, and acquiesce in the utility of a copiousness which is repugnant to our taste.

The curious historical document to which M. de Sacy alludes in his preface, and which prudential considerations prevented him from inserting in his first edition, is the celebrated proclamation of Buonaparte to the Egyptians. Here we see a military upstart sporting with the gravest sentiments of the human race, and learn to acknowledge the just fate of one who mocked the ties of moral or religious principles. We glean the following sentences of it from our author's translation.

"Peuples d'Egypte, on vous dira que je viens pour détruire votre religion; ne le croyez pas: répondez que je viens vous restituer vos droits, punir les usurpateurs, et que je respecte, plus que les Mamloucs, Dieu, son Prophète, et l'Alcoran.—Kadhis, scheikhs, imams, tchorbadjis, dites au peuple que nous sommes aussi de vrais Musulmans. N'est ce pas nous qui avons détruit le Pape, qui disait qu'il fallait faire la guerre aux Musulmans," &c.

If we were not forbidden by the limits of a review, to analyse the contents of a Chrestomathie, composed of extracts from

twenty authors, and on as many different subjects, we should gladly have indulged in some citations from Makrizi's account of Egypt, or from the "Wonders of Nature," by Kazwini. The extracts from this author, which have been made by M. Chézy, a former pupil of M. de Sacy, are remarkably amusing, as well from the naïveté of their style, as from the singularity of the opinions they contain. Kaswini gives a just description of the camelopard, nor does he omit to mention its horns, which appear to have escaped the notice of all the Greek and Roman writers; but he supposes it to be the progeny of a wild heifer and a hybrid animal produced by the union of a camel and hyena. Of the date-tree, he tells us, that it is only to be found in countries where Islamism is professed. The Prophet, speaking of it, said, "honour the date-tree, for it is your paternal aunt;" meaning thereby that it sprung from the remnant of the mould of which Adam was made. The Arabian naturalist then characteristically proceeds to trace a subtle and fanciful analogy between the human species and the palm-tree. But our observations have already extended to too great a length. We will only add, that M. de Sacy's work combines all the excellencies which he proposed to unite in it, and merits as well the approbation of the learned Orientalist as the gratitude of the student.

- ART. II.—1. *Analytica Institutiones Linguae Hungaricae*. 3 tom. Budæ. 1816—1817. 12mo.
2. *Szép-Literatúrai Ajándék a' Tudományos Gyűjteményhez*. Pesten. 1821—1826. 8vo.
3. *Monumenta Hungarica, az az Magyar Emlékezetes Írások*. Auct. Geo. Charles Rummy. Pesten. 1817. 3 vol. 12mo.
4. *Erdélyi Museum—Kolosvárátt és Pesten*. 1814—1818. (*Transylvanian Museum*.) 8vo.
5. *Elaboratior Grammatica Hungarica, ad genuinam Patrii Sermonis Indolem fideliter exacta, Affiniumque Linguarum adminiculis locupletius illustrata*. Auct. Joan. Nic. Revai. Pestini. 1806. 2 tom. 8vo.
6. *Versuch einer ausführlichen praktischen Ungarischen Sprachlehre für Deutsche, &c.* Von Joseph Marton. Wien. 1812. 8vo.
7. *Magyarische Gedichte, uebersetzt von Johann Grafen Mailáth*. Stuttgart und Tübingen. 1825. 18mo.
8. *A' Magyar Literatura esmérete*. (*Knowledge of the Magyar Literature*.) Irta Papay Samuel. Westprim. 1808. 8vo.
9. *Magyar Könyvesház, avagy a' Magyar Könyveknek Kinyomtatások ideje szerint való rövid említésök*. (*Hungarian Li-*

brary, or a short account of Magyar books, &c.) Irta Sandor Istvan. Raab. 1803. 8vo.

10. *Biblioteca Hungarica. Auctore Daniel Cornides. Pest. 1792. 8vo.*

HUNGARY is occupied by two nations, distinct in origin, in manners, and in language. The less numerous are the Slovaks, a Slavonic race, which consists of about two millions, covering the north-western side of Hungary, though they are scattered over many other parts of the country. Of the state of literature among these and some other of the Slavonian tribes, we purpose giving an account hereafter. Our present business is with the Hungarian and Transylvanian *Magyars*, a people whom Gibbon truly represents as insulated among European nations, though his account of them, notwithstanding all his learning and industry, involves many contradictions and consequent errors.

We are the more encouraged to take a hasty survey of the literary history of the Hungarians, as little is to be found respecting it, even in those works which profess to treat of the whole field of literature. The voluminous though somewhat dry details of Eichhorn contain nothing, or scarcely anything, on the subject. He had entrusted this portion of his great undertaking to Professor Romy, who, as we have occasion personally to know, had prepared an elaborate, and, we have no doubt, a faithful and intelligent report. The manuscript lay on his table, ready for press, when one night, on retiring to rest, he forgot to remove a burning taper, from which a spark fell among the papers, and these, with many others, were either wholly consumed, or so injured as to be completely useless.

That the Magyars settled in Hungary during the ninth century is certain. Of their origin little is positively known, though the majority of opinions concur in tracing them to the Caucasian mountains. The theory that they are the descendants of the Huns, which for some time pretty generally obtained, and was afterwards completely abandoned, has been revived anew by one or two distinguished Hungarians; and especially by Professor Dankovszky. Probst and Fejer have endeavoured to prove them of Parthian race, and Horvat fancies he has tracked them etymologically up to the Philistine and other Canaanite tribes. Certain it is they now stand separate and alone—an Asiatic colony in the bosom of Europe.*

* Those who wish to attend to the philological part of the subject may consult:—
Adelung's Mithridates, where, however, the error is committed of considering the Magyar as a mixed instead of an independent language.

Sajnovics, Demonstratio Idioma Hungarorum et Lapponum idem esse. Havniæ. 1770.
Schlegel's Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte. Halle. 1771.

The contempt which the classic writers of Greece and Rome flung upon other nations and languages, and the hatred and terror with which the invading hordes of the middle ages filled the minds of those whom they displaced or subdued, being united to a complete ignorance of the speech of the intruders, have left us much in the dark as to their real civilization. The Huns were probably of Mongolian race, and not wholly unaccompanied by those accomplishments which national pride is so fond of tracing in its early ancestral history. The historians of Hungary have discovered that Etel (Attila) himself was surrounded by poets and minstrels, and that his attendants prided themselves on their national speech.* They have delved in the darkness of antiquity to discover a Scythian literature, and have received in return for their elaborate research the encouraging counsel of a witty philosopher, to go back a little farther still, and to occupy themselves with the scientific and literary history of the Antediluvian age.†

The deep rooting of the Magyar language and manners is certainly a very curious historical fact. Tartars and Arabs, Vandals, Goths and Huns, have at different periods and under similar circumstances planted themselves in various parts of Europe; but their idioms, either ceding to or blending gradually with those of the races they conquered, were soon forgotten. Though the Magyars were but a handful of men, surrounded and hemmed in by the countless Slavonic tribes, still they have preserved their nationality, neither yielding to the higher civilization of the Germans, nor the greater populousness of the Slavonians. Swarms of colonists have spread over Hungary and Transylvania, but have produced slight modifications of the distinctive Magyar character. It would be interesting could we allow ourselves space to follow the changes introduced by different political circumstances on a people so passionately attached to their own peculiar usages, as have been the Magyars from time immemorial. Their intercourse with other nations during the period of the Crusades made the

HAGER'S *Neue Beweise der Verwandtschaft der Hungarn mit den Lappländern*. Wien. 1796.

GYARMATHY, *Affinitas Lingue Hungarice cum Linguis Fennicæ originis grammaticæ demonstrata*. Göttingen. 1799.

STRALHMANN'S *Fennische Sprachlehre für Fennen und nicht Finnen mit Beziehung auf der Aehnlichkeit der Fennischen mit der Ungarischen*. Petersburg. 1816.

BERGOSZASZI'S *Versuch einer Magyarischen Sprachlehre mit Hinsicht auf die Türkische und andere Morgenländischen Sprachen*, &c. Erlanger. 1797.

* Etenim intra sua conclusi barbaricam linguam suam colunt et affectant. Priscus, Chapter ii.

† We must not be understood to speak with disrespect of Matthew Bél's work, *De Litteraturâ Hunno-Scythicâ*.

most remarkable inroads on their Asiatic customs, and they began to yield to the influence which Ovid has described :

Didicisse fideliter artes

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, the journey of Lewis the First, with the flower of his nobility, to Naples, while it visited Hungary with temporary misery through the lustful and profligate queen Johanna, left in its results incalculable benefits, spread a love of art and science among the leading families of the Magyars, and introduced the vines of Italy to the mountains of Tokay, whose produce has conferred on their possessors both fame and riches. Of the many tribes and tongues subjected to the Austrian sway, undoubtedly the Hungarian is that which presents the most striking marks of distinct nationality. Indifference to the curious and peculiar language of the Magyars has prevented that knowledge of, and attention to their domestic position, which can alone convey correct pictures of a people. And yet one would have expected that a nation, preserving in the seat and centre of a despotic and conquering power, the form and semblance at least of independence—a nation which has resisted with success all the *improvements* which its foreign governors have sought to introduce into its institutions (imperfect as they are, yet still offering some slight protection against misrule)—a nation which has preserved its language untainted by political change—its manners unsophisticated—its affections unbending and unbroken—one would have expected, we say, that their literary and social history would not have continued so long a sealed book to an inquiring age.

Yet so it is; but it is not here that we could with propriety track the political vicissitudes of Hungary, nor indulge, as we might easily do, in those anticipations as to the future, which so naturally grow out of her present condition. The firmest rock on which her patriots build their hopes for the time to come, is the language and the literature of the Magyars. So long as these retain their influence, so long will there be a retreat for hope, and a security for advancement. While any people is vigorous enough to preserve its native idiom, unpolluted by the idiom of those who have obtained the mastery, their conquest has been imperfectly effected—they may yet resume their self-government. In England, the Saxons and the Normans blended with the blending of their tongues. In Spain no such amalgamation went on between the Arabic and the Castilian; they were forces arrayed against each other, which any event might bring into collision. So in Greece, the power of ages has not established the Mahommedan sway. Out of the Albanian and

the Romaic dialects the mightiest instruments of opposition grew. There is no soil in which hatred and rivalry may plant such wide-spreading influences as that of separate languages. The child may be taught contempt for the man who cannot pronounce his shibboleth, and nations with a perverse and deplorable unanimity have attached scorn, and frequently ill-will, to the "alien" and the "foreigner," looking on them as only one remove from *rival* or *enemy*.

There is much improvement in this respect—obvious to every one who has had occasion to witness the behaviour, even of the lower classes, to the strangers whom political vicissitudes have thrown upon our shores. We know of many deeds of benevolence which the doers never thought of weighing in the scale of national partiality; and in the higher walks of society, we trust, no unimportant consequence of our labours will be the widening those sympathies of mutual respect and kindness which man—and especially literary and instructed man—has a right to calculate on from man, and nation from nation. If it be on any occasion our privilege to import from other lands knowledge which our own possessed not, the fair and desirable result should be to elevate the character of those from whom we bring it, and to lower a little our sometimes exaggerated pride and self-esteem. Undoubtedly we know much; we are a civilized and a cultivated nation; but sometimes in our loud-voiced vanity we forget that others know something too. Now we think that good service is done to liberality as well as to literature, by carrying our thoughts over a wider field than that to which we have been accustomed. We have long sought—it was perhaps forced upon us by our position—and in seeking we have often found—motives for priding ourselves on the contrast between us and others. That pride, be it allowed us to say so, was far more fostered by our ignorance, than it would have been by our knowledge. We were islanders, and we were engaged in war, two circumstances not very friendly to just and enlarged views. Our philological studies have been very confined—they are so still; there are many languages spoken by millions, with which no man among us has the slightest acquaintance; and we confess shame comes over our individual selves when we think that, with our imperfect information, however sincere and anxious our desire to instruct, we should be the first on this occasion to lead the way into a field alike novel, extensive and important.

The political position of the Hungarians is higher and bolder than that of the Bohemians. The Hungarians are not part of a great people, they are a people of themselves; they are not one of the branches of a mighty tree, they are a separate and solitary

trunk, standing alone, venerable and self-supported. If the Slovakian feels that he is condemned to obscurity—if the Pole mourns over the departed splendour of his country—if the Bohemian despairs of the regeneration of his nation's illustrious name—and the Servian smart under the intolerableness of Turkish despotism, each has some consolation in tracing the mighty march of one at least of the Slavonian tribes, and watching the growing influence and the deeper and wider planting of the Slavonian tongue. But Hungary and Transylvania are the sole representatives of the Magyars. One people only preserve—to one race alone are entrusted the hopes and the glories of the Hungarian name. If the government of Vienna succeeded in crushing the rising literary enthusiasm of the Cechian races, their books, their ballads would live in the many surrounding Slavonian nations. But the overthrow of the speech and the songs of the Magyars would be finally fatal to their existence. It is suspended on one thread, and while with their speech and their songs their independence is associated, woe unto him who would loosen,—a three-fold woe unto him who would break it.

“ O beata Ungheria, se non si lascia

Più malmenare !”*

The Magyars have one advantage from their situation: surrounded and hemmed in by many distinct races, they have preserved their own individuality and identity with singular purity and pertinacity. Their nationality is condensed, active and intelligible. The line of demarcation which separates them from all their neighbours is strongly marked and obvious. Their language is little operated on by the influence of others, for other languages do not possess the affinities with the Hungarian, which provide for their easy introduction into it. In a word, the Magyars stand apart and aloof from the objects around them, representatives of the past, slightly associated with the present, and striving to communicate their uncorrupted nationality to the future.

Their language has triumphed over all the efforts made to suppress it. Those efforts were equally vain and foolish, a political and a moral error. It were just as wise to forge chains for the winds, or build prisons for the lightning, as to attempt to change the habits or the language of millions, by a rescript, which is only a straw flung on the waters, a whistling in the midst of the storm. Such attempts attack the patriotic feeling in its omnipresent power, awaken every tongue to the *eloquence* of resistance, and engage every strong and early affection in busy hostility. The

* Dante, *Paradiso*, Canto xix.

tendency of liberty, and that free intercourse which springs out of it, is to extend the influence of those languages which represent the most advanced civilization. In England the ancient tongue of Britain is wholly extinct; even our provincialisms are gradually passing away. In France the Revolution has taught at least twenty millions of men a speech unknown to their fathers, since more than two-thirds of the French people employed in 1785 idioms unintelligible in the capital. But in Austria, where the government has arrayed itself against the Slavonian and the Magyar dialects, they have aroused themselves from their anticipated slumbers, they have been clung to like a family inheritance, they have been sanctified by visitations which foreboded calamity, and the waters of affliction have fed their roots and refreshed their branches, so that they are bearing multifarious flowers and fruits at the very moment when short-sighted policy calculated on their final and complete decay.

The Magyar language stands, as we have said, alone and remote from every other. We do not believe the story of Don Cossacks having lately wandered into Hungary, where they found, we are told, no difficulty in understanding and being understood by the Magyars. We have ourselves compared the Magyar with most of the dialects spoken in the south and east of Russia, and have ascertained that the resemblances are faint and few. In structure it bears a slight affinity to the Finnish, Laplandish, and Esthonian, and elaborate industry has discovered some words apparently of common origin. The same is the case with the Chudish, the Teutonic and the Slavonian. But the distinguishing characters of the Magyar are solitary, and its roots cannot be traced to any hitherto discovered source. Much of the political history of the Magyars may be followed in the foreign words which are found in their language. They were a nomade race of warriors, and it will be seen that the words which are associated with domestic and agricultural affairs are borrowed from the Slavonians, whom they subdued. From the Latin they have derived many terms connected with the rites of the Catholic church—the German introduced others which denoted the arts of life in a more advanced stage, and the long rule of the Turks left behind it many an orientalism of Mahomedan origin.

The letters of the Magyar alphabet which require particular notice are *ö*, which is equivalent to the German *ö*,—*ő*, which has the sound of the French *eu*,—*s* which is pronounced like the English *sh*,—*ü* like the German,—*ű* resembles the French *u*, but with a stronger accentuation; *cz* has the sound of the Italian *zz*,—*cs* of our *ch* (church,)—*sz* is equal to *s*,—*zs* is like the French *j*,—*dzs* as our *dg* in *judge*—the letter *y* is neither a vowel nor a con-

sonant, but introduced solely after *g*, *l*, *n* and *t*, to designate that blending of the sound with the following letter, which the French call *mouillé*—*gy* has the sound of *dgi*, as *Magyar* pronounced *Madgiar*—*ly* the Italian *gl*, the Spanish *ll*, the Portuguese *lh*,—*ny* is the Italian and French *gn*, the Spanish *ñ*, the Portuguese *nh*,—*ty* resembles *ti*, in the French *metier*, or the Italian *tiara*. There are no complex sounds of consonants, neither are there any diphthongs in the Magyar language.

One of the most extraordinary properties of the Magyar language is the extensive use of *suffixes*. Almost all the modifications of nouns, verbs, pronouns, and prepositions, are produced by an addition to the termination. Its conjugates are seldom made by auxiliary words, but by changes postadded to the root itself. It is amusing to track the progress of some of the Magyar words from their simplest root, gathering up their postfixes one after another as they proceed; *ir*, he writes, *irat* he causes to be written, *iratát* he can cause to be written, *irathattam* I have been able to cause to be written; *lát*, he sees, *látás*, seeing, *látatlan*, unseen, *láthatatlan*, unseeable, *láthatatlanság*, unseeableness, *láthatatlanoknak*, to the unseeable (dat. plur.), *láthatatlanságának*, to his unseeableness; or such a congregation of conjugates as *állhatatlanságának* (to his inconstancy) from *áll*, he stands,—or *esztelenségének* (to his unreasonableness) from *esz*, understanding.

Another curious characteristic of the Magyar is, that it divides its vowels into two classes, masculine *a*, *o* and *u*, and feminine *e*, *ö* and *ü*, and will not allow both classes to be employed in the same word. The vowel *i* has a neutral character, and like an oriental eunuch may be admitted any where.*

With the pronouns a singular process takes place, when associated with nouns, verbs or prepositions. They are either cut in two, and the word to which they are attached buried between the two halves: as, for example, *mienk* (our) *atya* (father) becomes *mi atyánk*, our father; or more usually they become postfixes, by adding their terminals to the noun, as *ház* (house), *házam*, *házad*, *háza*, *házunk*, *házatok*, *házok*, my, thy, his, our, your, their house. In verbs, *varok*, *várx*, *vár*, *várunk*, *vartok*, *varnak*, I, thou, he, we, ye, they wait. In prepositions, *bennem*, *benned*, *benne*, *bennünk*, *bennetek*, *benned*, in me, thee, him, us, you, them.

The Magyar definite article *az* does not change before any of the cases either in the singular or plural. It would seem as if

* There are a few exceptions to this rule, principally from foreign sources, as *atril*, from the Slavonian *ocel*, *steel*,—*indallo*, *stall*.

the old language, like many of the Orientals, had no plural nouns, but attached the word *sok* (many) wherever it was wanted to convey the idea of number. In process of time, however, *sok* became abbreviated, and the last letter only was used to denote the plural form, as *ember* (man), *emberek* (men), *lab* (foot), *labak* (feet). But the plural termination is not employed when any noun of number precedes it. *Ket ref* (two ell), not *ket refek* (two ells); *sok ezer virág* (many thousand flower), not *virágak*, flowers; *egy sereg katona*, a troop of soldier, not *katonak*, soldiers.

Out of the distinction between masculine and feminine vowels grows a very singular provision, that two classes of conjugates run through the language, meant to accommodate the two genders of vowels. For instance, *ász* and *ész* are the conjugates which attach personal service to an object, *hal* (fish) creates *halasz* (fisherman), *kert* (garden) makes *kertesz* (gardener). The diminutives are *ka* and *ke*. *Sag* and *seg* implying office, or rank. *Apat* (abbot), *apatsag* (abbacy), *püspök* (bishop), *püspökség* (bishopric). *At* and *et* convert the root, or third person of the present tense, of verbs into substantives. *Gondol* (he thinks), *gondolat* (thought), *felel* (he answers), *felelet* (an answer). The same rule applies to the conjugation of verbs and the declension of nouns, and those postpositions which give the prepositional modifications of other languages.

There seems scarcely any law of syntax, as to the collocation of words in Hungarian. Marton gives sixteen different arrangements of the words, *az atyám a' házát eladta*,*—"my father has sold his house," each being equally appropriate; but the adjective cannot in any case be alienated from the substantive, nor the pronoun from the noun. The ancestral always follow the baptismal names of persons, as Hunyadi Janos (John Hunyadi).

Baron Hoffmannsegg, in his *Travels through Hungary*, A.D. 1800, represents the Magyar language as without dialects, and as spoken with equal purity by both the upper and lower classes of the people. But neither statement is correct. There are very prominent differences in the speech of the Hungarians on the two sides of the Danube; and the dialects of Palocz and of Szekler in Transylvania are, in many respects, unlike the commonly spoken tongue. The long employment of Latin for

* As the article *the*—*atya*, father—*m* the postfix representing the possessive pronoun *enyim* (mine),—*a'* the definite article, as written before consonants,—*ház*, house, *at*, instead of *a* (for the sake of euphony), representing the hard vowel of the personal possessive, *övé*, his,—*el*, the sign of abstraction,—*adta*, from *add*, the root of *adni*, to give, whence *eladni*, to sell. *El* is almost the synonyme of the German *ver*; as in *verkaufen*, to sell; from *kaufen*, to buy.

works of science and philosophy has undoubtedly led to the less careful cultivation of the Magyar; but language, like everything else, is necessarily controlled by civilization, and the errors which those naturally fall into whose minds are uncultivated by education, will always be guarded against by the instructed and the intelligent.

Some time ago a controversy took place in Germany as to which of the modern languages of Europe was the most condensed and appropriate for the purposes of translation. Pre-eminence was claimed for the German, and that beautiful piece of Arabic poetry which Sir William Jones has so touchingly, but at the same time very diffusively, translated,* became the touchstone by which the merits of the different idioms was to be tried. Von Hammer's version, which was represented to contain precisely the same number of words in the same measure as the original, obtained much applause. It was this :—

" Sohn ! du weintest am Tag der Geburt ; es lachten die Freunde ;
Tracht,—dass am Todestag, während sie weinen, du lachst."

Which may be rendered in English hexameters—

Son ! thou weep'st on the day of thy birth—thy friends were all
smiling.

Live—so that thy death while they weep, thou may'st tranquilly
smile.

* " On nurse's arms a naked, new-born child,
Weeping thou sat'st, while all around thee smil'd ;
So live, that sinking in thy long, last sleep,
Calm thou may'st smile while all around thee weep."

It might be easily translated in half the number of lines, as for example :—

" When born thou weep'st, we smil'd—so live, that while
We weep thy dissolution—thou may'st smile."

Or—

" Weeping, while many smil'd thou wert—life past—
Midst many weepers may'st thou smile at last."

Or wholly in monosyllables, which could not, we think, be easily effected in any other language but the English.

" Thy tears, our smiles hail'd life—so live, that we
While thou dost smile at death, may weep for thee."

But the verse is very susceptible of a translation into English verse, which shall require no more than twelve words :—

" Born weeping—others smiled—death's sleep
O'ertaking thee, smile tho' they weep."

Byron has somewhere remarked on the untranslatable beauty of Alfieri's line—

" Vedesti ? Vedi ! Udesti ? Udi !"

It may, however, be rendered into Magyar, word for word—

" Lattad ? Lattám ! Hallottad ? Hallottam !"

Many were the impugnors of the claims of the German language, and the Hungarians beat the Teutonic advocates out of the field. Valyi-nagy's (Ferencz) translation consisted of only thirteen words, and was as follows—

Hogy születél síral nézőid örültenek; úgy élj
When thou wert born thou weepedst, the lookers-on rejoiced; so live
Hogy holtodkor azok sirjanak és te örülj.
That at thy death these may weep, and thou mayst rejoice.

Kacinczy sent two versions, one consisting of only eleven words, the other of seven. They are these—

Síral midőn levél; azok nevettenek,
Thou weepedst when thou wert, others smiled,
Élj hogy vigan halhass ők keserégjenek.
Live—that thou mayst cheerfully die, while they mourn.

Sirva lettel; vígadtanak,
Halj meg vígán, búsúljanak.
Weeping thou wert—they rejoiced,
Die joyfully—they will mourn.

But it may be truly said, the sense is lost in these compressions. The Magyar language is harmonious from the equal distribution of vowels and consonants in all its words. There is no concatenation of letters producing complex, difficult, and disagreeable sounds, while the irregular distribution of its accents furnishes all the materials for poetical variety of rhythmus. It abounds in *spondees*, so that hexameters may be very readily produced. Indeed there is scarcely any metrical quantity found in Greek or Latin which cannot immediately be furnished by the Magyar. Like these it is poor in rhymes, and that poverty is increased by the rejection of many which custom has deemed unmusical. It is, however, very sonorous even without the aid of rhyme, and the hexameters and pentameters of Valyi-nagy and David Szabó, in their translations of Homer and Virgil, flow forth as fluently as the original. Similar praise may be given to Virag's version of Horace's Odes.

The historians of Magyar poetry, like most other national historians, show great cleverness in filling up with ingenious fancies the interstices between the few facts which have come down to us. They find heroes to excite their bards, and bards to encourage their heroes, in those misty shadowings which tradition sketches of the past. Many of the old Hungarian Chronicles dwell upon the fame of their monarch Könyeves Kálman—the “bookish Coloman.” They speak of the songs of the people and of the *Jocu-*

iatores, who, in the language of the anonymous recorder of Bela's* *Notabilia* (as quoted by Mailáth)

" In song excelling,
Won a proud name, and found a welcoming dwelling."

The same writer speaks of their surrounding the palace of Attila, mingling their poetry with the tones of the cithara and pipe. When the Hungarians were converted to Christianity, Turóczius represents them as having been insulted by the "impious songs" of these chieftains. But scarcely a fragment remains of old Magyar minstrelsy. Lewis the First was a great patron of the muses; and Cromer, the Polish chronicler, who wrote in the beginning of the 16th century, speaks of the music of the songs with which Elizabeth (the mother of Lewis) was escorted to Poland. The poetical compositions of Matthew Corvinus, son of Hunyadi, who reigned at the commencement of the 15th century, are spoken of by several writers, and referred to as "superior to any he had seen" by Bishop Peter Vulturan in a letter to Pope Sixtus the Fourth. One of King Matthew's verses may serve as a specimen of the Magyar language at this period. It was sung to him at his coronation by the young men of Pest:—

" Mátyást mostan választotta mind ez ország király ságra,
Mert ezt adta Isten nekünk menyországból oltal inunkra,
Azért mi-is válaslottuk mint Istennek ajándékát
Kiből Isten ditsertessek és öröкке mondjuk—Amen."†

" The people all choose Matthew for their King,
Whom God hath sent from heaven our shield to be,
And as God's gift we choose him—while we sing
God's praise—and say 'Amen' eternally."

But the strains of the royal poet seem soon to have been forgotten, since Ambrose Gerciani, in his historical poem on Corvinus, says—

" I hear no minstrel poets sing,
As sung our good, our valiant King,
Our ancient noble chief—and yet
His songs—his virtues we forget."‡

* *Bela Regis Notarius* in *prof. apud Schwandtrierum*, chapter 25.

† These verses are quoted in John Saikele's *Chronica*, p. 216; see Mailáth's *Preface*, p. lii.

‡ " En nem hallok olly jó enekszerzőket,
Kik elő hoznak jó fejedelmünket,
Mátyás királyt régi jó vezérünket,
Elfelejtjük mi jól tett emberünket."

Mailáth, p. lii.

Associations for literary purposes were established in the 15th century both in Hungary and Transylvania, and the University of Presburg (*Academia Istropolitana*), was founded in 1467; it had a splendid existence for the third of a century, and then fell into decay. Matthew had attracted to his court many illustrious men from Germany and Italy, and became himself the correspondent of Marsilius Ficinus and other renowned writers of this epoch. He projected and commenced an establishment of education for 40,000 students at Buda, but died ere he could complete the undertaking, leaving for successors men who seem only to have ruled that by their folly and their weakness they might more and more illustrate his greatness and his name. He founded the great Buda library which, in 1680, (according to the testimony of Julius Pflug,) consisted of 50,000 volumes, established a printing-press,* and restored the Buda college, which had fallen into complete decay since the time of its patron Sigmund, only to prepare its second fall after the battle of Mohács—a second fall from whence it was to be redeemed by no restoring hand.

Of the domestic habits of one of the bishops of this period (Nicolas Bathori), Galeotti gives an interesting picture:—

“The elegance and excellence of his social life were delightful to me. Devotion and instruction succeeded one another. Now a song was sung to the lyre, and now we listened to a moral tale. There was no idleness, there was no weariness, there was no waste of time.”†

Far different is this scene from a contemporaneous one described by another writer. It was after the battle of Kenyérmező.

“The bloody fight was over, and Kinizsi, with his companion in arms (Bathori), and his joyous warriors, prepared to take their supper among the bodies of the dead; for the night was so far advanced that they could not return to their tents, and the camp of their vanquished enemies supplied them with wine and food in abundance. They made tables of corpses, of which there was so vast a congregation that you might stride over sixteen stadia of perished soldiers in the battle-field.

* The first book in the Magyar language was printed at Cracow in 1533. Its title is *Szent Pál Revelei* (St. Paul's Epistles,) by Benedict Komjathi. A Magyar New Testament, *Új Testamentom*, was published at Vienna in 1536. In 1546 a paper-mill was erected at Kronstadt, in Transylvania.

† Galeottus Martius Narniensis de egregiè, sapientèr et jocosè Dictis ac Factis Matthiæ I. Regis Hungariæ. Viennæ, 1593. Cap. 31. Galeotti was an Italian, and the librarian of King Matthias. There is a curious account of Galeotti in Quentin Durward, vol. ii. chap. iii. p. 59. The sketch Sir Walter Scott has drawn has, we suspect, more pictorial interest than historical truth. It does not appear that the treatise to which our wonder-working novelist refers as the source of his fame, *De rebus vulgo incognitis*, was ever published. The MS. is in the King of France's library.

The army rejoiced itself with wine over the huge heaps. Even the prisoners plundered the camp in which they had been subdued, and they fared gloriously. The supper was accompanied by warlike songs—and extemporaneous verses lauded the conqueror of chieftains. More and more excited, they danced the dance of war, when Kinizsi, invited to participate, sprang into the circle, seized with his teeth the body of a dead enemy, lifted it without the help of his hands, and danced gaily to the astonishment of the bystanders—a feat worthy of himself and Hercules."

What the battle of the White Mountain (A.D. 1526) was to the Bohemians, that of Mohács was to the Magyars. It broke up their language and their literature; it delivered over their country to Ottoman barbarians. Sorrows came upon them, not alone, but "in battalions;" Hungary was devastated on the one hand by the Moslems,—distracted on the other by its own internal discords; while the rapid spread of the Latin language had gradually weakened one of the most efficient instruments of popular excitement. We may here be permitted to say, that we do not agree with Count Mailáth, in adding "the Reformation" to the list of "evils" with which Hungary was then visited. Without denying that the Magyar annals exhibit to us many bright examples of patriotic Catholicism, we think a close observation will show no slight connection between the Protestantism and the literature of Hungary. In many parts of the continent it has been of late the fashion to represent "the Reformation" as the destroyer of the arts, and especially of the arts of music, poetry and painting—that is to say, the conquest of thought, of independent thought, over authority, has been unfriendly to the noblest exercises of thought—it is to say, that the mind flies higher when caged and imprisoned than when it can expatiate in the widest, freest heaven—it is to say, that the barriers to improvement are the cause of improvement. For what was "the Reformation" after all?—what but the claim to think, to feel, to judge?—what but the assertion of the mind's sole dominion over mind—the struggle of inquiring intellect against despotic will? Count Mailáth goes further, and asserts as an historical truth, that over all Europe, schism (*glaubens-spalt*, as he is pleased to call it) has paralysed the nobler studies. Can he have ever compared the contributions of the Protestant world to science and literature with those of his Catholic brethren? Did he ever for an instant array the great and the illustrious of our race among modern European nations, for the purpose of ascertaining what proportion those of the Reformed church bear to the whole of their body, and what proportion those of the Romish creed bear to theirs? It is to be regretted that a mind so amiable and so discerning should be precipitated by religious zeal

and prejudice into conclusions equally removed from truth and charity.

Paul Kinizsi and Stephen Báthori lived in the reign of Ferdinand I. and were equally renowned in their day as warriors and poets. Of their compositions we only know, from the testimony of an old writer,* that "they sang the hero deeds of the great men of Hungary, as well as the songs of love."

Over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are scattered few poetical names,† and such of their writings as exist afford some consolation for the loss of the rest. Three writers Mailáth would redeem from the general obscurity—Erdösi, Zrinyi and Gyöngyösi.

John Erdösi, who is better known by his Latinized name of Sylvester, published, at New Szigath, in 1541, a Magyar version of the New Testament. To each of the Evangelists is prefixed a poem in pure hexameter verses,‡ and these must rank among the earliest efforts of the moderns to introduce the ancient prosody.

* Cuspinianus, *Orat. Protreptica ad Imperii Principes*. Francofurti, 1601. p. 81.

† Peter Balassa was called the Pindar of his day. His poems were published at Cracow in 1572. Zinödi wrote an epic on the Destruction of Buda; and Farkas a rhymed chronicle on the Invasion of the Scythians. They are all lightly esteemed.

‡ For example: "Profeták által asolt rigben neked az Isten
Az kit ighirt ime, végre megatta pat."

Some hexameters of older date are found in the Bohemian language, but they have been supposed to be accidental, like the many which may without difficulty be found in the authorized version of the Bible:

"Bind your kings in chains, and your nobles in fetters of iron."

"Husbands! love your wives, and be not bitter against them."

"The Lord of Hosts is great—the earth is full of his glory."

"I will pay my vows to God in the presence of all his people."

There are hexameter verses in French, of Jodelle, published in 1563:

"Phœbus, Amour, Cypris veut sauver, nourir et orner
Ton vers, cœur et chef d'ombre de flamme, de fleurs."

Villegas's are among the best, printed in 1617:

"Lycidas y Coridon, Coridon el Amante de Filis,
Pastor el uno de cabras, el otro de blancas ovejas,
Ambos á dos tiernos mozos ambos, Arcades ambos."

Sir Philip Sidney's hexameters are well known; they are ingenious, but not perfect.

"Fair rocks, goodly rivers, sweet woods! when shall I see peace? Peace!
Peace! what bars me my tongue? who is it that comes me so nigh? I!
O! I do know what guest I have met;—it is Echo! 'tis Echo!"

Eichhorn, in his History of Literature, gives a specimen of ancient Dutch hexameters from Groenewald's *Messias*:

"Thands steeg over de sederboschen de morgen benenwart
Jezus verrees en de Zonne gezien van de sielen der vaadern
Als zo hem zagen zo zongen twee sielen dus degen elkander."

In Italian there are many authorities:

"Ecco 'l chiaro rio, pien ecco lo d'acque soavi,
Ecco di verde erbe carca la terra ride."

Erdelyi Museum, vol. ii. pp. 128—139.

He was the founder of the classical school of poetry in Hungary. The verses, which are scanned according to the rules of Greek and Latin measures, are called Erdősian. He was born in Szinnyer-Varallya, and captivated by the works of Luther and Melancthon, went to Wittenberg to complete his studies. He is mentioned by Melancthon with much affection in his correspondence. On his return he was cruelly used by the peasantry in consequence of his Protestantism, and compelled to relinquish a professorship he had obtained. In 1539 he printed a Hungaro-Latina Grammatica.*

Nicholas Zrínyi the younger (Zrínyi Miklos—and here we may repeat, that in Hungarian the surname always precedes the christian name) was born in 1618, and in 1664 published an epic in fifteen books, called the *Zrínyas*, or *Az Adrai Tegernek Sirenaja* (the Syren of the Adriatic), in which he celebrates the deeds of his ancestral namesake. Mailáth praises its religious feeling—its power—its patriotic and heroic spirit. The episodes he admires, and says the language is pure, though rude. But it has the monotonous form of four-lined verses of unvarying rhyme, like the Romance of the Cid. Zrínyi introduced the accented poetry of the moderns, which now bears his name, into Hungary. His works were printed at Vienna in 1651, and were republished by Kazinczy, at Pest, in 1817.†

Stephen Gyöngyösi, born 1620, died 1704, founded another poetical school, which is now denominated the Tordaic, (from Thorda, near Kolosvar, in Transylvania, where he dwelt,) and was formerly called the Leonine. It is rhymed in the middle and at the end of each verse, and measured throughout according to the Latin system. His most distinguished production is his *Vesselenycas*, or the Venus of Murány; it is a description of the taking of the fortress of Murány by Vesselenye, and his consequent marriage with an Hungarian princess, Maria Szécsi. This poem is deemed melodious, ornamented and rich in sentiment. Gyöngyösi was long called the prince of the Magyar poets, but he seems by common consent to be lowered from that distinction.‡ To this period belong Pázmány, who was considered one of the most successful advocates of Catholicism; and Molnar, yet more renowned as the Protestant polemic, who translated the Psalms into Magyar verse, which like the sacred poetry of Watts,

* A detailed account of Erdösi will be found in Kasinay's *Magyar Régiségek és Békéségek*, and in the Hungarian Plutarch of Kélcsey.

† For a biographical account of Zrínyi, with a German translation of part of his poem by Count Teleky, see Hormayer's *Annual* for 1821.

‡ A new edition of his work was published at Pest in 1796.

still preserve their influence, and are habitually employed in all the heterodox churches of Hungary and Transylvania. A translation of the Koran was published by Count Gabriel Bethlen in 1620, and in 1626 a version of the work of the famous Turkish moralist Envarul Asikin. Beniczky's *Rithmusok*, Liszti's *Magyar Mars*, or the Battle of Mohács, and Paskó's Three Years' Destruction of Transylvania, are among the poetical productions of this epoch, but are not worthy of any particular distinction.

The early part of the eighteenth century did little for the literature of Hungary. Latin had become the language of the Jesuits, who held a large portion of the scholastic authority; and German, encouraged by the patronage of the court, had gradually insinuated itself into the minds and manners of the Magyars. Poets who took not an undistinguished station in the ranks of Teutonic literature, were contributed by Hungary, and the names of Jankevich, Gaal, Schedius, and others are by no means unknown to the German student. The *Tunisia* of Ladislaus Pyrker, Patriarch of Venice, and the "Pearls of the Hallowed Past," have been crowned with no small portion of praise. The influence of French literature upon this period is remarkable—that influence is visible in most of the distinguished poets of the last century. But the most decided and permanent excitement to the Magyar literature was received from those decrees of Joseph II. which were intended to overthrow it. Then it was that patriotism gathered round the sacred banner of its mother-tongue, which sprung up, vigorous and glorious, from the fields of obloquy and persecution. Works on morals and legislation, volumes of poetry and history, came forth, as it were spontaneously, from what had been so long a barren soil. The mandate, "Let the Magyar language perish," was construed by every patriot Hungarian into "Regenerate your mother-tongue;" and it was regenerated. Count Raday bore probably the most remarkable part in this new creation. He was born in 1713, and died in 1792. He shaped the rude verses of the Magyars into classical forms, and flung over them the colourings of fancy and the spirit of truth.

In the present article our purpose is principally to introduce the Magyar poets to our readers. Poetry, more than any other species of literature, characterizes a people; emanating as it does from the mass—at least, in its popular forms—it represents not so much the intellect as the affections of a nation. History and philosophy belong to a higher civilization; they are the instruments of the cultivated few, but music and song are the possessions of the uninstructed many. We begin with Fáludi (Ferencz).

“ THE FALSE MAID.*

I.

“ She is born of noble stem,
Fairer than the fairest gem
Which upon her robe doth shine,
Graceful, beautiful, divine.
What avails it all to me?
She is false as false can be!

II.

She has eyes like damsons black,
Shining like the comet's track;
Mouth of witchery—lightning glance—
Heaven is in her countenance.
What avails it all to me?
She is false as false can be!

III.

Neck of alabaster, lips
Crimson roses to eclipse,
Chin of marble's smoothest glow,
Shoulders piled of purest snow.
What avails it all to me?
She is false as false can be!

IV.

Fair when distant, fair when near,
Fair her smile, and fair her tear;
Fair when bending, fair erect—
Unadorn'd, or gem-bedeck'd.
What avails it all to me?
She is false as false can be!

* “ A' HAMIS LEÁNY.

I.

Uri nemzet' eredete, derék, jeles, szép termete,
Gyöngyös, köves szép ruhája, ruhájánál szebe orczája;
De mit használ, ha hamis,
De mit használ, ha hamis.

II.

Szeme kökény, csillag fényre, szája csuda építménye,
Tüzet lobbant pillantása, mint az eget villámlása;
De mit használ, ha hamis. (Rep.)

III.

Alabastrom feje nyaka, piros rózsá nyith ajaka,
Sima márvány picziny állja, tiasta hónál tisztább állja;
De mit használ, ha hamis. (Rep.)

IV.

Szép mikor varr, szép mikor ír, szép mikor nevet, szép mikor sír,
S szép mikor ül, szép mikor áll, ha bajt térdet, csifrau sétál;
De mit használ, ha hamis. (Rep.)

V.

She has wit, and song, and sense—
Mirth, and sport, and eloquence ;
She has smiles of extacy—
Grace and beauty's treasury.

What avails it all to me ?
She is false as false can be !

VI.

I have been on Pindus hill,
I have heard her music fill—
Fill with glory heaven and earth—
Ne'er such glorious songs had birth.

What avails it all to me ?
She is false as false can be!"

Fáludi (Ferencz) was born in 1704, and died in 1779. A biographical account of him and his writings is in Horany's *Memoria Hungrorum*, in the *Hungarian Plutarch*, and in the *Vienna Conversations Lexicon*. The latter was contributed by the indefatigable Dr. Rummy, whose services to the literature of his country are spread over the subject in all its details. During his life Fáludi was only known for his prose translations. The verses of Fáludi were first published seven years after his death, by Revai (Miklos). A similar posthumous fortune attended the poems of Orczi (Lörencz), of which one describing the life of the keepers of the wild cattle in the Hungarian steppes we had proposed to insert, but its length excludes it.* Orczi was an Hungarian nobleman. His style is not polished—but has a pleasing careless harmony—a free and genial tone, which seem to make amends for the want of higher cultivation.

We said that with Raday (Grof Ráday Gedeon) a new epoch begins. He may be deemed the father of the modern school of Magyar poetry. The wars of Maria Theresa with Prussia, in which so many Hungarians took part, brought them into more immediate communication with the literature of Germany, and led to the introduction of many of the most distinguished authors of that country into the libraries and dwellings of the Magyars.

V.

Tréfás, nyíjas, hiszkelkedő, bátor, vidám, kedveskedő,
Sokkal biztos mosolygása, tellyes tárbás ajánlása,
De mit használ, ha hamis. (Rep.)

VI.

Pindus hegyén szebb verseket nem mondanak 's énekeket,
Mint mikor ő torkát nyitja ét harfáját meg indítja;
De mit használ, ha hamis." (Rep.)

* See it in Mailáth, p. 18—23. Toldy's *Handbuch der Ungarischen Poesie*, of which the first volume only has appeared, contains interesting biographical notices of the Magyar poets.

This prepared the way for men like Raday and Teleky,* whose compositions, at this period only circulated in a MS. form among their friends. Of Raday's manner we can best give an idea by a short translation.

" WATER, WIND, REPUTATION.

" I was a boy and heard this pretty story :
That Wind and Water play'd with Reputation
At hide-and-seek together.
The Water rushed adown the mountain passes,
But was discovered after long pursuing
In the deep vallies.
The Wind flew upwards :
But it was followed to the mountain summits,
And soon entrapp'd there.
Then Reputation was to be imprison'd,
And Reputation whispered
In a sonorous voice to her companions :
' Know—if you lose me—know if once I hide me,
I'm lost for ever.'
And so it was—she bid her ; all inquiry
Was wasted in the seeking ;
Nothing can renovate that perish'd treasure,
If thou have lost it—thou hast lost *all* with it."

Raday was born in 1719 at Peczel, and died in 1792. He was a poet, and the friend and protector of poets. He was distinguished by a succession of honorary titles, and by his liberality and attention in allowing the freest access to his excellent library he rendered most valuable services to the rising literature of his country. He adopted the Erdösian versification. We have heard him spoken of with strong affection by those who were the recipients of his kindnesses, and no name could be mentioned from the literary annals of Hungary which the concurrent voices of the Magyars would honour with a greater portion of love and gratitude. He had travelled and brought home the harvest of extensive acquirements.

Baroczy (Sandor), a Transylvanian poet, born in 1736, died 1809; Barcsay (Abraham) who was born in 1742, and died in 1806, belong to this epoch.† Bessenyei (György) translated Pope's Essay on Man, (*az ember próbája*), and wrote several dramatic pieces. His was a vigorous, poetical and generous spirit,

* Teleky translated some of Locke's writings into Hungarian for the use of schools.

† Of both Barcsay and Baroczy an account will be seen in the *Annals of Austrian Literature* for 1810.

but not sufficiently trained by knowledge and philosophy. Molnar (Janos) published a version of Newton's *Physics*, while Illey (Janos) versified in Magyar, Boëtius *De Consolatione*. Medical studies began at this time to be successfully pursued, and many works appeared which popularised and advanced this important science. Voltaire's *Henriade* was translated by Szilágyi. Revai's *Elegies* (*Elegyes Versek*) and Anacreontic Songs have obtained much applause for their harmony and correctness. The establishment of the University of Pest by Maria Theresa in 1771, was of prodigious importance to the cultivation of the literature of Hungary. The arrangement of the plan of study was left to Urmenyi and Tersztyanszky, whose synopsis of the education to be there provided has been generally deemed satisfactory. The successor of Maria committed the error to which we have previously referred. He (Joseph the Second) determined to eradicate the language of the Magyars. Undoubtedly he could ban, but he could not bury, the popular idiom, which became dearer as soon as it was the subject of persecution. A Magyar newspaper, *Magyar Hirmondó*, then first arose (1780), the national feeling became compromised in the preservation of the ancient tongue, and so far from carrying his purpose into effect, the Emperor himself gave the first example of the publication of a royal decree in the Hungarian, and to this moment all the laws and imperial orders are so promulgated.

Dugonics (Andras), one of the Pest professors, gave great impulse to the literary feeling of his day. His prose works enriched the language by the introduction of many new words and phrases. His *Etelka* is the first original Magyar romance. He wrote many verses—aspired even to the Epic laurel—but he never produced any poetry.

Anyos (Pál) was born at Esztergás in 1756, and died in 1784. He has been called the favourite of the Magyar muses, but his life was short and unhappy,* tormented alike with bodily and mental disease. He was the inmate of a convent. It was to him that Barcsay addressed that poetical epistle which is so frequently quoted by Hungarians, where the poet-warrior expressed his dissatisfaction and weariness with the world, and his desire of solitude and peace :

“ Would I could fling aside my wearying shield,
Bury my sword for ever in its sheath,
And till the thread of fate is snapp'd by death
Dwell with the smiling muses. See fulfill'd

* See an account of him, by Romy, in the *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften*.

Those beautiful dreams of hope and boundless joy,
When the world's slavish fetters broken—peace
Retires on her own thoughts of quietness,
Bliss-giving, bliss-receiving, life's employ.”*

Of Anyos' poetry a short specimen must suffice :

“ THE SHEPHERD AND THE TREE.

“ Holy, peace-giving stillness ! my spirit's retreat ! and the witness
Grief chooses to hear her appeals and her longing desires ;
I carve on the tree-bark the name of the only beloved
Phyllis—it grows—'tis an emblem and pledge of my love.”

He has a fine power over language. All his verses are sweet and easy. In his convent cell he abandoned himself to melancholy, and found among the monks who surrounded him no one sympathizing spirit.

In 1773 Rájny published a volume of Magyar poetry, in which all the rules of classical prosody are observed. He afterwards wrote *Magyar Helikonra Vezérlőkálauz*, or Guide to the Magyar Helicon. A feeling of rivalry towards Szabó led him to engage in a Translation of Virgil, of which a competent judge declares that it savours far more of the tone of the later ages of Latin poetry than of that golden era to which the original belongs.

Szabó (David), born 1739 in Transylvania, died in 1819. He and Revai (Miklós) followed in the footsteps of Erdösi and produced far better hexameters than their predecessors. One of Szabó's epigrams runs thus :

“ TO A PHYSICIAN.

“ Excellent *slayer* ! alone hast thou slain thy ten thousands—Who art thou ?

Who but a—Doctor ! an army would terrified fly from thine hand.”

His works in three volumes, have gone through many editions, and are frequently quoted as examples of the most classical correctness of style, but Kazinczy has shown that his knowledge of antiquity was incorrect and imperfect. His first production exhibited specimens of various kinds of versification.

* “ Bar én letehetnem fáradt sisakomat,
Kucsikba vethetném rozsdás pallószámomat,
S Muzsaknak szentelvém hanyatló napomat
Lassan nyugtatnak Párkák fanalomat.
Vallyon mikor érem azt a' böldogságot,
Hogy letévén minden világi rabságot,
Egyedül miveljem a' szent barátságot
Melly ád nyajasságot viaszat nyájasságot.”

He afterwards published a volume on Magyar prosody, and a description of rural life in hexameters. He translated Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Virgil's *Eneid*, and wrote several volumes of criticism and of romance.

Zechenter at this time versified the poems of Anacreon, and many of the best tragedies of the French dramatists. Gyöngyösi (Janos) also published two volumes of verses. They flow smoothly enough, but have no originality nor vigor, and are encumbered with a tasteless pedantry.

We must not forget to mention, though we cannot mention with praise, Horváth's (Adam) epic attempt. It was intended to celebrate the deeds of the Magyar hero, John Hunyadi, and was entitled "*Humias*." Its name popularized it for a day, but it has sunk into deserved oblivion. He published an *Omniana* (*Holmi*) in three volumes. He wrote with more speed than sagacity, (like too many others,) and is said to have composed, not unfrequently, a hundred strophes in a day. He did, however, an essentially good deed by collecting the popular songs of the Trans-Danubian districts. His second fall was more precipitate than his first, for he attempted another epic "*Rudolphias*"—which was strangled at its birth.

We come to a poet of a very different order—Kazinczy (Ferencz), one of the greatest benefactors to the language and literature of his country, not only by numerous translations, among which those of Shakspeare's *Hamlet*, Macpherson's *Ossian*, and of Sterne's *Letters*, may be particularly mentioned as interesting to Englishmen; but by the successful introduction of new words wherever they were wanting for the more condensed or more correct expression of ideas. He is deemed the head of the *neologists*, who insist on the necessity of improving language with the improvement of science; while the *ortologists*, headed by Versegby (Ferencz), require the rejection of every philological novelty as needless and intrusive. Kazinczy's versification is flowery and agreeable. He was born in 1759 at Er-Semlyén. In 1811 he first published his epigrams. They are entitled "*Tövisek és Viragok*," Thorns and Flowers. They consist of a variety of short compositions, partly in the manner of the Greek epigrammatists and partly in imitation of Göthe's *Xenien*, and obtained for him no small portion of censure from those to whom wit is as gall.

He attached a few of his own verses to the edition he published of Dayka's poems. Rummy, whom we have so often occasion to refer to, says of Kazinczy, that he has done far more than any other writer to purify and improve the Magyar tongue. Two of his sonnets follow:

" My little bark of life is gently speeding
Adown the stream midst rocks, and sands, and eddies,
And gathering storms, and dark'ning clouds—unheeding
Its quiet course thro' waves and winds it steadies,—
My love is with me—and my babes—whose kisses
Sweep sorrow's trace from off my brow as fast
As gathering there—and hung upon the mast
Are harp and myrtle flowers, that shed their blisses
On the sweet air. Is darkness on my path?
Then beams bright radiance from a star that hath
Its temple in the heavens. As firm as youth
I urge my onward way—there is no fear
For honest spirits—Even the fates revere
And recompense—love, minstrelsy and truth."

" O! I have passed a day of extasy!
Leading two lovely sisters forth among
The flowers, the meadows, and the forest song,
To the still stream where murmuring poplars be—
There did we sit beneath th' o'ershadowing tree
Watching the waters as they roll'd along—
She sang—O joy! what smiles—what blushes throng
Upon those cheeks—and what delight for me!
What witchery in those silver-sounding notes,
How all enchanting that soft music floats;
The air is thrilling with its sounds divine:
But sweeter, sweeter far—when on my ear
Enraptur'd—one blest breathing fell—' My dear—
My dear—delighted listener! I am thine.'"

We introduce a specimen of the hexameters of Kazinczy, which has been much admired on account of the contrast between the characteristic and appropriate roughness of the introductory lines and the flowing sweetness of those which follow.

— " Thee Bellona
Calls loud from the trumpet of war, on her hitherward pinions descending,
Awfully thunder the tones thro' the terrified arches of heaven
O'er Balaton's high-swelling lake—as the bolt Hunyadi is hurling.
Led by my Erato bright to the beautiful shadows of stillness,
Deep in the green-girded wood, 'neath the silvery glances of Luna
Songs doth she pour—and sweet elegies, breathing a music diviner,
Than the light breeze of the west, that fluttering thro' odorous roses,
Falls on my Czenczi when rapt in the visions of exquisite slumber."*

* Tégedet adax
Bellonad hadi kísire kiált 's mar szárnya repített
Hanyjaid a' kiterült egeken úgy dörgenek, a' mint
A' dagado Balaton 's Hunyadiának mennyköve dörgött.
Engemet hű Erátom kivirított erdeje ölelés
Arnyekába vezet, 's ottan a' holdnak ezüstszin

The poems of Dayka (Gabor) were published, as we have mentioned, by his friend Kazinczy in 1813, entitled *Ujhelyi Dayka-Gabor Versei*, (Poems of Gabriel Dayka of Ujhely,) and dedicated to Neuberg, Virág, Kis and Berzsenyi, "animæ (as the editor says)

" Quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit, nec queis me sit devinctior alter."

Of his poetry we will give one short specimen. It is entitled *A' hű Leányka*.

" THE FAITHFUL MAIDEN.

" My belov'd one's being blends
Into mine—they are but one :
Joy or grief, like echo, sends
A reverberating tone
Through my spirit. Smiles from him
Waken sweeter smiles from me.
When his anxious eye is dim,
Mine is veil'd dejectedly—
But if e'er he plants a kiss
On the lips of Phillis—this—
'This,—his sad forgetting me—
This is bitter misery."*

Dayka was born at Miskolcz in 1768. His father was a tailor. Young Dayka's talents and virtues so won him the affections of two Cistercian Monks of Eger (Eslau), that they gratuitously devoted themselves to his education. Strongly excited by emulation, which two talented rivals awakened, he made great progress in philosophical studies, till his health sunk under his extreme exertion. "He had many things to wound him" in, after life, and died in its prime, aged 28.† His friend Bodnár has told his melancholy story, which Kazinczy has beautifully followed up. His description of Dayka's poems—of his first interview with

*Fényéni oly búsakodó hangokra tanítgat
Mint a' nyugoti szel lagy nyögdelet, midőn az
Illatos rózsák között csenccsimet alva találja.*"—*Magyar Orpheus*, vol. i. 190.

Some of his epigrams are redolent with classic spirit. There is one for example on the statue of *Καλλιωνος*, which we cannot attempt to translate. We will leave it to the zeal of any Hungarian student.

" Mind, mind Iánka ! nemezt egyedül ! 's nagy Jupiter engedd
Váljon Zármassa nékem is egyszeres ej !"

- * In the original the alliteration is very pretty.
Midőn enyelg, enyelgek
Midőn mosolyg, mosolygok
Midőn öröl, örülök
Midőn keserg, kesergek.

† Dayka's translation of Pope's famous couplet is,
" Setéség vonta bé törvényid', o Természet ;
'S az Úr mond : legy Newton ! 's világhosság tenyészett."

him—overflows with passionate admiration. Fit minstrel for such a song!

To Bacsanyi's (Janos) history an interest political as well as poetical attaches. He was born in 1763, at Tapolcza, and first obtained great notice from his valuable contributions to the Magyar Museum from 1788 to 1792. He treated in them of poetry, morals and general literature. He began a translation of Ossian, which he has lately completed. But his new opinions, and his desire to better the state of his country, made him at an early period the object of mistrust, and being associated with other enthusiasts in what was called the jacobin conspiracy of the Abbé Martinovics, in 1794, he was conveyed as a state prisoner, first to Munkács, and afterwards to Rufstein. He obtained his release in 1791, and took up his abode at Vienna, where, in 1799, he married the German poetess Gabriella Baumberg. Betrayed into hope by the superb display of Napoleon's power, and miscalculating the chances that the arms of the despot might serve the cause of liberty, he translated into Magyar, in 1809, the French emperor's stirring appeal to the Hungarian people. When peace was restored, he hastened to Paris for security, where he found employment in a public printing-office. When the Austrians entered Paris, in 1814, they seized him as a state prisoner, and conveyed him home, whence, after another imprisonment, he was banished to Linz, where he still lives, heroically struggling with misfortune. In many Austrian publications he is spoken of, but the hand of the censor has darkened and defamed his character. His literary influence would have been great could he have pursued his career, but it has been often snapped and broken by cruel political visitations, which have flung him out of the sphere in which he was successfully labouring. In 1791 he published the poems of Anyos; in 1821 an address to the learned of his country, *A' Magyar Tudósokhoz*; in 1824 he reprinted Faludi's poems; his own works he is now engaged in watching through the press, but coming from the solitude of his retreat, it is only the voice of one crying in the desert "Prepare." Bacsanyi's sufferings were shared by Szabó (László), whose poetical merits were also of a very high order. He was Bacsanyi's fellow labourer in the Magyar Museum. His works were gathered together in 1791, and published under the title of *Költeményes Munkái*, (Poetical Works); and on occasion of the coronation of Francis I. appeared his drama in three acts, *Matyas Kiraly vagy a nép szeretete jámbor fejedelmek jutalma*, (King Matthew—a People's Love the Recompenſe of a good Prince. Buda, 1792.) His lyrics want the polish of critical thought, but contain the germs of fine conceptions.

The poetry of Virág (Benedek) is wholly formed on classical models. It is condensed and energetic, but so strongly impregnated with the spirit of the past, that it makes no way to present sympathies. It is a cold piece of antique sculpture, beautiful, but motionless. Virág is now Humanity Professor at Buda, and was born at Nagy Bajom in 1753. Attention was first excited towards him by his poems in the Magyar Museum. He has made Horace, most of whose works he has translated, his model, and has obtained the honourable title of the Horace of the Magyars. But notwithstanding his classical associations, his country is habitually present to his mind,—not like a living thing of earth, but a personification like a marble deity of the Parthenon. His temper may be seen in this address

“ TO THE MUSES.

“ Where do ye bear me? into what solitude
Midst groves and vallies? Daughters of Helicon!
Have ye awakened new fires in my bosom?
Have ye transported my spirit?
Here in this quiet temple of loneliness
Will I pour out the songs of divinity
To the Hungarian Minerva, and worship
At the immortal one's altar.
Yes! I will read all the deeds of futurity.
Dark-mantled groves, sweet fountains of gentleness,
Have ye not thoughts to overwhelm me with transport,
And to unbear me to heaven?
As ye have born the bright virgins of victory,
Whom with a passionate longing for blessedness
Fain I would follow; and breathing of glory,
Heavenly sisters! I hail ye.”

Csokonai (Mihály Vitez), born 1773, died 1806, has been called the Bürger of the Magyars, but not with good reason. He has Bürger's homeliness and grace, but not his pictorial and imaginative power. His love-song to Kulats, the “*Pastor's Flask*,” the “*Poor Susan*,” and his “*Dorottya*” (Dorothea), are the best known of his productions. The latter is a heroi-comic poem, whose versification is not unfrequently harsh and grating. He wrote forty-eight songs “*To Lilla*.” They are of various styles of composition, some rhymed, others measured in the ancient rhythms. His poetry is of a lively careless Anacreontic character: but his temper was retired and melancholy. In his early youth he was noted for the accuracy of his memory and the facility of his composition. He became a student of Hungarian law in 1796, a pursuit little suited to his excursive spirit; and he soon devoted himself successfully to literature and the muses.

Csokonai has been an object of great interest to the Hungarians. His joyous songs, his early death, worked upon the national sympathies. Marton collected his writings into two volumes; Domby (Martin) wrote his life, which he published with some inedited poems; and Kôlcsey has devoted an article to him in the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*. We insert a short composition—"The Seasons"—

* Spring's early roses blushing gay,
Thy lovely, laughing cheek supplies;
And the delightful light of May
Is streaming from thy radiant eyes:
Thy love like summer sunbeams flies
Through my warm'd heart; they force their way,
Like flames upmounting to the skies,
That glare and gladden with their ray.

Yet on my brow the autumnal clouds
Gather—the tear-shower threatening, shrouds
Hope's sacred, solitary hold.
Thy heart is sharper than the frost;
In its ice-gulphs all bliss is lost—
Pure as the snow,—but far more cold."

In 1756 was born at Szolnok (Zaning), Verseggy (Ferencz), a fruitful writer on a variety of topics, but an advocate for the poverty, under the name of the purity, of the Magyar language. He died at Buda in 1822. History, music, theology, romance, morals and poetry, each in its turn was the subject of his pen. His first verses were printed in the Magyar Museum. They were odes, many of which he set to music. His satires, *Rikóti Matyás*, (Matthew Rikoti,) 1804, and *Kolompósi Szarvas Gergely vigélete*, (Joyous Life of Gregory Szarvas,) 1805, were well received. In 1806 he published a collection of poems called *Magyar Aglaja*. Two short pieces will be the best evidence of his manner.

" TO MY BELOVED.

" Pluck we the roses—let us pluck the roses,
O my sweet maiden! when we find them blooming,
While they are smiling 'midst their thorny branches
Pluck we the roses.

Bright as they seem, the spirit of perdition
Sweeps them ere morning. Shall we lose the transports
Now pressing round us, in the distant dreaming
Future may promise.

All that we have is blended in the present,
Chances and changes trifle with the future;
Oft 'tis its task to mingle in joy's chalice
Drops of dark poison."

" TRUE WISDOM.

" Empty yet and green, that corn-ear tosses high its lofty brow ;
 See it ripe and full and golden, bend in meek submission now.
 Such is boyhood in its folly—shallow, proud and insolent ;—
 Such is manhood in its wisdom—modest, and in calmness bent."

Kis (Janos) was born in 1770. He was one of the founders of the Magyar Society at Soprony (Oedenburg) for the cultivation of the poetical literature of Hungary. He obtained the prize which was offered in 1804, by an Hungarian patriot, for the best essay on the cultivation and extension of the Magyar tongue. He had the advantage of an education at Göttingen, and was afterwards Rector of the Lutheran Gymnasium at Győr (Raab). He has translated much and published much original poetry.* Nothing can be farther removed from affectation than his writings, and his verses especially flow like a stream down a gentle declivity. The *Hymnus a' Bölcsesseghéz* (Hymn to Wisdom) is very characteristic of his manner. We have given it the form to which it seems best adapted in English.

" Goddess of thy votary's heart !
 Wisdom ! tell me where thou art !
 Holy virgin ! in the throng
 Of mighty worlds I seek thy throne—
 I seek thee, and have sought thee long—
 Of loveliest ones, the loveliest one !
 The right hand of the Deity
 Graved in my heart thine image bright,
 And the reflected ray from thee
 Makes nature's darkness melt in light.

Blest daughter of the skies, who sheddest
 Undying beams, and smiling spreadest
 Th' eternal green and gifts of spring—
 Thou, who o'er heaven's crystal gates doth fling
 A light of purest, fairest glistening,
 And standest at the portal listening
 To songs which angel voices sing.

Sister of heavenly sisters ! Truth
 Goes with thee, and untainted youth.
 Thou on the flowery mounds dost sport
 With Innocence, while thy fair cheek
 The roses of contentment streak,
 And glorious palms thy hands support.
 Thy thoughts, thy feelings and desire,
 The harmonious choirs of heaven inspire ;
 Thou passion's furies know'st to bridle,

* Kis's poetical works are collected in three octavo volumes, to which Kazincsy wrote a preface. They were printed at Pest in 1815.

Things as they are thy bright eyes see ;
Thou wilt not bow thee to the idol,
However bright the diamond be,
Fixed on his brow of mystery.

The golden chains of order bound
The everlasting spheres around
Thou measurest, as those spheres advance
Like bright-eyed virgins in the dance
Of beauty ; and no poisoned spear
Wielded by demon hand is there
To wound the heart, the bliss to steal,
Which all creation's tenants feel.

Th' All-former's hidden works are known
To thee—his everlasting will—
Thou seest all upward mounting, still—
Still higher mounting, to the throne,
Where Good, pure Good, resides alone ;
Thou seest the fires of discipline,
Improve, sublime, correct, refine,
Till as the mists dissolve away,
In the diffusing smiles of day,
Man glides from mortal to divine.

Dweller in heaven, from heav'n upsprung—
All—all has heavenly looks for thee ;
Thou hearest songs in every tongue,
In every motion melody ;
Thou bathest in eternal streams
Of endless hope and joy, and findest
Repose and light in all heaven's schemes,
Which seem the strangest and the blindest.

Thou hallowed goddess of my heart,
Tell me, O tell me where thou art !
Where thine eternal home ? and say
May not my spirit wend its way
(For passionate longing might find pinions
To reach even thy sublime dominions)
To thine abode ? Can nought but spirit
Thy presence seek, thy friendship merit ?
Why struggling after thee, O why,
Sink we in deep obscurity ?

Yet when at morning-dawn I bring
A matin-incense to thine altar—
When, tho' I scarcely breathe, but falter,
And at the evening twilight fling
My heart before thee,—on the wing
Of the calm breeze, methinks I hear
Thy voice—O tell me, art thou there ?

Methinks, when at the midnight hour,
 In solemn silence fluttering by,
 The whisper that some viewless power
 Passes, in angel-chariot, nigh ;
 Methinks that whisper needs must be
 Some herald's voice announcing thee."

High, if not the highest among the Magyar poets, stands Daniel Berszenyi, whom the Hungarians call their national bard, as a special distinction. His compositions are fervent and fiery, and so frequently breathe those warm and passionate appeals to the patriotic feelings of his countrymen which agitate their minds like an intellectual tempest. They speak of Berszenyi with a wild enthusiasm. He has fanned and flattered the strongest of the Magyar sensibilities—has sung the ancient glories of the Hunnish race—and, with deep pathos, has poured strains of plaintiveness over their present decay. He was born at Mikla, in 1780. Rummy says of him, that as a boy he was "non sine Dis animosus infans." His language is considerably tinged with Trans-Danubian provinciality, and has exposed him to some rather bitter criticisms from Kolcsay, in the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, against which, however, Berszenyi has strongly appealed. Of his poetical works, Berszenyi Daniel *Versei*, a second edition was printed at Pest, in 1816. We select that beginning 'Partra szállottam, Levonom vitorlam,' (p. 17).

"OSZTÁLYRESZEM. MY PORTION.

"What though the waves roll awfully before me—
 Quicksands and tempests—from the Ocean border
 Calmly I launch me, all my sails unfurling,
 Laughing at danger.

Peace has returned, I drop my quiet anchor,
 Beautiful visions have no power to charm me—
 Welcome the wanderer to thy cheerful bosom,
 Land of retirement!

Are not my meadows verdant as Tarentum?
 Are not my fields as lovely as Larissa?
 Flows not the Tiber with majestic beaming
 Through my dark forest?

Have I not vines and golden corn-ears dancing
 In the gay winds, and doth not heavenly freedom
 Dwell in my dwelling?—Yes! the gods have given me
 All I could envy.

Fate may indulge its infinite caprices.
 Sheltered from want, unconquerable courage
 Trains me to look secure, serene, contented,
 Up to the heavens.

Thou, thou, my lyre! if thou dispense thy blessings
Bright on the tortuous pathway of existence,
Deserts shall smile, wastes wax them into gladness,
Charm'd by thy music.

Place me among the eternal snows of Greenland,
Place me among the burning sands of Zaara,
There shall your bosoms warm me, gentle Muses,
Here your breath freshen."

The two Kisfaludys (Sandor and Károly) are, we believe, the only Hungarian poets who have been mentioned in England. There is a short article respecting them in the Monthly Review for May, 1827, but the writer does not appear to have any particular acquaintance with the subject. We are, however, disposed to look with much forbearance on even the imperfect labours of any adventurer who opens a new source of enjoyment or instruction.* Alexander, who caught the spirit of Petrarch in the Valley of Vacluse, published two hundred pathetic *Dalok*, or elegiac songs—but having been united to the lady of his choice, the same number of songs appeared celebrating his successful love. These volumes bear the name of *Himfy Szerelmei*. The subject is one of the few on which a poet may expatiate even under the ruling iron rod; and though there is little variety in the measure of these compositions, they have so much grace and genius in them as to have become the most popular of the books of the Magyars. But, to enable our readers to judge for themselves, we shall give the 172d dal, (or song,) which begins "*Téged kítlak az Egeknek*," from the first part, which he calls "*A'Keszergő Szerelém*," (Mournful Love).

" In the blue horizon's beaming,
Thee, sweet maid! alone I see;
In the silver wavelets streaming,
Thee,—sweet maiden! only thee.
Thee,—in day's resplendent noontlight,
Glancing from the sun afar;
Thee,—in midnight's softer moonlight,
Thee,—in every trembling star.

* As so little has appeared on the subject, we shall be excused for correcting the errors of our contemporary. He writes Magyar for Magyar, and Zzingi for Zrínyi—he says, that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Magyar language was totally abandoned—that three-fourths of the subjects of Austria speak Slavonian dialects—that none but attempts in martial poetry were made in the Magyar tongue till late in the last century. These are obvious mistakes: *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, which he translates "The Magyar Almanack," means "Scientific Magazine," or "Collection"—he represents it to be printed at Buda, instead of Pest—he speaks of the sonnets of A. Kisfaludy—we do not know that he ever wrote a sonnet—and is not aware that the name of Charles Kisfaludy (he calls him the relation of Alexander—they are brothers,) is grounded on his dramatic compositions.

Wheresoe'er I go—I meet thee,
 Wheresoe'er I stay—I greet thee,
 Following always—everywhere,
 Cruel maiden ! O, forbear !”

From the second part, which he calls *A' Boldog Szerelme*, or Happy Love, we translate the 41st dal. beginning “Töle jönnek, Hozza térnek.”

“Thou of all my thoughts' vibrations
 Art the origin and end ;
 All my spirit's agitations
 From thee spring, and to thee tend.
 All that fortune frees or fetters,
 What it builds, and what it breaks,
 All it banne, and all it betters,
 All—from thee its image takes.
 By her smile of beauty lighted,
 By her look of sorrow blighted,
 All receives its power from her,
 Love's divine interpreter.”

Alexander was born at Sümeg, in 1772. He published a lyrical epic in ten cantos, *Gyula Szerelme*, (Julia's Love). All his poetry breathes with national feeling, and he is idolized by the Magyars. His *Regek a' Magyar Előidőből*, (Sagas, or Ancient Ballads,) are in octosyllabic verse, and though seemingly well suited to Magyar poetry, they have not had the success which attended his love songs. The annuals under the name of *Aurora*, which have been published for some years past, are among the most attractive productions of the Magyar press. Of his dramatic poems, *John Hunyadi* is the most remarkable, but he has less distinguished himself in this part of the field than his brother Charles, (Kisfaludy Karoly,) whose plays have met with great acceptance in Hungary, and many of them have been translated by Gaal in his *Theater der Magyaren*.* The subjects are generally taken from the Magyar history, and we have observed, they frequently encourage that spirit of dislike to both Germans and Slavonians, which is, be it allowed us to say so, rather too prominent in many of the writings of popular Hungarians. Neighbouring nations have sometimes real and sometimes fancied grievances against one another; but the grievances are too often exaggerated by the ruling few in order to make the subject many fitter instruments of selfish passions.

* The first national theatre in Hungary was founded in Buda, in 1790, under the auspices of Count Paul Raday, with the assistance of Kazinczy. So popular was the subject, that by the year 1796, no less than a hundred plays, original and translated, had been printed in the Magyar language.

They mostly grow out of wars, into which mankind are partly dragged without their consent, at least without their consideration; and once engaged, all the machinery of excitement is set to work on their pride, self-love, patriotism, and all those virtues which stand so closely on the limits of vice. The little cloud of hatred, "no bigger than a man's hand," overspreads and darkens the whole hemisphere, and those whose common interests and natural feelings would have blended in love and union, are flung asunder by some storm, awakened by malevolence, for the purposes of egotism. Charles Kisfaludy was born at Teth. His tragedies were well suited to the feelings of his time and nation, and if sometimes they appear to do wrong to the great principles of humanity, they at the same time fed that feeling which grew so naturally out of all Magyar bosoms, when their literature and language seemed struggling with oblivion. His best known tragedies are *Stibor*, *A'Tatarok*, (The Tartars,) *Ilka*, *Simon Kemeny*, and *Irene*. His comedies are truly charming, and among them his *Kérök*, (The Matchmaker,) and *Pártütök*, (The Rebels,) are, perhaps, the most attractive. We should have been glad to give his "Ode to the Ages," but must content ourselves with a short hexameter epigram on the

" SOUND OF SONG.

"Joy has its voice—so has grief! there are eloquent tears; and deep sorrows

Melt into songs—in the fields which grow green the sweet nightingale sings;

Genius and Love never meet but the spirit of music is near them;
When the heart speaks, lend thine ear—lend thine ear, for its language is song."

Endrödi (Janos), who was born at Esteny in 1759, published a history of the Magyar drama (*Magyar Játékszín*) in 1792. In 1798 appeared his *Költemenyek a' Francia hábomban*, Poems on the French war. He died in 1824. He wrote some theological works both in Magyar and in German. A biographical account of him may be seen in Horanyi's *Scriptores Scholarum Piarum*. The *Streamlet* will give a correct idea of his style.

"Would that my course were like thine, thou sweet streamlet! the treasures

India possesses would give me far less of delight:

Wherever thou flowest the earth is the greenest in verdure,

Pearls are the sparkles thou flingest delighted around.

Rocks; if thou meet, thou dost gently spring o'er them in gladness.

Mountains—thou windest around them thy beautiful way,

If thou should sigh when dark briars or bushes impede thee,

Soon do sweet violets kiss thee with odorous breath.

Envy may sometimes disturb thee—yet calm thou pursuest
 Cheerful thy course, shedding blessings on even thy foes ;
 Ended thy journey, thou roll'st to the widely spread ocean
 Pure as when first bursting forth from the rock of thy birth.
 So, thou sweet stream, may I flow to life's end !—for high heaven
 Gives not to mortals a doom which is brighter than thine."

Kölcsy (Ferenz), whose name we have often mentioned in the course of this article, will give us an opportunity of introducing one of the Hungarian ballads. It is "Lovely Lenka."

"He lingers on the ocean shore,
 The seaman in his boat ;
 The water spirit's music o'er
 The ruffled wave doth float.
 'Maiden of beauty ! counselled be,
 'The tempest wakes from out the sea.'
 'I may not stay,' the maiden cried,
 'Tho' loud the tempest blow,
 'That meadow on the water side—
 'That cottage—bids me go.
 'That shady grove, that murmurs near,
 'Invites me—he I love is there.'
 'The wave is high—the storm is loud,
 'And dangers rise anon.'—
 'But hope sits smiling on the cloud,
 'Storms drive the vessel on.
 'And joy and sorrow both convey
 'Man's mortal bark along its way.'
 Into the seaman's boat she stept,
 The helm the seaman took ;
 The storming billows fiercely swept,
 And all the horizon shook.
 The maiden spoke—'Ye fears be gone !
 'The storm-wind drives the vessel on.'
 'O maiden ! darker is the sky,
 'And fiercer is the wind,
 'Alas ! there is no harbour nigh,
 'No refuge can we find,
 'A whirlpool is the angry sea,
 'It will engulph both thee and me.'
 'No, seaman ! fortune always shone
 'And still will shine on me ;
 'Soon will the stormy clouds be gone,
 'And sunbeams calm the sea,
 'And evening bring the promised dove,
 'And evening guide me to my love.'

She turned her to the distant strand,
 (He stood upon the spot)—
 In sweet delirium stretched her hand,
 And winds and waves forgot.
 So is love's spirit overfraught
 With love's intensity of thought.
 He stood—a statue on the shore,
 A pale—ice-hardened form;
 The billows battling more and more,
 And louder waxed the storm.
 Clouds—waves, all mingled—and the boat?
 Its scattered planks asunder float.
 Where is she? Ask the storm! for he
 No single tear has shed;
 And he? Go ask the silent sea—
 Its echoes answer 'Dead!'
 I held communion with its waves,
 But could not find the lovers' graves."

Kölcsey was born at Cseke (Schwäke) in 1790, and has been a successful poet, and an active and useful critic, particularly by his editorial contributions to the *Elet és Literatura*.

With him has Szemere (Pál) been associated, whose odes and sonnets (of which one follows) have met with a very favourable reception.

" ISABEL.

"Joyous as the wild squirrel in the forest,
 Or in the dancing waves the silver eel,
 Till thou, to the bright heaven, in which thou soarest,
 Didst fascinate my footsteps, Isabel!
 O, I was happy—now alas! thou pourest
 A stream of sorrow into my heart's well;
 And hill and valley's echoes wake the sorest
 Of all the pangs of grief ineffable,
 That thou—thou art another's—that sad thought
 Breaks up my heart—and o'er my being flings
 The deepest clouds of darkness—they have brought
 Garlands of flowers to crown thee at the shrine
 Of Hymen. Joy the marriage-anthem sings—
 Yet they have brought thee not a love like mine."

Döbrentei (Gabor), is one of the most zealous, the most enlightened, and fascinating of the Magyar writers. He is the author of the article in the *Leipzig Conversations Lexicon* on the literature of his country, and his name will be found associated with honourable titles to distinction and affection over the whole field of Magyar intelligence. His birth-place was Nagy-Szölös (Gross Alisch), in Transylvania. Rather for the sake of

variety than as characteristic of Döbrentei's composition, we give one of his songs—for his works are generally of a far higher character, though this short poem is not wanting in merit—it is sweet and simple. We are not sure that it has been published.

"HUSSAR SONG.

Sirtal Anyám egykor értem.

"Mother! dost weep that thy boy's right hand
Hath taken a sword for his father-land?
Mother! where should the brave one be
But in the ranks of bravery?

Mother! and was it not sad to leave
Mine own sweet maiden alone to grieve?
Julia! where should the brave one be
But in the ranks of bravery?

Mother! if thou in death were laid,
Julia! if thou were a treacherous maid;
O then it were well that the brave should be
In the front ranks of bravery.

Mother! the thought brings heavy tears,
And I look round on my youth's compeers;
They have their griefs and loves like me,
Touching the brave in their bravery.

Mother! my guardian! O be still—
Maiden! let hope thy bosom fill;
Kiral* and country! how sweet to be
Battling for both in bravery!

Bravery—aye—and victory's hand
Shall wreath my Sákí† with golden band—
And in the camp the shouts shall be,
O! how he fought for liberty!"

There lives no Hungarian more devoted to the glory of his country than Döbrentei. The Erdelyi Museum owes to him a great variety of valuable papers on many subjects of varied interest.

Of Aloys (Szent Miklosy) born in 1793 at Erdö-Tarcsa, we can only find room for a verse,

"TO MY BEAUTY AT EVENING."

"The ruby rays of evening threw
A glorious lustre o'er the blue
Of thy bright eyes, my love!
So have I seen o'er violet-bed
A crimson rose its beauty shed
Those azure flowers above."

* Kiral—King.

† Sákí—the French military cap.

It would have gratified us to have been able to introduce Thót (Laszlo), Katona, whose early death has been deeply deplored, and Desöffy (Jozseph). The latter is one of the most accomplished writers in Hungary, but rather attached to the French school of literature. A young epic poet has lately appeared, Vörösmarty, (born at Nyek in 1800), who has excited the strongest expectations and the warmest applause. He published *Cserhalom* in 1825, an hexameter epopea in one canto; in 1826, his *Tündérvölgy* (Enchanted Valley), but his great work is *Zalan Jutása*, or Flight of Zalan. This is a history of the conquest of the Bulgarian Princes from Arpad. It is admired for the individuality and correctness of character preserved throughout, and for the vigour and harmony of the versification. Two tragedies and one satirical comedy have also issued from his pen. Toldy has written a series of letters on the poetical works of Vörösmarty, who appears proceeding in a career of rapid improvement, and obtaining the loud and universal suffrages of his countrymen, who have already demanded for him a place in the Temple of the Muses, if beneath Homer, Virgil and Milton, at least as much exalted as any other epic poet.

Of Buczi (Emil) a secular priest, born at Kolosvar in 1784, and still living there, we shall introduce a short ode as characteristic of the omnipresent influence of classical prosody upon the poetical literature of the Magyars. Perhaps the adoption of the Greek and Latin has operated much in introducing the substance of these compositions. Like the Germans they more frequently employ the Greek than the Latin names of the inhabitants of the Pantheon. Zeus, Hera, Eros, and a thousand others are re-awakened in the Magyar lyrics, and are met with at every page of many of the favoured classics of Hungary.

“ SPRING’S TERMINATION.

“ What a black cloud is gathering in heaven’s dome,
In the blue dome the fierce rain dashes downward,
And the Septentrion furies rushing wildly,
Visit with ruin all earth’s loveliest things.

Lo ! the rose droops upon its wounded stem—
The rude shower breaks the beautiful cup of odours
Hung on the emerald pillar—and the lilies
Bend down their snowy heads, and weep, and die.

E’en the sweet solitary violet, crush’d,
Scatters no more its wonted dews of fragrance
O’er the dark-forest turf. All—all departed,
All the transporting charms of early spring.”

With two lines of Vitkovics we must conclude this part of our subject.*

“ THE MOON.

“ The moon (who hides her face by day) the darkness doth uncover,
Just like the thief—and sad to say—she is just like the lover.”

We feel the necessity of an apology for what we fear will be deemed dry details, made less tolerable by the introduction of many unknown and outlandish names. But let it be remembered that we have had to lead the way to a new field, and to go over the ground rather as literary topographers than literary critics. We invite others to follow to any parts of that field which they shall deem more green and inviting than the rest. The way for chieftains and conquerors must be opened by humbler instruments, and if we can only herald them, we shall not have opened the pathway in vain.

We recommend Count Mailáth's volume to attention. His criticisms appear to us for the most part appropriate and discerning, and it will be seen how frequently and largely we have availed ourselves of his labours. He is himself a poet, and will be seen among the contributors to the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*.

His work is an excellent introduction to a more extensive Hungarian Anthology, though it is much to be regretted that he has given no specimens of poets anterior to the 18th century, and has wholly omitted any reference to the popular and anonymous compositions of the Magyars. He begins with the Jesuit Faludi, and gives interesting and well-selected extracts from the works of twenty-three other poetical writers.

Most unsatisfactorily would our task be ended, if, after having thus introduced the names of the Magyar poets, we did not give our readers some idea of those *Nemzeti Dallok*, those songs of the people, which, as they exercise the mightiest influence on the national character, have always appeared to us entitled to very special attention. And we do so the more willingly, as this part of the subject has not, to our knowledge, excited any particular inquiries on the part of the writers on the literature of Hungary. Their ambition has rather been to prove that the Magyars are entitled to a reputable niche in the literary temple, than to track to the houses and the altars of the commonality those metrical

* It would be uncourteous to pass by unnoticed the Magyar poetesses. The first in the order of time is Barbara Molnar, who published no small quantity of verses in 1795, but courtesy itself cannot make those verses rise above mediocrity. Judith Göndöcz, however, has lately written some very attractive poems, and so has a lady whose real name is unknown, but whose pseudonyme is Wilhelmina Képlaki. We regret we cannot find room to enable them to speak for themselves. But the two last have been transferred to Count Mailáth's German pages.

compositions which are too humble to aspire to the honour of a name. Of these some are gross and sensual—others coarse and brutal—but among them are many pieces touchingly pathetic—others consecrating ancient and widely-spread superstitions—others again unveiling the thoughts and feelings of Magyar domestic life—some discover the national sympathies and antipathies, and all illustrate the habits and the history of this remarkable people. We have great difficulty in selecting from the large MSS. collections which are before us. The first is—

“ THE COMPLAINT OF THE YOUNG WIFE.

Tiszta liszból sül a' kalács.

“ Her labouring hands the meal must knead,
Her busy toil must bake the bread ;
The priest may read his records o'er :
The lord and master take the air :*
But there is nought but grievous care
And heavy labour for the poor.
As from the rock the mad cascade
Falls—so did I—a thoughtless maid—
Wed—when it had been well to tarry.
O could I be a maid again,
That man must be a man of men,
Who should seduce the maid to marry !”†

The next is eminently characteristic :—

“ SONG OF THE VESPERNS.

Sikra válek, ott találék kincs—kincs—kincse.

“ Upon the ground, I found, I found, a tre-tre-treasure ;
I guide my boat, when once afloat—and hur-hur-
Hurry to the Inchian lands, where my beloved stands.
I go, I go, to Baknéjo,‡ my fa-fa-father-land ;
And all the scene, is fair and green ; an or-or-
Orphan was I once, but now covet I a maiden's vow.

* Urat, mestert, a' sétálás.

† The original has—

“ Jól megnézném kibez mennék
Megvalasztanám a' legényt,
Mint piarzon az edényt.”

“ I would look carefully around me before I married,
I would so choose a youth
As I choose a vessel in the market-place.”

Térjbez menni (to go to the man) is the Hungarian phrase for the woman's marrying (subere). The marriage of the bridegroom is called Feleségül venni (to take a wife) ducere.

‡ Bakony is an extensive forest in Vestprim, and Paps is a remarkably pretty market-town in the same province.

Amidst the throng, I sought her long—and haste-haste-hastened
 By joy impell'd—my glass* I held—and rest-rest-
 Rested on my plighted faith—strong as love, and strong as death.
 Let no disdain, sweet maiden, pain thy love-love-lover,
 But let us share, our frugal fare—and hap-hap-
 Happy on those gifts to live, which the Papa-field shall give.
 Some simple dish of bread and fish—our dai-dai-dainties :
 Hungarians brave—no more would have. The coach-coach-
 Coachman swiftest steeds convey, but the blind-man gropes his way.†
 And thus, and thus, sweet maid for us, shall age, age, ages,
 With gentle tread, glide o'er our head—and he-he-
 Heaven's benignity divine, grant us bread and grant us wine."

This very extraordinary composition, whose peculiarity of measure we have endeavoured accurately to preserve, is a favourite song in the Vestprimer province. The last word of the first line, and the first syllable of the third, which is carried forward from the end of the second, are sung stammeringly, and with a very burlesque expression.

Of the two following the first appears to us airy, pretty and pictorial. The second is an agreeable, but fanciful, invitation to happiness.

Sarga csizmás Miska sárba jár.

" Miska comes with yellow boots, and in scarlet clothes,
 On the streamlet's farther bank Panni lingering goes ;
 Wait not Panni—wait not now, for that foppish fellow
 Will not spoil his scarlet clothes nor his boots of yellow.

Would he risk his scarlet clothes—still thy tarrying lover
 Could not cross the parting stream—would not ford it over ;
 For the plank is borne away by the o'erflowing tide,‡
 Panni too has turned her eye from the youth aside.

Not the scarlet, not the stream, not the barking hound,
 Mighty heaven ! far other cause—'twas the envious sound,
 Sound which slander's voice had waked—and the love long fed
 Out of ancient happy thoughts—faded, fell, and fled."

* Tükörömmel, mirror. Doubtless to exhibit the face of the lady.

† Szánva siet a' kocsis, talpra tapod a' vak is. The coachman hurries over the sledge-path, and the blind man treads upon his own soles ; i. e. some move fast, some slow ; and no man is master of his own destiny.

‡ In these lines are two vulgarisms :—

A' vizen át' (1) még sem mehetne,
 A' padot elmosta vót (2) az árviz.
 He could not go through the water,
 The overflowing carried the plank away.

(1) At' for által (through). (2) Vót for vót.

" MAROSIAN SONG.

Arád a' víz, meg clapad.

" The waters ebb and the waters flow,
My head is aching with anxious woe ;
But come, my rose, and sit down with me,
Soon calm and sunny hours will beam ;
My heart shall find tranquillity,
And be as bright as Maros' stream.
Sweet dovelet ! thou art as sad as I,
List ! for the stork goes flapping by :
See ! for the courser seeks the glade ;
The grass is hung with gems of dew.
Let's seek the fields, my lovely maid,
Let's mount our steeds, and be joyful too."

Of the general character of the Magyar compositions, Kisfaludy (Sandor) truly says, that "over all of them is spread a gloomy tinge—and joy itself seems to find utterance in tones of pathos and melancholy. This character attaches to the national songs, and to the national dances, of which it has been remarked, that the Magyars dance as if they were weeping."* The peculiarities of the Hungarian dance have been made the subject of one of Berszenyi's poems :

" Like a soft airy breeze with languishing step, love-bewildered
Treads he the mazy steps, as led by his innermost feelings
Then he breaks out like a flame—abandons his maiden—and
lonely
Dances in self-giving joy—while earth is trembling beneath him.

* * * * *
Art has not lent him her rules—he bows to no law-giving master,
He his own impulse, own law—the source of his own inspiration."†

The drama of the Magyars seems to have been almost wholly neglected till the close of the last century. Gaal mentions that the first attempt to establish a Hungarian theatre was made at Pest, and an interesting account of its early but unsuccessful struggles was given by Endrödi, in the little volume on the Magyar Drama, which we have already mentioned. The story is soon told. A company was gathered together by the exertions

* Introduction to the *Regék & Magyar Elő-időből*, p. 12.

† " Majd lebege szello, szerelemre olvad epedve
'S búja hevét kényes mordulatokba szöve,
Majd maga fellobbanva kiszáll a' banjnoki tánczra
Megveti a' lányokat a' dialdalmi dagály
'S rengeti a' földet—
Titkos törvényt mesterség nem szedi rendbe
Csak maga szab törvényt, 's lelkesedése határt."—Verczi, p. 160, 161.

of M. Kelemen; they found insufficient encouragement, and were soon dispersed. In Transylvania—farther removed from the influence of the court—an attempt was made which promised better success. The nobility took a part in the establishment, the Diet passed a decree for its encouragement. Count Teleky was made the president of an association to direct it, while Baron Wesselényi advanced the funds necessary for its support. The Transylvanians furnished money for its erection, and Kolosvár was fixed on as its site.

A band of players was assembled at Kolosvár, and they themselves had made considerable pecuniary sacrifices in furtherance of the project; but misunderstandings arose among them, and they would have been scattered but for another liberal effort of Wesselényi, who filled up the vacancies, advanced further sums of money, collected a considerable theatrical library and wardrobe, and appointed managers for the more complete direction of the whole. Everything now took a prosperous shape, and as there were among the dramatic company some individuals of undoubted genius, especially the wife of the manager Kotsi, who was denominated the pearl of the theatre—the Thalia of the Magyars, popularity and success attended the establishment. Let us be excused these details, for we cannot lose sight of the influence of a national drama upon the national cultivation. Though Kolosvár was the common abode of these dramatic personæ, they sometimes removed to other Transylvanian towns. So many were added to their number, that in 1806 they divided themselves into two parties, of which one removed to Debretzen, and afterwards to Buda, where the presence of the Diet gave great encouragement to their exertions. The theatre was at this period placed under the protection of the Pest Palatinate, which discussed various projects for extending the influence of the drama, decreed the building of a new theatre in the capital, and commenced arrangements for a permanent pecuniary provision for dramatic representations. The death of the principal performer, Vida, interfered with all their projects—the public ceased to attend—and after many vicissitudes the remnants of the company fixed themselves at Miskolcz, which has continued for many years one of the most popular theatres of Hungary.

The Kolosvár branch, after continuing there some time, removed to Debretzen, but the fire which destroyed three-fourths of that town in 1811, compelled them to establish themselves for some time at Nagy-Varad (Gross-Wardein.) They have vibrated since then from place to place—the subjects of many vicissitudes. In 1818 the Magyar Theatre of Székes Fejérvár (Stuhlweissenburg,) was opened with great éclat, in the presence,

and on the birth-day, of the king; and a drama by Tokodi, entitled "The Victory of the Allies," was represented. At this moment there are many theatres in Hungary and Transylvania; but the ambulatory habits of the actors make it rather difficult to follow them.

The *Erdélyi Museum* (Transylvanian Museum), of which Gabriel Döbrentei is the editor, the '*Elet és Literaturai* (Life and Literature) of Szemere, and the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (Scientific Magazine), are the most distinguished periodicals of the Magyars. In each of them will be found essays illustrative of the origin, growth, present situation and prospects of Hungarian civilization, and they contain, especially the *Gyűjtemény*, a great variety of contributions from most of the poets of the present and the past generation. Much interesting matter will also be found in the *Mendenes Gyűjtemény* (Universal Magazine), in the *Magyar Museum*, of which Kazinczy, Szabó, and Bacsanyi, were the associated conductors; in the *Orpheus*, *Urania* and *Iris*. In Upper Hungary circulates the *Felső Magyarországi Minerva*. These, with the *Hazai és Külföldi Tudósítások*, Domestic and Foreign News, and the *Hasznos Mulatságok*, Useful Conversations, comprise, we believe, most of the periodical literature of Hungary.* The number of subscribers varies, we are informed, from two hundred to eight hundred, but whether from the fear of giving offence, or from false modesty, or the dread of discouraging the aspirants after literary fame, there have been few criticisms of value or importance in the Hungarian works which from time to time appear.

The principal establishments of education in Hungary are: the university of Pest; the academies of Pozsony (Presburg), Kassa (Kashan), Győr (Raab), Nagy-Varad (Gross-Wardein), and Agram; the catholic lyceums of Eger (Erlau) and Szombathely (Stein am Anger); the reformed colleges of Debretzen, Sarospatak, and Papa; the Lutheran lyceums of Pozsony, Vasmark, Soprony (Oldenburg), and Lötse (Leutschan).

In Transylvania are the academy and the reformed college of Kolosvar (Clausenburg); the reformed college of Nagy-enyed (Strassburg); and the Lutheran lyceums of Nagy-Szeben (Hermanstadt) and Brassó (Kronstadt).

Could we have afforded space we should have been glad to have introduced to our readers many Magyar writers on other portions of the field of literature than that to which these pages have been

* There are besides, two theological periodicals, *Lelkipastori Tárház* (the Pastoral Magazine), and the *Egyházi Ertekezések és Tudósítások* (Ecclesiastical and Theological Essays).

more particularly devoted. We should have spoken of the Catholic theologians, Döme, Bagyai, and Gali, the translators of Bossuet and Bourdaloue; of Horvát and Fejer's devotional and pulpit orations; and, in the Reformed Church, of the ethical writings of Thót, Márton, Bathori (Gabriel), Varga, and Szathmáry. Among jurists, we might have mentioned Aranka's Comparison between the English and the Hungarian Constitutions; Balia on the Laws of Transylvania; Kövy's *Magyar Törvénynek Summaja*, Abridgement of Hungarian Law; Nanasi, on the Hungarian Law of Inheritance; Ettre's *Honnyi Törvény*, Home Law; and Jeszenszky's History of Magyar Law. The medical writings of Benkő on Piles, Dombi on Childrens' Diseases, Kis's Catechism of Health, Tsoldos on Dietetics, Forgos Lugosi on Obstetrics, and Ujtelyi on Hydrophobia, would have deserved notice. Of philosophical works the most remarkable are—Horvath on the Immortality of the Soul, Fejer's Anthropology and Logic, Sarvari's Moral Philosophy, and Takacs' *Erköltsi Oktatások* (Moral Instruction). On education—Kis's Friend of Youth, Fay on the Errors of Modern Education, Szabó on the Improvement of National Instruction, are among the many productions of the Magyar press. Writers on mathematical subjects are, Dugonics, Vedres, Papp, and Pethe; on natural history, Gáti, Szentgyörgyi and Pethe, whose *Természet Historia* is highly valued; Benkő and Zay on mineralogy; Földi on botany. Many volumes have appeared on agricultural economy, of which Pethe's Cultivated Agriculture is entitled to praise; and Márton's Economical Apianian has been translated into German.

We cannot refrain from mentioning the historical works which throw light on the Magyar people, in the hope that some one among us will be found to explore them and to fill up one of the many blanks of European history. What a service would be done to civilization, what a service to mankind, if the same spirit which takes our intrepid travellers into remote and unvisited regions, would induce our literary adventurers to abandon those paths where thousands and tens of thousands have trodden before them, where they can discover little that is interesting and nothing that is novel, in order to stretch their inquiries into "fresh fields and pastures new!" What contribution can years of study bring to our knowledge of Greece and Rome? One or two men of the million who have devoted themselves to the studies called classical, have done something to enlighten us—the rest are unproductive, unhonoured labourers. That would not be the case elsewhere. Will no one occupy himself with the Slavonian chroniclers, with the Magyar historians? Is there a witchery upon all that is Hellenic or Ausonian, and a curse upon all besides?

The works which may be advantageously consulted are—Szeker's (János) *Magyarok Eredete*, on the Origin of the Magyars, (2 vols. 1792). Hegyi Gebhardi's History of the Kingdom of Hungary, continued by Kultsár. Svastics' History of Hungary, in three vols. (1805). Budai's (Jezásas) History of Hungary, (1804). Budai's (Ferencz) Historical Lexicon of Hungary. Decsi, on the Origin of the Hungarian Crown; and Veszprémi, on the same subject. Rumi's **Magyar Emlékezetes Erások*, or Monumenta Hungarica, in three vols. Virag's *Magyar Századok*, (Hungarian Centuries,) a work whose style is singularly terse and powerful; and Horvát's *Rajzolatok a' Magyar Nemzet legrégiebb történeteiből*, Account of the earliest Proceedings of the Magyar nation. Geographical Descriptions of Hungary will be found in Vályi's *Magyar Országának Leírása*, (Description of the Kingdom of Hungary,) in Vere's Introduction to Statistics, and in a Statistical and Geographical Account of Hungary, published at Pest, in 1819.

The first volume of Count Mailáth's German History of the Magyars† has just appeared. Its style is terse and vigorous—its facts interesting and industriously collected—and it may be safely pronounced a very important contribution to literature. This first part brings down the history to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and takes up the Magyar race from the period of their settlement in Hungary in 889. On their previous origin the author pretends not to decide; but from his publishing at length a translation of the learned and elaborate treatise of Fejer, we imagine he is disposed to concur with this very profound investigator. The points contended for by Dankovsky, who maintained their Hunnish derivation, in a succession of volumes written in Latin, German and Magyar, are, that the Magyars descend from the Zavar branch of the Huns, who followed the races which overspread Pannoniá—that their name Hungar is derived from Hunzavar, and Magyar from Mej-erö (Strong-breasted)—that they were first established between the Euxine and the Caspian—and are mentioned by the Byzantine historians of the sixth century. Other writers have sought their origin in the Attila-led branch of the Huns. Fejer has, as we have before mentioned, insisted on their being of Parthian race, and he has gathered together a mass of historical, geographical, and philological evidence, which must be disproved or supplanted by better, before the Finnish or the Hunnish theory can be established.

* Dr. G. C. Ramy was born at Igló (Neudorf) in 1780, and is at this time Magyar professor at Vienna.

† Geschichte der Magyaren, von Johann Grafen Mailáth. Erster Band, mit dem Plana der Mongolen Schlacht. Wien, 1828. 8vo.

Of the manners and religion of the early Magyars, Mailáth gives a very attractive account, principally made up, however, from Coruides' *Dissertatio de Religione Ungarorum*, and from an admirable article in one of the earliest numbers of the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*. They acknowledged a supreme being whom they called *Isten*, while they paid minor adoration to the four elements. Their early converts to Christianity merely added the worship of Christ to that of other deities, and were called upon by their early bishops not to mingle their idle Scythian faith and idols with their Christian creed. They feared a malevolent spirit whom they called *Urdung*, and the principle of evil they named *Armanyós*, which Mailáth is disposed to trace to the Persian *Ahriman*. They believed in the immortality of the soul, and called heaven *Menny*, which is synonymous with *go*—(where we go).—Of that heaven their notions suited their civilization; it was "the place of glorious hunting—successful fishing—unwearied horses and countless herds of cattle—the land of joyous drinking—of mighty conquests over the troops of the Evil One." No name for hell, or any place of future punishment, is found in their old vocabulary. Their religious ceremonies, which they called *Aldomás*, were intended to obtain the propitious auspices of the deities upon their undertakings; in times of danger they offered sacrifices (*Imadás*), slaying their favourite steeds. Festivals followed the offerings, and that which accompanied the taking of Ungrai lasted four whole days. The *Aldomás* is even now employed as a sort of blessing upon a bargain; when anything is sold in Hungary, it is still the phrase—"Let us drink the *Aldomás* together." Their priests (*Taltos*) were not necessary to their religious observances. The *taltos* were supposed to have influence with the spirits of evil and of good. They had minstrels (*dallos*), and the word *dal* is still used for *song*. Oaths were held sacred among them: the shedding of blood accompanied the ceremony—typical of his fate who should violate the vow. It would seem as if their women had been sold to their husbands, since to this hour a bride is called *Éladó Leány* (the bought maiden), and the bridegroom *Vevő Legény* (the buying youth). Their dead were mostly interred in the banks of their rivers. Arpád is spoken of as buried at a fountain-head—*Rétel* and *Tulma* on the shores of the Danube. Mourning and death bore the same name (*Sír*), and after interment the *Tor*, or feast of death, had place on the grave of the departed. There and then they sang songs to the memory of those they had just covered with earth—that earth* which was itself the object of their religious hymns.

* "Telluri hymnos concinnuit."—Theophilactus in Coruides, p. 20.

But they were soon gradually weaned from their idolatries by the influence of Christianity. Geisa (from Győzö—conqueror), the fifth of the Magyar kings, married Savolta, the Christian daughter of Gyula, Duke of Transylvania. Her influence was considerably heightened by her uncommon beauty, and her power over her husband is said to have been unbounded. She was as fierce as fair, and once stabbed to death a man who had irritated her—nor were habitual excesses in drinking unknown to her. Yet was her ferocity less than the ferocity of her age, and one, who would be deemed a monster now, was honoured almost as an angel then. Savolta introduced to the Magyars the Greek ritual, which has maintained a perpetual struggle with the Roman. Mailáth proposes a series of interesting inquiries on the influence which her position in Hungary must have had on the fate of Christendom and the east. But this is not the place for such disquisitions, nor even for pointing out the great epochs of the Magyar history. Fessler, Engel, and now Mailáth, have made the subject accessible to the German reader. We have done for the present.

Many and varied are the thoughts which crowd upon our mind as the records—often shifting and shadowy—the records of millions pass before us. The vicissitudes of nations are as romantic as those of individual man, and present the grandest masses of pain and pleasure, out of which philosophy can draw her great results. When we, the English people, began to rise in power, and civilization, and glory; when our illustrious writers first poured their light-streams over the country they honoured—then was the throne of Buda broken—then did the weight of Osman dominion sink Hungary into the earth—and Mussulman barbarism scattered the literary and scientific treasures of Hunyadi. With the regeneration of the language, (we use the thoughts, almost the words of Döbrentei,) the people have re-awakened, and in the last Diets the advocates of Magyar patriotism have spoken more loudly and boldly than before. We could report many honourable deeds in illustration of what is passing, and one we cannot avoid recording. Count Stephen Szechenyi has lately given one year's income of his estates, amounting to £6000 sterling, for the formation of a national Magyar academy; and his example has been followed with so much devotion and energy, that more than £26,000 has now been subscribed for the same object.

In the grand struggle of improvement all tribes, all tongues are engaged. "Blessed anticipation," exclaimed an eloquent Hungarian, (Andrew Fay, whom we ought not to have passed over in silence,) "of a better, a happier country—of a futurity more

bright than the present! A mad perversity—an idle sophistry may seek to impede their advent,—yet will we press the sweet hope to our bosom as if it were a possession—the transport of our existence—the rooter-up of every thorn which grows over our path.”

ART. III.—*Histoire de la Revolution d'Angleterre depuis l'avènement de Charles I. jusqu' à la chute de Jacques II.* Par M. Guizot. Première Partie. Tomes I. et II. 8vo. Paris. 1826—1827.

THE history of the revolutions which agitated our islands during the course of the seventeenth century has been, in the space of the last twenty years, laid open to the public with a degree of accuracy seldom attained in national annals. Among ourselves, the violence of party feeling, ever anxious to distort the most remote and indifferent events into the shape which suits most with its own prejudices, and to identify its merely temporary existence with those great interests which divided mankind in an age far removed from ours, has contributed its powerful assistance in directing popular attention to this important period. Whig and Tory, Royalist and Republican, have battled over the fields of half-forgotten controversy, with a fury which the combatants of Naseby or Dunbar could hardly have surpassed. We possess narratives, coloured by every possible variety of political sentiment, of the sufferings of Charles the First—of the deeds of the bold and extraordinary persons who accomplished his overthrow—of their ineffectual endeavours to change the system of English law and society—of the crimes which they committed, and the good which they failed to accomplish. Each writer has at least succeeded in pointing out the errors committed by his antagonist in opinion, and in overthrowing the theory which he had built on partial and ill-connected materials. Educated, as we all are, amidst the perpetual conflict of contradictory impressions; receiving his first historical principles from the writings of one or other of our literary parties; (parties, which seem to make it their object to perpetuate the quarrels of our forefathers, by attaching them, through the most forced and distorted deductions, to the political disputes of the present day;) taught from his earliest youth to sympathize either with the injured monarch or the oppressed people;—it is scarcely possible for the *mere reader* to apply himself to the study of these topics with an unbiassed apprehension. Much less can the requisite impartiality be attained by the historian, who, in addition to the original prejudices of the literary inquirer, is subject to the various passions incident

to authorship: the desire of pointing out the errors of his predecessors; the pressing anxiety to obtain the applause of the public; which too often causes him to mistake the uproar of party, indiscriminately cheering its adherents, for the suffrages of intelligent admirers; the encouragement given to opinions, for the praise bestowed on merit. It is for this reason that a history of these events, proceeding from an intelligent foreign writer, who is at the same time considerably versed in the science of our constitution, and in the general knowledge of the manners and habits of thinking peculiar to the period in which those events took place, will be highly acceptable to those who wish to perceive the appearance which this portion of our annals presents to an observer whose mind is in some measure uninfluenced by the causes which distort our judgment.

We say in some measure only, because, in point of fact, the real and supposed analogies which exist between the revolutions of England and France, while they have given an additional interest to the former in the eyes of inquirers belonging to the latter nation, have lent no small colouring to the views which they have taken of it. In the preface of the work before us, M. Guizot has given a short survey of the previous labours of his countrymen in this department of English history. In the earlier part of the French Revolution, a translation of the two first volumes of Mrs. Macaulay's work appeared under the name of Mirabeau; for in those days of popular ferment, the first orator of France (if this production is correctly ascribed to him) did not disdain to employ himself in presenting his fellow citizens with the now forgotten declamations of our honest, but somewhat intemperate female republican. The direction thus given to public inquiry was followed by several works of considerable merit. Among these, the *History of Cromwell*, by M. Villemain, (a popular lecturer of Paris) is particularly extolled by our author for the animated picture which it presents of national manners, and the clearness and accuracy with which it traces the ever-shifting vicissitudes of opinion. The *History of the Revolution of 1688*, by M. Mazure, possesses peculiar value from being, as far as we are aware, the first separate narrative of that event, in which the important information contained in the Stuart papers, and the still more important disclosures made in the correspondence between the French court and its envoys, have been fully incorporated with previous authorities. M. Guizot has himself contributed, in a very remarkable degree, to the better understanding of the genius of the age which he proposes to illustrate, by publishing a complete collection of original Memoirs relating to the reign of Charles I. and the Commonwealth;—an example,

which, as is truly remarked by Mr. D'Israeli, in his recent *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.*, reflects no great credit on the exertions of British antiquaries in the same department. In addition to the well-known works which form the principal part of M. Guizot's collection,* the materials contained in our libraries, and particularly in that of the British Museum, might furnish a copious supply of original documents as yet little known to the public.†

The history before us commences with a general view of the state of Europe at the period of the accession of Charles I. Two revolutions, according to our author's theory, were at that epoch on the eve of accomplishment. The first was visibly operating in the form, not less than in the internal character, of European monarchy. The downfall of the feudal aristocracy, and the reduction of its haughty members to the condition of

* This collection consists of twenty-six Volumes, and contains translations of the following works:—*May's History of the Long Parliament*; *Memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick—of Price (Chaplain to Monck)—of Sir Thos. Herbert—Berkely—Ludlow—Hollis—Huntington—Fairfax—Col. Hutchinson*; *Trial of Charles I.*; *Eikon Basilike*; *Apology of Charles I.*; *Memoirs of Charles II.*; *Lord Clarendon's History*; *H. Clarendon's Diary*; *Bishop Burnet's Own Times*; *Life of James II.*; *Memoirs of Sir John Bernersby*; *Memoirs of the Duke of Buckingham*. M. Guizot's own work is intended to form the complement of the collection.

† We cannot refrain from paying a short tribute of respect to the memory of one of those friends to whom M. Guizot acknowledges his obligations in the Preface to his work. In M. Galleis, France has lost a citizen of high merit and unusual literary acquirements, and England one of those whose example and authority have been most successfully exerted in diffusing the knowledge of her literature and history among their countrymen.

Much progress has, undoubtedly, been made of late years in France in general historical knowledge, and especially in that which relates to the annals of our own island. Yet we fear that much remains to be done before the writers of that country can be entirely freed from the almost proverbial imputation of carelessness in acquiring information, and haste in forming opinions, on all topics unconnected with their own national literature. We have lately had before us the first number of a new Parisian periodical (the "*Revue Trimestrielle*"), which evidently possesses the assistance of several writers of considerable ability, and, on domestic subjects, of extensive information. In that number there is an article on English history which surpasses all our previous conceptions of possible ignorance. The author begins by asserting, that Sir Walter Scott has the merit of being the first to give the English a correct idea of their own national annals: nor does he confine himself to general declarations, but specifies, if we remember rightly, the publication of the novel of "*Ivanhoe*" as the epoch of this memorable revelation. He proceeds to inform us, that the spirit of this great historian has been caught only by a few French authors; and passes a sweeping sentence of condemnation on Mr. Hallam and other "philosophical" writers of history, whom he seems to regard with the same sort of aversion which the Emperor Napoleon was wont to express against the "*idéologues*," who were the subject of his daily sarcasms. He then favours the Parisian public with some reasoning of his own respecting the right of hereditary succession as observed in England;—reasoning of which our readers will estimate the rare value, when informed that they are founded on the fact that the reign of Henry VIII. was followed by that of Mary; and that, on the death of her successor Edward, the crown was contested by the two surviving daughters of Henry, Elizabeth and Jane!

courtiers, in whose minds that spirit of rivalry which led their ancestors to seek a solitary and proud independence, had degenerated into a servile competition for supremacy in their master's favour, had at once freed the crown from the apprehension of its powerful vassals, and from the necessity of arming the commonalty with political power, in opposition to a more powerful enemy. The lower classes, content in the enjoyment of a degree of tranquillity little known at any former period of their existence, laboured in their advances towards a diffusion of wealth and knowledge, without as yet desiring to participate in the government of their country. The pomp and luxury of courts, the promptitude of administration, the extended character of military operations, the prevalence of the maxims of divine right and obedience, attested on the continent the triumphant issue of the regal power from the long-continued conflict of the middle ages.

In England the House of Tudor had steadily pursued a similar course of policy with the other dynasties of Europe. By the habits of his country and the old connexions of his family, James I. was attached to French feelings and politics, and accustomed to look for support and example where an English* sovereign was habituated to see none but enemies. He professed the maxims of continental monarchy with the pride of a theologian, and the self-complacency of a king; and did not scruple to defend arbitrary acts and measures by assuming, as necessary to the dignity of the country, that those powers which were claimed by his brethren of France and Spain were essential to the prerogative of their equal of England. Bred up in the spirit of these pretensions, his son Charles was still further exposed to the influence of arbitrary maxims, by his romantic visit to the Court of Spain, and his ill-fated connection with that of France. From the moment in which his foreign alliances began to operate on his imagination, the royalty of Paris or Madrid became, in his eyes, the natural and appropriate condition of monarchy.

But while the kings of England were thus openly proceeding in the footsteps of other sovereigns, a contrary action, unfelt in foreign countries, was taking place among all classes of their subjects; a second revolution, working not on the surface of society, but in its inmost mass, had already mined the soil under the feet of advancing despotism, and was preparing its ruin in

* We are quoting the sentiments of M. Guizot, which, we fear, tend towards the opinion usually received among his countrymen of a perpetual and irreconcilable rivalry, past, present and future, between two neighbouring countries. But we would observe, that if there be any traces of an inclination to France in the conduct of James I., they were no more than a continuation of the policy which the experience of half a century had sanctioned through the whole reign of his predecessor. His subjects more justly accused him of Spanish partialities.

the midst of apparent success. We refer our readers to the work of our author, which we have thus far very closely followed, for an able comparative sketch of the condition of the commons of our island and of the continent, in the beginning of the seventeenth century: the difference which resulted, from the admission into that class, among ourselves, of the most important portion of the feudal aristocracy—those possessors of smaller fiefs who could not share with the barons the sovereign power, but were not less jealous of their rights or less proud of their origin—an admission which dates as high as the fourteenth century; while in other countries the same class, degraded into the followers and partizans of the greater nobles, were still incapable of amalgamating with the ill-connected body of self-enfranchised peasants and scattered burghers, who composed the plebeian order. It was this peculiar constitution of English society, aided, though in a very inferior degree, by the increase of commerce and productive industry, which produced under the Stuarts a population, against whose sense of right and resolute opposition two successive generations of sovereigns found open force and court corruption equally unavailing.

The first book of this history contains a clear and succinct account of the proceedings of the three early parliaments of Charles I., principally drawn from the Parliamentary History and Rushworth's Collections.

A full understanding of the grievances, real and imaginary, which each successively endeavoured to redress—of the causes of their respective failures, and the gradual widening of the breach between the king and the nation,—is of the utmost importance in forming a correct estimate of the character of the ensuing contest. It is necessary ever to keep in view the consummation of these events through the first grand act of falsehood committed by the Court in its evasive reception of the Petition of Right—in its impudent substitution of the royal answer, which the Commons had rejected, for the simple formula of acceptance which it had promised to affix to the bill, when finally printed during the recess of parliament. Nothing indeed can be more obvious than that, at the period of the dissolution of Charles's third parliament, all confidence between that monarch and his subjects was at an end: the immediate causes of hostility had begun to operate; the watchword was given; and all the subsequent stretches of prerogative on the part both of the sovereign and clergy, however they might inflame the discontented spirit of a large portion of the nation into irreconcilable enmity, were but the natural consequences of former acts, and added nothing in substance to the sum of the great complaint destined to be preferred by the Long Parliament against their sovereign and his advisers.

The second book is devoted to that sullen period of misgovernment and disaffection which continued until the convocation of that most memorable assembly. In the household of the monarch, two parties disputed with each other the enjoyment of absolute power, which both were alike endeavouring to exercise over the nation. The one was composed of such courtiers merely as were inclined to direct the influence possessed over an uxorious husband by a treacherous and intriguing consort into the channels most conducive to their own separate interests; the other, of such as were too enlightened, too independent, or too ambitious, to be willing to chain themselves to the car of a foreign and odious supremacy. At the head of the latter were Laud and Strafford—men, whose characters, differing in their composition, yet agreeing in general tendency, were so strangely balanced between exalted virtues and criminal propensities—whose ill-deserved elevation was so strangely compensated by the fate which awaited them—that their names are to this day as much the objects of idolatry to one class of Englishmen as of execration to another. Their portraits, as exhibited by M. Guizot, are sketched with, at least, an impartial hand; even if the likenesses be somewhat too vague and general for a national gallery.

“ In abandoning his party in order to attach himself to his sovereign, Strafford had not sacrificed any determined principle, or surrendered any conscientious opinion. Ambitious and impassioned, he had been a patriot through hatred of Buckingham, through desire of glory, through eagerness to display the brilliancy of his talents, rather than from a virtuous and profound conviction. To act, to distinguish himself, to rule, such were his objects, or rather, such was the instinct of his nature. Engaged in the service of the crown, he fiercely embraced the cause of power as he had once espoused that of liberty: but he embraced it as an able and inflexible minister, not as a frivolous and obsequious courtier. With a mind too enlarged to confine itself to domestic intrigues, and a pride too sensitive to bend to the observances of a palace, he applied himself with passion to public affairs, braving all rivalry and crushing all resistance, zealous to extend and strengthen the royal authority, now identified with his own, but not less active in restoring order, in repressing abuse, in putting down all private interests which he judged illegal, in promoting all public good where he had no reason to dread its advancement. He was a proud and violent despot; but all love of his country, all wishes for its glory and prosperity, were not extinct in his breast, and he fully understood the conditions and the means by which absolute power is most easily purchased. An arbitrary but consistent and laborious administration, disdaining the rights of the people, but employed in promoting their advantage, free from common abuses and unmeaning irregularities, subjecting alike to its will the high and low, the court and the nation: such was the object of his wishes,

the purpose of his conduct, the end to which he laboured to direct the government of his sovereign.

"His friend, the Archbishop Laud, influenced by less worldly passions, and inflamed by a more disinterested ardour, carried into the council the same disposition and the same designs. Austere and simple in private life, power, whether obeyed by him as a servant, or exercised as a ruler, inspired him with a fanatical devotion. To proscribe and to punish were, in his eyes, to establish order: and to establish order was to maintain justice. His mind was possessed of indefatigable activity: but narrow, harsh, and intolerant. Equally incapable of serving the interests or of respecting the rights of individuals, he waged a blind and indiscriminate warfare alike against liberties and abuses, armed against the latter with incorruptible honesty, against the former with undistinguishing animosity: overbearing in his dealings with courtiers no less than with citizens: seeking friendship with none, foreseeing resistance from none, enduring opposition from none; persuaded that power in virtuous hands is the instrument of all good, and ever the dupe of some strong conception, which exercised over him the empire at once of a passion and of a duty."

The innumerable vexations and acts of injustice committed by the government thus constituted are painted with truth and liveliness. The moral effects of such a tyranny are incomparably worse than the transient evils produced by the domination of a successful party: perhaps even of a fortunate usurper. When the ingenuity of lawyers was strained in the criminal exercise of hunting among the rubbish of centuries for precedents of extortion and imprisonment—(so true is it that the nefarious subtlety with which Strafford reproached his accusers, was an art taught them by those against whom it was employed, and that Pym and Hollis merely extended to the lives of men the maxims which Finch and Berkeley had sanctioned against their freedom and property)—when the churchman was taught to consider himself as one of a separate and privileged caste, appointed by divine authority to subdue the stubbornness of a stiff-necked and rebellious generation—when the spirit of the merchant and the proprietor was cowed into submission by the fear of unmerciful fines, inflicted with the double purpose of chastising the offender and replenishing the exchequer, which constitutional means had ceased to fill—no part of the social body was left to exert itself in healthy and virtuous action: while the worst excesses of revolutionary periods, among ourselves, have always called into excitement the most generous as well as the meanest principles of our character.

M. Guizot has abstained, we think wisely, from discussing at length the causes and progress of the great theological quarrel which added so largely to the bitterness of political hostility in

those days. At the same time he has not fallen into the common error of underrating the influence of religious enthusiasm, and attributing its effects to other causes, wholly inadequate to account for them. In this respect he has the advantage of many late writers, who have endeavoured, from a spirit of system, or from the want of corresponding sympathy in our times with the heated imaginations of our forefathers, to soften down and explain away the most prominent features of that wild fanaticism which animated the partizans of "THE CAUSE" in 1640. Hume, whose religious scepticism, no less than his cold and sarcastic temperament, made him delight to dwell on the absurdities of believers, and whose singular partiality on the side of power induced him to put out of view, as far as possible, so much of the national discontent as was really produced by oppression, has given, in this respect, a truer view of the character of the Puritan than most of his successors—of the downright sectarian sentiment which urged him to contend against the Church's doctrine and discipline—to believe that the Reformation was not half accomplished—to rely wholly and solely on his own interpretation of the written word of God, in opposition to its human expositors, and to the authority which they claimed for the decisions acquiesced in by the great body of the faithful. But the same prepossessions have led Hume in great measure into the still grosser error of considering the quarrel as lying between strictness and laxity of belief—between exaggerated religious feelings on the one hand, and a sort of political adherence to an established creed on the other. On such misrepresentations it is unnecessary to remark. It was the misfortune of the Anglican Church—as of every established church engaged in a similar contest—that, connected as it must be in a subordinate capacity with the worldly interests of court and sovereign—it was obliged to number among its defenders all the profligate, the selfish, the unprincipled hangers-on of government, and to extend its soiled mantle to cover the impurities which it dared not even pretend to repress. The innovating party, on the contrary, unconnected with any political superior, is enabled to make not only conformity, but zealous adhesion, necessary qualifications in those whom it admits into its ranks: and they who join the cause of revolt on very different grounds, are forced, for a time at least, to conceal their lukewarmness under an assumed enthusiasm.

But under the two great denominations which at this period divided the nation, the germs of all those sects and divisions, in matters both of doctrine and discipline, which so strangely burst forth a few years afterwards, to the consternation of the truly religious, to the malicious triumph of the Papist, and to the sup-

pressed exultation of the infidel, were already in concealed activity. Defendants and opponents of the established system were fluctuating and divided in sentiment.

"Among the partisans of episcopacy, some, in number few, but animated by the energy of faith or the obstinacy of personal interest, maintained its pretensions to divine right: some, who regarded it as a mere human institution, deemed it an essential adjunct of monarchy, and believed the throne compromised, if the power of the bishops were successfully attacked: others, and these formed a numerous party, would have been willing to exclude the bishops from public affairs, if they could be maintained at the head of the church, as tradition, law, and state convenience appeared to them to demand. In the opposite party, some were habitually attached to episcopacy, although little favouring it in their opinions: in the view of many, and those the most enlightened, no ecclesiastical constitution possessed divine right or absolute legitimacy: and the interest of public freedom ought finally to decide on the support or abandonment of episcopal government."

Over friends and enemies thus divided, the Presbyterian body, firmly attached to its ministers, commanding a powerful mass of talent and industry, bound together by covenants and strengthened by unity of doctrine, obtained an easy though temporary supremacy—a supremacy destined to yield in its turn to that spirit of individual inquiry, that schismatic tendency through which it had been first erected on the ruins of the established religion. It seemed as if the forced compression of thought which had resulted from the tyranny of Laud and his colleagues had engendered a paroxysm, which rendered the nation incapable for a while of right reasoning. Besides this, we must remember that the crisis in which it was placed at the opening of the Long Parliament, was one such as the world had never before witnessed. Long and unmitigated oppression had made all desirous of a change, to be purchased at any price, and which had long appeared utterly unattainable. There was one only legitimate power which had not been forced to bow before the prevailing system: and which, though it had been neglected, spurned, and treated with insult and derision, acquired only the more value in the eyes of the people. Called again into activity by circumstances which none could have foreseen, by the voice of the very tyrants who had annulled it, it had crumbled with a single touch the whole edifice which the force and cunning of its adversaries had raised in its absence.

"The House of Commons represented, in the eyes of the nation, the nobility as well as the people, the ancient coalition of barons as well as the entire English community. It alone had formerly defended public liberty: it alone could reconquer it: it was of the Commons

only that men thought when they named the Parliament : and the legitimacy as well as the necessity of their absolute power was gradually received as a fundamental principle. Abuses of centuries had fallen before them as easily as the latest of court inventions : they possessed the entire and implicit confidence of their constituents : what was there then to prevent them from perfecting the glorious task, and re-constituting at once the whole body of society ? Few, indeed, carried their aspirations into so extravagant a field of speculation : but each saw some defect and mischief in some portion of the constitution of his ancestors : there was no portion, however venerable in itself, that had not been rendered odious by some gross perversion of its object ; and while each pressed for the adoption of his separate scheme of reform, the attachment of the multitude to the whole system was gradually weakened and relaxed, until it would have been difficult to say whether any fixed notions of government were left in the minds of the majority, except a blind confidence in those to whom the work of reformation was entrusted."

We have now followed M. Guizot to that which is perhaps the most difficult point in our history—the character and early acts of the Long Parliament. Perhaps, in treating of this arduous subject, he has adopted a little too much of the style and feelings of a political, instead of a philosophic, historian : a tone which his authorities, and especially Clarendon, might very naturally lead him into ; he has attributed too much to the measures of a few party tacticians within the House, and too little to the general sentiments and passions which actuated men as well out of Parliament as in it. It is in this light that he views two of the boldest and most deliberate acts of the innovators,—the imposition of the covenant by the Commons, and the act which rendered the Parliament indissoluble except by its own consent,—when he considers them as mere temporary expedients for the acquisition of power—"des mesures savamment combinées." His account of the trial and condemnation of Strafford is extremely brief, but written with singular impartiality. No defence is attempted, either of the tyrannical and vindictive sufferer, or of his sanguinary pursuers. Let him who doubts the general criminality of Strafford, read his openly avowed sentiments in his own correspondence ; his repeated recommendations of "more severity" to a government already glutted with fines and tortures ; the tone, not by any means of contemptuous superiority, but of malignant insult, with which he speaks of his former associates in the cause which he had deserted. But the very openness and hardihood of the offender removes all idea of treason, except such as might be accomplished by main force : and we need not remind our readers of the fatal failure of the prosecutors in establishing that point—the only one on which their case rested. The author of the *Con-*

stitutional History, whose temper and moderation render all such judgments, when pronounced by him, of peculiar value, does indeed appear to assent, although hesitatingly, to the constructive accusations preferred by the advocates of the Commons. But, in answer to this admission, we adopt the forcible expressions of Digby. Political inconsistency may detract from the value of his evidence, but cannot affect the strength of his reasoning.

"Truly I am still the same in my opinions and affections as to the Earl of Strafford. I confidently believe him the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects, that can be characterized . . . I do not say but the rest may represent him as a man worthy to die, perhaps worthier than many a traitor: I do not say but they may justly direct us to enact, that such practices shall be treason for the future: but God keep me from giving judgment of death upon any man, and of ruin upon his innocent posterity, upon a law made *ex-post-facto*."

Nor does there appear to us in the whole business, in its first conception, or in any part of its subsequent management, and still less in its results, anything to warrant the opinion entertained by some writers, that the prosecution of Strafford was a high stroke of policy; although there be much which denotes it to have been the result of blind, uncalculating, determined hatred. Strafford was the mortal enemy, not of "the cause" alone, but of its strongest supporters. He was the grand apostate, who had done more mischief than any man in England to English liberty: first, in deserting its banners at that very crisis when, had it been firmly supported, its triumph was inevitable: then in the uniform tenor of his conduct and counsels when in power: and, lastly, in lending his unhesitating support to the side of tyranny, when deserted by all the rest of the world. From the moment when Pym, in bidding him the bitter adieu of a deceived and deserted partisan, summoned him to another meeting in Westminster Hall, the edge of the visionary axe (to advert to the singularly prophetic tone of his correspondence) was never absent from his slumbers, nor the delights of anticipated revenge from those of his future accuser.

We have no space to follow M. Guizot through the causes of events which led immediately to the rupture between the parties: or through his long and detailed narrative of the events of the civil war. But we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of extracting the following eloquent description of the fermentation of the public mind which followed the departure of the king from London, and the character and effects of that paper war in which both sides endeavoured to vindicate themselves from the reproach of having recourse to arms, even while the partisans of each had their hands upon the hilts of their swords.

"Thus began, between the parliament and the sovereign, a struggle of which Europe had as yet given no example: a bright and glorious evidence of that great revolution which was then at its commencement, and is still in a course of accomplishment throughout society. Negotiations continued, although neither party hoped anything from them, or even had the intention of carrying them into execution. They no longer addressed each other in their declarations and messages: both directed their complaints to the whole nation, to public opinion, that novel power, from which both seemed to expect strength and success. The origin of royal power and its extent, the privileges of the two Houses, the limits of the duty and allegiance of subjects, the militia, the various petitions, the right of disposing of places, became the subjects of an official controversy, in which the general principles of social order, the nature of government, the original rights of man, the history, laws, and customs of England, were alternately cited, explained and criticised. Between the debates of the Houses, and the meeting in the field, science and argument might be said to interpose themselves during the space of several months, to suspend the course of events, and to exert all their efforts in order to secure the free adhesion of the people, by impressing on the one cause or the other the character of legitimacy. At the opening of Parliament, England had neither believed that she was aiming at revolution, nor intended to do so; the dissenters alone endeavoured to bring it about in ecclesiastical matters; a return to legal order, the re-establishment of the ancient rights of the country, the reform of immediate and pressing abuses,—such were the only objects which the nation desired or imagined. Even the chiefs, although bolder and more enlightened, formed scarcely more extensive projects; the energy of their will surpassed the ambition of their thoughts; and they advanced further from day to day without object or system, by the mere developement of their situation, and the necessity of providing for their own security. At the moment when the sword was drawn, all were seized with astonishment and emotion; not from want of resolution; not that civil war in general had, in the eyes of the parliament or even of the people, any strange or criminal appearance; they read it in their charter and their history; more than once they had braved their masters, had taken or given away the crown; while the length of time which had elapsed since these commotions had obliterated the memory of the miseries which they had caused, and left them but as glorious examples of energy and power. But as yet, resistance had always been declared in the name of the law, of rights certain and avowed; to conquer liberty was to defend an inheritance; the simple words of law and legal order commanded that popular and spontaneous respect which represses all discussion, and sanctions the boldest enterprises. Now each party accused the other of illegality and innovation; and each with justice, since the one had violated the ancient rights of the country, the other was claiming, by virtue of principles yet unacknowledged, franchises and powers before unknown. Each felt the necessity of covering its acts and pretensions with the mantle of the constitution; each undertook to justify itself, not only according to reason but according to law.

Following its chiefs, the whole nation rushed eagerly into the arena of dispute, agitated still more than its leaders by sentiments which appeared incompatible, and yet were alike sincere. Scarcely delivered from an oppression which its ancient laws had condemned but were unable to resist, it sought eagerly for more efficacious guarantees; but its hopes were still attached to those very laws, the impotence of which had been already proved. . . . Hence a singular mixture of boldness and timidity, of sincerity and hypocrisy, in the publications of every description, official and independent, with which England was then inundated. The heat and violence of spirit was unbounded, the excitement universal, unrestrained, unparalleled. In London, at York, in all the great cities of the kingdom, pamphlets, journals periodical and irregular, were multiplied and propagated in all directions; questions political, historical, and religious, the news of the day, sermons, debates, assemblies, invectives, everything was related and examined in their pages; voluntary agents distributed them in the country; at the assizes and on market-days, even before the doors of the churches, the crowd assembled to purchase and read them; and, in this explosion of ideas, in the midst of this novel appeal to public opinion, while both in writings and actions, the principle of national sovereignty was struggling in reality with the divine right of monarchs; statutes, jurisprudence, custom, and tradition, were continually invoked as the sole legitimate arbitrators; and the revolution was universal, even while none dared as yet to acknowledge its existence.

"In this state of the public mind, the moral position of the Parliament was a false position; for it was by and for that body that the revolution accomplished itself. Constrained, therefore, to promote and disavow it at once, its actions and language were in perpetual opposition, and it wavered with difficulty between boldness and cunning, between violence and hypocrisy."

We shall make no apology for adding to this long extract the following sketch of the state of parties at the close of the first year of the war, and of the division which at that period began to make itself manifest among those who had until then, at least in appearance, combated side by side for the same end against the common oppressor. Until that time the ruling party, content with a reformation in government, had sought for a revolution in religion only.

"At the end of 1643, the political, or at least the legal, reformation was consummated; the abuses against which it was levelled no longer existed; its supporters had enacted all the laws which were deemed necessary, and modified institutions as well as the extent of their knowledge permitted; nothing was wanting to the work, as far as the defenders of the ancient rights of the people and the presbyterian sectaries were able and willing to co-operate for its accomplishment. But the religious revolution was scarcely begun; and the civil reform, unstable and ill-secured, threatened to assume the character of a revolution. The moment, therefore, was at hand when the internal defects of the party

hitherto predominant, the incoherence of its composition, the inconsistency of its views and principles, must infallibly develop themselves. Every day it was compelled to march in contrary directions, to exert itself in contradictory efforts. What it solicited in the church, it rejected in the state. Continually changing its position and its language, it was forced to invoke alternately the principles and passions of democracy against the bishops, the maxims and interests of a monarchy or an aristocracy against the rising republicans. It was a singular spectacle to see the same men overthrow with one hand and uphold with the other; one day preaching up innovation, the next day arraying themselves against the innovators; at once rash and timid, despotic and rebellious; persecuting the episcopalians in the name of liberty, the independents in the name of power; claiming for themselves the privileges of insurrection and tyranny, while they declaimed every day against tyranny and insurrection.

"For three years, moreover, the party had been supreme; whether it had or had not accomplished its designs in church and state, it was by its authority and under its name that public affairs had been conducted during that space of time. On this ground alone, many began to feel weary of its power; they accused it of so many evils endured, so many hopes disappointed; they considered it no less intolerant than the bishops, no less arbitrary than the king; its contradictions and weaknesses were commented upon with bitterness; and even those who were least influenced by factious or interested views, were led by the progress of events and the development of political knowledge to long in secret after new principles and new rulers.

"The doctrine of freedom of conscience, proclaimed by a few obscure schismatics, surrounded by the enthusiastic supporters of particular sects, was treated on its first appearance as criminal or insane. Even its supporters seemed to maintain it without comprehending it, and less from reason than necessity. It was proscribed alike by episcopalians and presbyterians, preachers and magistrates; the question, how and by whom, the church of Christ should be governed, continued to be almost the only subject of debate; the choice was supposed to lie between papal monarchy, episcopal aristocracy, and the democracy of the presbyterian clergy; whether such governments, under any form or name, were legitimate in principle, was neither doubted nor examined.

"Nevertheless all things were agitated by a mighty convulsion, even those which seemed least affected by its influence; every day produced some new trial which no system could avoid, some new debate which no ruling party could restrain. . . . At the same time practical liberty, in matters both of faith and worship, was nearly absolute; no jurisdiction, no coercive authority had as yet replaced that of the bishops; and the Parliament, occupied with the conquest of its enemies, was little anxious about attending to the pious extravagances of its partisans. Presbyterian zeal sometimes extorted menacing declarations against new sectaries from the two houses; sometimes, when the fears or the aversions of the political reformers coincided with those of their devout colleagues, they took in concert rigorous measures against their adversaries. An ordi-

nance (that of June 11, 1643,) destined, according to the preamble, to repress the calumnies and licentiousness which had been directed for some time against religion and the government, abolished the liberty of the press, which until then had been tolerated, and submitted all publications to previous revision. But no party can successfully employ its influence to check those who have overtaken it in the same career in which it is itself engaged. After a few weeks, the royalists and episcopalians alone bore the burden of these restrictions; the new sects avoided them or braved them, and sprung up daily more numerous, more discordant in belief, more ardent in sentiment, independents, Brownists, anabaptists, anti-pædobaptists, quakers, antinomians, fifth-monarchy men. Under the very shadow of the presbyterian domination, the revolution excited at once the enthusiast, the philosopher, and the libertine to attack its supremacy."

From the extracts which we have already given, the reader will be enabled to judge, in some measure, of the general character of M. Guizot's historical style; although we must own that the mixture of the antique phraseology of the times which he describes with the metaphorical neologisms of the modern school of history—an unnatural conjunction, in which M. Guizot, in common with most of his brethren, appears to us occasionally to delight,—renders the task of translation by no means an easy one. This reproach, however, if it be one, attaches not to the narrative parts of the history before us; and it is in this branch of composition that our author, in our opinion, particularly excels. He has not indulged to any great extent in the portraiture of individual character, the discussion of motives, or the investigation of moral and political questions; events succeed each other in his pages in the order in which they occurred, and his relation of the series of political phenomena is seldom interrupted by analytical inquiry into their causes. He has also inserted in several places scenes and conferences extracted, almost verbatim, from contemporary authorities; a practice which has undoubtedly the effect of giving dramatic interest to the dry labours of the compiler, but which may occasionally lead him into adopting the perverted views of party writers. Thus it is difficult to believe that the words of the interview between the Parliamentary Commissioners and the King, after the second battle of Newbury, were precisely such as M. Guizot cites (vol. ii. p. 80—85.) on the authority of two of those very Commissioners. The language which they attribute to Charles I. bears, no doubt, strong marks of his peculiar character and mode of expression; but it may have been, perhaps unconsciously, misrepresented by the tempers and affections of those who have preserved it; and therefore, however valuable as an illustration, it would hardly seem to deserve a place in the text of an historian of the present day.

The 6th, 7th, and 8th books of the present volumes contain the troubled and gloomy period which elapsed between the battle of Naseby and the execution of Charles the First. Here, if we were inclined to take up the cause of those who contend in favour of the discursive and philosophic style in historical composition—who prefer, if we may adopt the phraseology of another literary dispute, the romantic to the classic school—we might complain that a mere detail of occurrences has been presented, in a portion of our annals where the passions, principles, and characters of individuals and parties form by far the most interesting and important topic. If, however, the reader will consent to waive this objection, he will find in the narrative of M. Guizot a spirited and faithful delineation of events. The account of the last awful scene of the tragedy forms, in our opinion, the best specimen of our author's manner, and may well bear comparison with the most successful efforts of those who have preceded him in this part of history; especially as the popular narrative of Hume is founded upon authorities now universally recognised as of little value. M. Guizot has subjoined, in his appendix, the despatches of the envoys of the States-General relating to this extraordinary trial. They are curious, as affording additional evidence of the utter inefficiency of all external threats or persuasion to break the determined resolution of the regicide party; and of the helpless astonishment with which the ministers of foreign courts were compelled to look on proceedings which appeared to them to portend the dissolution of civil society—the establishment of a nation of fierce and proscribed outcasts among the legitimate communities of Europe. But they do not appear to add any material facts to our former stock of knowledge. The rest of the appendix consists of a few extracts from the state-papers of the period; and a translation, from the grave pen of our historian, of the well-known parody on the “March of David Lesley.” We fear that such of our author's readers as are not acquainted with the original language will imbibe but little of the spirit of this profane effusion of the cavalier muse from his literal version of its extravagances; nor has he executed his task with entire fidelity:—“Glory that lower you can't be debased,” is not very satisfactorily rendered by “rien ne saurait souiller la gloire qui vous attend.”

We need not add, after the long extracts and comments in which we have indulged, that we wait with impatience for the announced Continuation of M. Guizot's history: and that we sincerely wish for his labours all that popularity among his countrymen which among ourselves they are likely to attain, as a work, not merely of literary amusement, but of standard authority. In his Preface, our author has discussed at some length that subject

of momentous importance—the analogy which subsists between the past revolutions of England and those which have recently agitated his own country—of which, if that analogy is to continue throughout, the end is not yet accomplished. We confess that we are not a little sceptical as to those signs and tokens of the latter times which many observers of the present day affect to descry in the political horizon. Judging from the aspect of passing events, and more especially from those of the last six months, we confidently hope that France is destined to procure for herself those blessings which the progress of society imperiously demands—the extension of her political freedom, and the improvement of her religious system,—without the intervention of such a catastrophe as that which a less advanced state of political wisdom rendered necessary among ourselves. An hundred and fifty years of experience may well have diminished by one the number of ordeals through which a nation must pass to its regeneration. But while we admit the dramatic and philosophic similarity which exists between the two revolutions, we must deprecate the practice which obtains among French writers, of treating the former according to the same peculiar theoretical views which they apply to the latter. The French Revolution is too vast in its extent, too complicated both in causes and effects—above all, too recent—to permit the historian to discuss it with that minute investigation of principles which is necessary to philosophic narrative. Thus in the pages of Thiers, Mignet, and other writers of the same stamp, the passions, feelings, characters and motives of human agents are all represented as only subservient to the fulfilment of that inscrutable, mysterious course of events, of which the origin and termination rest alike in obscure necessity—the very imperious *destiny* of Greek tragedy, in the accomplishment of whose decrees mortal will has no part, and in whose unalterable laws the distinction between moral guilt and innocence sinks into insignificance. In these authors, the difficulty of the subject justifies the manner in which it is treated: but the same difficulty does not exist in the discussion of the events of our Revolution: and we are sorry that M. Guizot has adopted, to a certain extent, a style which we cannot consider, in itself, either necessary or philosophical. But in offering these remarks we are well aware of the difference of opinion which exists on this subject, and can only conclude by hoping that M. Guizot will display in the remaining portion of his work—in his delineation of the iron despotism of Cromwell, the heartless corruption of Charles II., and the last successful struggle against the usurpations of his brother—the same moderation, impartiality, and accuracy which are the characteristics of the volumes before us.

ART. IV.—*Histoire de la Révolution de 1688 en Angleterre.*

Par F. A. J. Mazure, Inspecteur-Général des Etudes. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1825.

IN the year 1756 Hume published the second volume of his *History of England*, containing the period from the death of Charles I. to the Revolution. At that time he had access only to such materials as the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh afforded. A selection from the correspondence of Davaux, the ambassador of France to the States, had indeed lately been published, of which the historian availed himself; but he was ignorant of those invaluable stores of historical information which existed at Paris, in the archives of the Scotch College, and in the *Dépôt des Affaires Etrangères*. On his subsequent visit to that metropolis he appears to have seen,* and to have been delighted with some important manuscript memoirs preserved in the Scotch College, consisting of original papers in the hand-writing of James II., and of a more formal narrative, apparently drawn up by some person under the directions of James or his son. These papers had also been previously examined by Carte the historian, who made considerable extracts from them, which afterwards fell into the hands of Mr. Macpherson, who himself visited Paris for the purpose of examining the original documents. The extracts were printed by him in his *Original Papers*, and are there said to be copied from the Memoirs in James's own hand. It seems certain, however, that these extracts were made from the formal narrative, and not from the original documents. The latter, at the time of the French Revolution, were lost, but the narrative was preserved, and forms the "*Life of James II.*" published by the Rev. J. S. Clarke, in pursuance of the desire of His Majesty, then Prince Regent, into whose possession the original MSS. had come. Of the value of this publication it is unnecessary to speak; all who are versed in English history know how to appreciate it. Nor does this work form the only addition to the materials for a history of the Revolution, which has been made since the time of Hume. Sir John Dalrymple with great industry collected in the appendix to his *History*, a large and most important correspondence relating to the political transactions of that period, and amongst the rest gave many of the letters of Barillon, the French ambassador at St. James's, to his court. The importance of the latter induced Mr. Fox, when engaged on his *History of the Reign of James II.* to make a strenuous exertion to procure the whole of that correspondence. Accordingly, on the restoration

* See Dugald Stewart's *Life of Robertson*.

of peace in 1802, he visited Paris, and passed a great part of every morning in the *Dépôt des Affaires Étrangères*, accompanied by his friends, Lord St. John, Mr. Adair and Mr. Trotter, who assisted him in transcribing the original papers.

"The correspondence of Barillon," says Lord Holland; "did not disappoint his expectations. He thought the additional information contained in those parts of it which Sir J. Dalrymple had omitted to extract, or to publish, so important, that he procured copies of them all. He observed to one of his correspondents, 'My studies at Paris have been useful beyond what I can describe;' and his expression to me was, 'Barillon's letters were worth their weight in gold.'"—*Preface*, p. xxxiv.

The copies thus made by Mr. Fox are printed (so far as the period of his history extends) at the end of his work, and from the expressions used by Lord Holland, we should have supposed that this formed a complete collection of the correspondence during this period. The researches of M. Mazure have shewn that this is not the case.*

At length a native of France has undertaken the task of illustrating from original sources the most important and interesting period of our national history. On an examination of the mass of original documents which the archives of France contained relative to this great Revolution, M. Mazure discovered so much that had been overlooked by other historians, that he resolved to give to the world the History now before us—a work highly creditable to his industry and talents, and which certainly forms by far the best narrative of those great events which are still, "in our flowing cups freshly remembered." In the composition of this history the author has not only availed himself of the correspondence of Barillon, but has made much use of the other state papers which the archives of Paris contain relative to the reign of James II. He has also, of course, consulted "The Life of James II." of which we have given some account. No previous writer, therefore, has possessed materials so copious, so authentic, and so valuable as those which M. Mazure has had the good fortune to command; and it is no slight commendation to say, that he has displayed both candour and judgment in the use of these valuable materials.

* "Mr. Fox went somewhat further; but he abandoned his researches to copyists, or merely indicated them by a pencil mark: it was not therefore difficult to find what he had not even suspected."—*Preface*, p. ix. We have been at the trouble of examining the omissions in Barillon's correspondence, as published in the appendix to Mr. Fox's History, so far as we can gather them from Mazure's references. There are wanting, 1. a letter giving an account of the battle of Sedgemoor, (*Mazure*, vol. i. p. 479.); 2. two letters of 23d and 26th July, 1685, giving an account of Monmouth's interview with the king, (*Mazure*, vol. ii. p. 7.); 3. a letter of the 3d July, also relating to Monmouth, (*Ib.* p. 10.); 4. a letter of 30th August, relating to the policy of James towards the States, (*Ib.* p. 39). There are probably other omissions.

The greater part of M. Mazure's first volume is devoted to the reign of Charles II.—a narrative essentially necessary to the correct understanding of the subsequent portion of his history. But as this part of the work is more in the nature of a sketch, we shall pass at once to the commencement of the reign of James II., being guided in the observations and extracts which we shall make by that which we conceive to be the peculiar value of the work before us, viz. the information which M. Mazure has derived from his researches into the important documents preserved in the archives of Paris and St. Germain's.

When James II. left the chamber of his dead brother, there was not in Christendom a more powerful prince than himself. The undisputed successor to a splendid and now tranquil throne, the sovereign of a people who in wealth as well as in valour vied with the first nations of Europe, he held the balance in which the great powers of the civilized world were weighed against each other. Hitherto his life had been full of vicissitudes, but the diadem which at length encircled his brows seemed also to have crowned his fortunes. The murmurs of those who had attempted to exclude him from his inheritance were no longer heard; the principles which had led the virtue of Russell and the bravery of Sidney to the block seemed extinguished, and even the enthusiasts who had made Oates their apostle did not venture to express their abhorrence of the royal papist. Under these auspicious circumstances did James ascend his throne, the foundations of which it seemed almost impossible for him to shake. But the objects upon which, from the commencement of his reign, his whole affections were fixed, were precisely those which were calculated to destroy him. He selected the only two courses which could have led to his ruin—the establishment of the Catholic faith, and of absolute power. It is possible that either of those dangerous projects, if separately attempted, might have been achieved; but the union of them was fatal. It has been the subject of much grave argument amongst our historians, whether bigotry or tyranny was James's prevailing incentive; but it would be just as reasonable to inquire, whether it be her form or her fortune which attracts the lover to his rich and beautiful mistress. It is a task of no ordinary difficulty to analyze the motives by which men are actuated, and the only conclusion at which we can arrive is, that James devoted himself most passionately to the attainment of both his favourite objects.

His first care upon his accession was to secure the countenance and assistance of Louis XIV. The sovereign who revoked the edict of Nantes was a fitting ally for him who authorized the cruelties of the Scottish Privy Council. Two days after the death of

his brother, James took Barillon, the French ambassador, to his closet, and explained to him the whole of the unconstitutional scheme which he had resolved to carry into effect. He was to display a wise and magnanimous forgetfulness of injuries; he was to summon a parliament without delay; he was to affect a respect for the laws: but the real object of all these fair and specious promises was without scruple declared to the agent of the French king. It is in this view that the correspondence of Barillon is so truly valuable, and that in resorting to the archives of his own nation, M. Mazure may be said to have reached the fountain-head of the history of these times.

The motives which actuated James in calling together the representatives of the people immediately after his accession were fully detailed by him to Barillon, on the 18th of February, 1684, only two days after his brother's death. He then told him that he had determined to call a parliament immediately, without which it would be difficult for him to maintain himself in the possession of the revenues which had legally ceased on the death of the late king, and that this measure would not prevent him, if circumstances admitted it, either from putting off the meeting of parliament, or from adopting *such other means as might appear more convenient*. He added, that had he delayed to summon a parliament, the opposition of the people might have compelled him to *levy the customs by force*, instead of which he should now pretend to have the law in his favour, and it would be very easy to reduce those who opposed him. Desirous of strengthening James in these good resolutions, Louis hastened to afford him the pecuniary assistance which he so importunately craved, and bills of exchange for the sum of 500,000 livres were transmitted to Barillon. The manner in which the king received the intelligence of this mean subsidy is thus related by the ambassador, and furnishes a striking and memorable picture of the real servility and baseness of those who affect to be tyrants.

"The king was extremely surprised, and said to me, with tears in his eyes, 'No one but the king your master could act in so noble a manner, and so full of kindness to me; I confess to you that I feel more sensibly what he has done on this occasion, than anything which can happen to me during the rest of my life; for I see clearly the bottom of his heart, and how desirous he is that my affairs should prosper; he has met all my wishes and anticipated all my wants; I can never be sufficiently grateful for such a mode of proceeding; testify my gratitude to him, and be a guarantee of the attachment which I shall feel towards him during the whole of my life.'"

The temper of the parliament seemed at first to be altogether such as James desired. They displayed a degree of subserviency

to his wishes which might have satisfied the appetite of any ordinary monarch, and it was only when the subject of religion arose that they showed the least disposition to thwart the royal will. No notice whatever was taken of the illegal measures which had been pursued with regard to the levying of the customs after the death of the late king, and so far were the Commons from resenting this outrage upon their first and most valuable privilege, that they immediately proceeded to bestow upon the king a far more magnificent revenue than any of his predecessors had yet enjoyed.

The revenue being thus secured by law, on a footing so liberal as to render all further applications for the parsimonious supplies of the French king unnecessary and inexcusable, and the parliament displaying a devotion to his wishes which might have led James to hope for the final accomplishment of all his designs, what more could he desire? It is difficult to credit the fact, but the testimony of Barillon cannot be doubted, he longed for a rebellion! The letter of the French ambassador, mentioning this singular aspiration, is not given by Mr. Fox, and M. Mazure is the first historian by whom it has been noticed. The detestable desire was gratified, in the insurrection of Argyle in Scotland, and that of Monmouth in England. Of these transactions M. Mazure has given a clear and succinct relation, in which he has made use of a letter of Barillon, omitted by Mr. Fox, relating to the interview of the duke with the king, and his demeanour on that occasion. In consequence of a letter addressed to him by Monmouth, James resolved to admit the duke to his presence; "*une chose,*" says Barillon, "*bien extraordinaire et fort opposée à l'usage des autres nations.*" To this it may be added, that it was equally opposed to the usages of this country, which forbid the sovereign from calling to his presence, unless for the purposes of mercy, the sufferer whom the law has devoted to death. The old and merciful distich,

"A king's face
Should show grace,"

was forgotten by James—the uncle beheld his weeping nephew without pity, and the sovereign his repentant subject without pardon. It is a fact related by Barillon, which does not, we believe, appear in the other narratives of this interview, that Monmouth was ushered into the presence *with his arms bound behind him*, but with his hands free; a fact, which if correct, and there is no reason to doubt its correctness, betrays the cowardice as well as the cruelty of the king. The account which is preserved in the Memoirs of James II., taken from his own papers, is in itself sufficiently revolting, but with the addition of the

circumstances mentioned by Barillon, it presents a picture of the darkest colours. "When the Duke of Monmouth," say the *Memoirs*, "was brought before the king, *he fell upon his knees, crawling upon them to embrace those of His Majesty*, and forgetting the character of a hero, which he had so long pretended to, behaved himself with the greatest meanness and abjection imaginable, omitting no humiliation or pretence of sorrow or repentance to move the king to compassion and mercy." Of what materials must the heart of that man have been made, who could first witness such a spectacle, and then record it!

So far, politically speaking, the wish expressed by James for a rebellion seemed to have been founded in what statesmen call wisdom. The blood of Monmouth and of Argyle had cemented the edifice of his power. But the feelings of aversion and distrust which misgovernment could not awaken in the minds of the people, were roused at once by the voice of zeal and bigotry. In his address to the council immediately after the death of his brother, and in his speech on the opening of parliament, James had solemnly promised to protect and support the church of England. The clergy exulted at this declaration, they had the word of a king, "a word never yet broken," and in this they placed the most implicit faith. The mode in which James proceeded to redeem the pledge thus solemnly given was singular. At first he contented himself with the open exercise of his religion in the royal chapel. He then established persons of the Catholic faith in places of trust about his person, and introduced them into the privy council. By degrees the commissions in the army were filled up with their names; while every endeavour was made, by promises and menaces, to obtain from Parliament an abolition of the test laws. The progress of the design is well traced by M. Mazure, who has fully explained the part taken by the French king in these schemes, and the motives by which he was actuated. With regard to the ultimate objects of James himself, there is little doubt that he looked not merely to the toleration of the Catholic faith, but to its supremacy in this country. With what circumstances of persecution towards the professors of a different faith such a supremacy would have been accompanied at that time, may be well imagined, when the stern character of the monarch himself and the furious bigotry of his nearest advisers are considered. The recent persecutions of the Protestants in France afforded an example which James would doubtless have followed, the moment he found that he might with safety adopt such a course, an assertion for which we have the authority of Barillon: "On feroit ici," he observes in a despatch to Louis, "ce qui se fait en France, si l'on pouvoit espérer de

réussir."—(vol. ii. p. 127.) Amongst other schemes suggested to the king by the more zealous Catholics, was that of converting the Princess Anne to the faith of Rome, and of altering the succession in her favour. This design was contemplated so early as the month of March, 1685, as appears from a letter of Barillon to his master, dated on the 12th of that month, overlooked by Mr. Fox, and unknown to other historians.—(vol. i. p. 417.) Of the intemperate zeal with which James followed up his designs, some other instances are given in the volumes before us, unnoticed by our own native writers. The king had promoted by every means in his power the establishment of chapels for the use of the Catholics. Encouraged by the favour shown at court to these establishments, the minister of the Elector Palatine, an English Catholic, began to build a chapel of his own in the city. This attempt immediately attracted the attention of the Lord Mayor, who, accompanied by the sheriffs, visited the new building, and forbade the workmen to continue their labours. The Elector Palatine himself, being informed of the opposition made to his agent's proceedings, addressed a letter to the king, stating that he was unwilling to be the cause of any popular disturbance, and that he had commanded his minister to build the chapel in a place less exposed to public observation. "*Mais le roi,*" says Barillon, "*se moqua de la lettre de l'Electeur, comme indigne d'un prince Catholique, et fit continuer les travaux.*" The consequence naturally was, that the opening of the chapel occasioned a formidable riot. Another instance of the king's want of discretion occurred about the same time. The French ambassador had represented to him that a seditious pamphlet, injurious to the reputation of his master, had been introduced into this country, and intreated that it might be ordered to be burnt by the hangman. The matter was debated in council, and even Jeffries submitted to the king, that it would be somewhat extraordinary to burn a work written in French and printed in Holland, containing nothing injurious to England. In answer to this remonstrance the king made use of a popular figure of speech, which, as M. Mazure observes, "it would be difficult to express with any dignity."

"Dogs defend each other, when one of them is attacked. Kings ought to do as much. I have other reasons for not suffering a libel of this kind against the King of France."

No answer was made to this, "but," adds Barillon, "some persons were desirous of stating that as the book in question was principally directed against the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it would give the king's enemies the power of saying that he approved of the persecution of the Protestants." "Nothing," con-

times the ambassador, "has produced so great an impression since the king came to the throne." The conduct of the French monarch on this occasion was curiously contrasted with that of our own sovereign. He blamed the officious zeal which had led Barillon to demand the suppression of the libel in England, and exhibited a good sense on the subject well worthy of the imitation of later monarchs.

"I desire," said he to his ambassador, "that you will take no step to procure this piece to be burnt, or to prevent its being translated into English. Books of this kind usually lose their credit from the little attention paid to them, and are only sought after in consequence of the pains taken to suppress them."

Not only did James outstrip the French king in zeal, but displayed a greater eagerness to promote the Catholic faith than even the Holy See itself. He had long been desirous that Count D'Adda, the Pope's Nuncio, a young man who had before resided at the English court in a secular capacity, should assume his ecclesiastical habit; but the Nuncio, having a regard at once to his safety and to his appearance, for some time resisted the king's pious importunities. At length James, who thought it somewhat scandalous that the Emperor of Morocco should have an envoy publicly accredited at his court, while the Head of all Christendom was not permitted to send any ostensible representative, prevailed upon the Nuncio to be consecrated archbishop *in partibus* of Amasia, at the chapel of St. James's, and to make a public entry into Windsor. The king afterwards found, as he tells us in his Memoirs, that it would have been more prudent to have waived "this outward ostentation;" but despising the consequences, he resolved that the ceremony should be performed with all due solemnity. M. Mazure has given a curious account of this transaction from the letters of Barillon.

"The ceremony was publicly performed amidst a concourse of English of all persuasions. At night after supper, the Nuncio made his appearance in the queen's apartments in his episcopal dress. The king and queen went upon their knees to him. 'This,' says Barillon in a note in cypher, 'gave great surprize to many persons who have never seen other monarchs ask for the Nuncio's benediction. His Britannic majesty remarked this, and said that it was not as nuncio but as archbishop that his benediction was required.' James II. expressed himself in terms of great satisfaction with this ceremony, to the French ambassador. 'The king your master,' said he to Barillon, 'will doubtless feel great pleasure on hearing that a Catholic prelate has been publicly consecrated at my court,' and on quitting him, he added, 'You see that I omit nothing in my power. I hope that the king your master will assist me, and that we shall in concert do great things for religion.'"—vol. ii. p. 239.

It cannot be alleged in excuse of James that he was not aware of the fatal consequences of his measures. He early foresaw and prepared for the struggle into which he knew that his outraged subjects must be plunged. Some singular proofs of this fact are given by M. Mazure, drawn from the correspondence of Barillon and Bonrepaus, and unknown to our own historians. Besides making preparations for war in Ireland, (of which we shall speak hereafter,) James had early in 1687 begun to fortify Portsmouth, from an evident apprehension of civil disturbances. During the king's progress into the west, in which Bonrepaus, the French envoy, accompanied him, the royal party visited Portsmouth, and on the envoy expressing his admiration of the manner in which the town was fortified, and of the impossibility of annoying it from the sea,

"The precautions," said the king, "are not against the bombs which may be discharged from the sea, *but entirely against the land side*; and it is my firm intention to put the fortifications of Portsmouth in such a state that I shall have no apprehension of being insulted in it."

Bonrepaus adds, that in all the conversations which had taken place between the king and himself, he perceived that James had no intention of employing his navy, and that, on the contrary, in all his proceedings his object was to fortify himself on land against his subjects. (*Mazure*, vol. ii. p. 283.) It should not be forgotten that this letter of the French envoy was written before the trial of the Seven Bishops, and before the people manifested any of those indubitable signs of resistance which might have justified such a jealousy.

The policy pursued by James with regard to Ireland is fully developed in the correspondence of the French ministers. From the commencement of his reign he had employed himself in putting that island into such a state, that, should he be driven from his English dominions, he might find a refuge amongst his Irish subjects. Of this fact an incontestable proof remains in the French archives, in the shape of a report on the military strength of that country made by Lord Dartmouth, who received a commission for that purpose from the king.

"To complete what relates to Ireland," says our author, "James II., at the very beginning of his reign, had a survey made of all the military fortifications of that island by Lord Dartmouth, Master-General of the Ordnance. His report, which is now before us, proves the existence of an express plan of wresting the preponderance from the English, and of establishing in Ireland a system of defence for a hypothesis which was afterwards realized; namely, the necessity of the king taking refuge amongst the Irish Catholics. *The same plan must one day be followed by the first nation of the continent in endeavouring to separate*

Ireland from England; it will and must be that of France, if France is ever endangered by the policy of England."—vol. ii. p. 115.

We particularly recommend the last sentence to the consideration of those who do not hesitate still to support that system of exasperation, which at this time had nearly thrown Ireland into the hands of France, and which must always expose her to the solicitations of our enemies. The warning given by M. Mazure is not to be regarded as the threat of a demagogue.

While James was thus rendering Ireland a citadel for himself in case of distress, his lieutenant, Tyrconnel, was plotting to render that island a province of France. The account of this intrigue (taken from the letters of Bonrepaus) is so curious that we give it at length.

"The king's desigus upon Ireland embraced a period of five years. That time appeared necessary to him, in order to fortify that kingdom, and to prepare an asylum in it for the Catholics, independent of his successor, if the Prince of Orange succeeded to him. But the Duke of Tyrconnel had views of less distant completion. An English nobleman who possessed his entire confidence, and who treated with the king respecting all the affairs of Ireland, made a proposal to Bonrepaus to repair to Chester. Tyrconnel had allowed him to open his mind to him. 'The plans of the vice-roy,' he said, 'were subordinate to the life of James II., and he was taking measures under all circumstances to place himself under the protection of the King of France. Meanwhile he was warmly urging the King of England to form magazines of arms and ammunition of every description; and already a vessel had just been sent to Ireland laden with gunpowder and howitzers.' Bonrepaus, who had not yet received the answer of the Marquis de Seignelay, durst not venture to repair to Chester, and to expose himself unauthorized to such confidential communications. Shortly afterwards he received from France the requisite powers. 'His majesty,' said M. de Seignelay, 'regards the business as most important. If the person you mention has positive credentials from my Lord Tyrconnel, you may tell him that the king assents to the propositions which he makes, and that in the event of the death of the King of England, if he should be strong enough to keep his ground in Ireland, he may rely on considerable succours from his majesty, who will give orders for preparing whatever is necessary at Brest for that purpose. But as a matter of that importance demands the closest secrecy, it is proper that you should assure him that M. de Barillon shall know nothing of it, (Tyrconnel's agent was too closely connected with Sunderland,) and that you take measures for opening a direct correspondence with Lord Tyrconnel, in order that we may, if necessary, settle with him as to the conditions under which his majesty might grant him his demands and the necessary assistance in order to maintain the Catholic religion in Ireland, and separate that kingdom from the rest of England, in the event of a Protestant prince succeeding to the throne.' Thus authorized, Bonrepaus lost no time, and Tyrconnel communicated to him that before a year was over, every

thing should be prepared in Ireland, and that for that purpose he would send a secret agent to the court of France. As to Scotland, Bonrepaus, whose embassy in England was about to expire, again renewed his first propositions for the establishment of a republic there, and announced to the Marquis de Seignelay that he would discuss the subject with him verbally."—vol. ii. p. 288.

The proceedings in the case of Magdalen College perhaps tended more than any other act of the king to shake the foundation of his throne. Those proceedings are so fully related by our own historians, and may be found at such length in Mr. Howell's edition of the State Trials, that M. Mazure can scarcely be expected to throw any additional light on the subject. His account of the king's interview with the fellows at Oxford, taken from the correspondence of Bonrepaus, is however curious, not only as a proof of the fidelity with which the French agents transmitted to their court intelligence of important occurrences, but as showing that, even in the opinion of his French friends, the conduct of James was considered not only as rash, but as destructive of the ends which he himself had in view. It appears also, from Bonrepaus' account of this interview, that James was so transported with anger, that he was even obliged to retire in order to calm himself. An attack like this upon the rights of the university at once roused the indignation of the churchmen, who only submitted under the influence of actual compulsion.

While the domestic policy of the king was thus imprudent and dangerous, he was not more successful in his relations with foreign powers. Notwithstanding the incessant protestations of friendship and affection which he lavished upon the French king, he yet failed to secure the confidence of that sovereign, who, as appears from the diplomatic correspondence of the time, placed no kind of reliance on the good faith of his ally. With the States James had indeed a difficult part to act; and, with a singular want of discretion, he confided his interests there to the hands of D'Albeville—a man of the most corrupt principles and of the most shallow capacity. The intrigues and mistakes of this miserable person are exposed at length in the narrative of M. Mazure, who is particularly full, as might be expected, in his relation of James's foreign policy. In his conduct towards the Prince of Orange, James was singularly unfortunate. Neither confiding in him nor defying him, he pursued towards him that temporising system which demonstrated his sense of his own weakness. So destructive, indeed, was the existence of the prince to the views entertained by James, that M. Mazure is inclined to believe that the king was implicated in an attempt, contemplated in the early part of the year 1688, against the life

of the prince. The particulars of this transaction, which, as M. Mazure informs us, is only to be traced in the correspondence of Davaux, are so interesting, that we do not hesitate to lay them before our readers.

"A native of Osnaburg, named Grousfeldt," says Davaux, "applied to him (the Prince of Orange) for a protection in order to disclose to him a plan formed against his life. This man was brought before him, and deposed, that being in a state of extreme wretchedness at Amsterdam, and mortified at finding himself reduced to beggary, after having served so long during the war, he was frequently giving vent to his despair, and saying that he was ready to undertake anything. One day a stranger, overhearing him talk in this manner, gave him some money. Shortly afterwards, he said, this stranger offered to make his fortune, if he would undertake to poison the person whom he would name to him. Grousfeldt, having assented to the proposition, received next day a phial of poison. The stranger told him that this poison neither altered the taste nor the colour of wine; and that he must make the experiment of its effects on his landlord, who would die of it in two hours. 'This man,' said the stranger to him, 'is a poor wretch, too obscure to make his fate excite any notice; if you make a trial of the poison upon him this very evening, to-morrow morning a person wearing a white plume will bring you two hundred guineas, and will give you every security for receiving ten thousand, if you poison the Prince of Orange.' Grousfeldt took the phial, and went to his lodging; but being seized with remorse, he departed the next day, and returned to his native country, from whence he wrote to the Prince of Orange for the means of coming and making this disclosure.

"The Prince," observes M. Mazure, "had treated this information with utter contempt, thinking that, in all probability, Grousfeldt had merely hatched this plot out of his own brain, in order to obtain some reward; but at the last Hague fair, Grousfeldt felt himself struck in the crowd, and called out, 'I am wounded:' he had actually received a thrust of a stiletto in the loins, of an inch deep.

"This event naturally attracted the attention of the Prince of Orange. The police made inquiries, to ascertain if it was true that Grousfeldt had dined, in the tavern which he mentioned, with the person whose description he had given, and who had paid his reckoning. 'This was all the clue that they could have,' says the Count Davaux, 'as Grousfeldt had declared that he had no knowledge of where this stranger lived: he neither knew his name nor his country; he only said, that the stranger spoke French badly, and he thought him an Englishman.'

"Count Davaux, who relates these facts, examines the circumstances which can throw any reasonable doubts on the existence of a plot for assassinating the Prince of Orange. How is it that Grousfeldt did not seek to make himself better acquainted with the name, residence, and country of the stranger? Having taken the poison, and having been touched with remorse so immediately afterwards, why did not he immediately go and reveal it to the prince, or at least to a magistrate? Why did not he keep the poison? 'But,' adds the count, 'as men do

not always act with presence of mind on such occasions, no certain inference can be thence derived. Besides, according to Grousfeldt's declaration, the stranger, on being informed next day that the promised trial had not been made, had urged him to keep his promise, and threatened him that if he failed, he would learn to his cost that communications of this nature were not made with impunity, and it was in consequence of this menace that Grousfeldt finally quitted Amsterdam that very day.'

"After all these details, Count Davaux adds, but in cypher, a private circumstance connected with the Marquis d'Albeville; 'I have learned from him that an Englishman residing at Amsterdam had been security for Grousfeldt; that this same Englishman came to the Marquis d'Albeville last week (Letter of May 31,) and informed him of the whole affair, at which he was alarmed, because they had come to interrogate him as to his motives for becoming security for this man.'

"Count Davaux gives no farther details, and the only result of this mysterious affair was to afford the Prince the opportunity of having guards assigned him when he quitted the Hague to go to his castle at Loo.

"No doubt, we may venture to say with the Count Davaux, that this conspiracy against the life of the Prince of Orange was only imaginary; no other trace of it is discoverable than that which is afforded by his own correspondence, and the enemies of the English monarch did not venture to charge him with this. But in times of political or religious fanaticism there are men to be found who hold the execrable maxim, that *killing is no murder*. It is quite certain, that after the Revolution was completed, there were real conspiracies against William's life, with which there are undeniable proofs that King James was acquainted, and that if he did not authorize or approve them, he at least tolerated them."—vol. ii. p. 420.

M. Mazure then refers to a note at the conclusion of his History which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

The obscurity in which this transaction is enveloped, will probably never be removed; but there are some circumstances not noticed by M. Mazure, which render the affair still more singular. He does indeed allude to a previous attempt upon the person of the Prince, contemplated "by a gentleman of Piedmont who had killed his colonel." The same design is mentioned by Burnet; but there was, we believe, no particular narrative of it published, until Mr. Seward, in the fourth volume of his *"Anecdotes of distinguished Persons,"* printed an original Letter from Nicholas Facio, the celebrated mathematician, containing an account of the proposed attempt, communicated to Facio by the "Piedmontese gentleman" himself, Count Fenil. This person, having killed his commanding officer, fled from the French service into which he had entered; but being desirous of returning, he addressed a letter to Louvois, the French minister, proposing to seize the Prince of Orange and deliver him into the hands of the French. Louvois received the proposal with eagerness,

wrote to Fenil a letter in his own hand (which was seen by Facio) holding out the greatest promises, and desiring him to come to Paris. These facts were, strangely enough, communicated to Facio, who acquainted Burnet with them, under a promise of secrecy, and ultimately informed the Prince himself, who, in consequence, suffered himself to be attended with a guard. The above is the outline of Facio's narrative, which agrees with Burnet's short relation of the same affair. What became of Fenil does not appear. Six years after the discovery of this attempt, (viz. in 1692,) another conspiracy was formed against the life of William. The account of it given by Burnet is, that one Grandval had been in treaty with Louvois to perpetrate this act, and that on Louvois' death his son found a memorandum of the design amongst his father's papers, and sending for Grandval persuaded him to renew it. However, before the attempt could be accomplished, it was discovered, and Grandval, being seized, was tried in Flanders by a court-martial, and executed. The whig writers have not hesitated to assert James's participation in this scheme.* Of the justice of such an accusation it is difficult to form an opinion; but from all the circumstances of the case we are inclined to think that these designs originated with the French Court rather than with James.

It does not seem improbable that Fenil, and Grousfeldt, and Grandval, were one and the same person. We know that Count Fenil communicated his design by letter to Louvois, and that it was amongst his papers that the plan of the proposed assassination was found, on which Louvois the younger proceeded in 1692. The name of Grousfeldt too would be easily converted by the French into Grandval; but, after all, this is and must be merely matter of speculation.

There are, unfortunately, more substantial grounds for believing that James was implicated in the conspiracy against William, discovered in the year 1696, and for which several persons were tried and suffered. The most important evidence of James's guilt has been brought to light by M. Mazure, who has devoted a note at the conclusion of his volume to the subject. The account given of the transaction by James himself† is as follows:—

“That about the end of the year 1693, a proposal had been made to the King, by one newly come out of England, of seizing and bringing away the Prince of Orange, and of making a rising in and about London, but his Majesty *would not hear of it*, looking upon the project as im-

* See Burnet and Kennett, vol. iii. p. 617, 644.

† Life of James II. vol. ii. p. 545.

practicable, and exposing his friends when he had no prospect of seconding them. The same thing some time after was proposed again, and again rejected; notwithstanding which, in the beginning of the year 1695, it was a third time moved by one Crosby, or Clench, who came from people that wished the King well (as he pretended), though another set of men than those the King had hitherto corresponded with; these persons, he said, made no doubt of seizing the Prince of Orange and bringing him off, but desired a warrant by his Majesty to empower them to do it; this the king again rejected, and charged him not to meddle in any such matter."

James then proceeds to relate the manner in which Crosby disobeyed these injunctions, and excited Sir William Parkins, Charnock, and others, to the attempt in which they lost their lives. He then gives a narrative of Sir George Berkeley, and the commission which that person held from him, for the purpose of showing, that though he had authorized his adherents to levy war against William, he had never assented to the attempt upon his person.

In searching among the papers relating to James II. at Saint Germain, M. Mazure discovered a very extraordinary document, which necessarily raises a doubt as to the correctness of the above statement. The date (in pencil) was 1693, and it purported to be a commission from James II. It ran thus—

"You are hereby authorized and required to seize and secure the person of the Prince of Orange, and to bring him before us, taking to your assistance such others of our faithful subjects in whom you may have the most confidence; and we order and command all such lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, mayors, sheriffs, and other officers, civil and military, to be assistant to you in the due execution of these presents, and for your so doing this shall be your warrant."

In the margin of the same paper is written—

"Prendre l'ordre du Roi pour écrire au Gouverneur de Boulogne en faveur du Sieur C."

From a letter given by M. Mazure, there appears to be little doubt that the *Sieur C.* was the Crosby whose offers are said by James to have been rejected by him; and if that be correct, it is difficult to reconcile the existence of the document discovered at St. Germain, with the statement in James's memoirs. It is possible, indeed, that although the draft of the commission may have been prepared, the scruples which James professes may have operated to prevent the completion of the instrument. It is certain that all the conspirators who suffered in 1696 denied at the scaffold, that the commission under which they acted contained any authority to seize the person of William.

The interesting nature of the inquiry will excuse the above

digression; but we shall now resume the narrative of M. Mazure, with his spirited picture of the trial of the seven bishops. He has, however, brought to light no new facts, and we only advert to the subject for the purpose of giving an extract from a letter to Barillon, who seems to have been quite convinced that the bishops and their counsel were in the right.

"It seems," says the ambassador, speaking of the trial, "as if there had been a sort of trial of strength between the two parties, and that the popular cause has completely triumphed over that of the king. The counsel for the bishops seized the opportunity which was offered them for agitating the question of the dispensing power. They maintained that this power could never be granted to the king, without entirely overturning the laws and the established form of government, which is at an end if the laws can be suspended by any other power than that which made them, namely, the parliament. This doctrine was received with universal applause and great acclamation. The advocates of the royal prerogative were not prepared to reply, or to refute the arguments brought forward by the most learned lawyers of England, who were opposed to them."—vol. ii. p. 469.

The birth of the Prince of Wales, which happened two days after the bishops had been committed to the Tower, hastened the crisis of James's fortunes; and the event which he had so long and so earnestly desired as that which was to strengthen and confirm his power, was in fact the immediate cause of its overthrow. The enemies of Catholicism, who had looked with hope and confidence to the Protestant heirs, now beheld themselves deprived even of this remote consolation, and in their dread of a Popish successor they did not hesitate to invite the immediate interposition of the Prince of Orange. With consummate skill and caution that able statesman had prepared himself and his resources for this great emergency, and the call of the English nation for deliverance found a prompt answer. Never was so bold and so noble an enterprise achieved with more wisdom and valour. Although himself exposed to the vigorous assaults of France, William successfully protected the States against the menaced danger, and left himself free for the accomplishment of his great task in England. While thus, on the one hand, all that prudence could suggest and energy execute was pressed into the service of the Prince, the proceedings of James were marked with an imbecility and an inertness which almost amounted to infatuation. Undecided whether to press forward or to retrace his fatal footsteps, James, *ferme dans ses irresolutions*, to use a phrase of M. Mazure, seemed willing to persuade himself that the threatened danger would yet pass away. Though forewarned, both by the French ambassador and by D'Albeville, of the preparations making in Holland, which

it was but too obvious were destined for England, he still persisted in asserting that the Prince would not venture upon so perilous an enterprise; and when Louis XIV. menaced the States with war in case an attempt should be made upon England, James had the folly to resent as impertinent an interference upon which all his hopes must have depended. And yet there was in this some show of royal feeling not unbecoming a king of England:—"I need not a protector," said he to Van Aers, the ambassador of the States; "I have no wish to be treated like the Cardinal of Furstemberg"—(a creature of Louis XIV.) But upon whom was he to rely? He had alienated the affections of the great majority of his people; he had offended the Church of England, till in the extremity of her wrath she forgot even her own principles of non-resistance; he had failed to conciliate the Sovereign Pontiff, who, in common with all the moderate and sensible Catholics of England, looked with regret upon measures so little calculated to promote the true interests of the Church of Rome. Under these circumstances, France seemed the only power to which James could turn with confidence for assistance and support, and yet he slighted the efforts thus made by Louis in his favour; nay, as the danger approached nearer, he abandoned altogether the idea of succours from that sovereign, and endeavoured to conciliate the States, by expressing his readiness to join with them in preserving the peace of Nimeguen. The memoir which James despatched at this period to the States, given by M. Mazure from the correspondence of Barillon, is a very remarkable document, and betrays the extremity to which the king was reduced. In consequence of the adoption of this line of policy by James, Louis XIV. suspended his intention of declaring war against the States—a fact which is now for the first time brought to light. At the same time we cannot altogether coincide with our author in the eulogy which he takes this occasion of passing upon the magnanimity of Louis XIV. whose conduct in this affair ought, he tells us, to inspire us with veneration for his character. That sovereign was fully aware that it deeply interested himself to preserve the crown of England upon the brows of James, and in forbearing at this time to press his warlike designs against Holland, he was doubtless governed by the expectation that James would probably, by his new policy, be enabled to prevent the threatened descent of the Prince of Orange. Had Louis at once declared war against the States, it would have been impossible that the repudiation by James of a connection with France could have gained any credit, and the design of the Prince of Orange upon England would have been forwarded with double vigour. The cautious policy of the two monarchs was

doomed to be unsuccessful, and the fair promises of the King of England produced no change in the conduct of the States. Thus deprived alike of his hopes of succour from France, and of forbearance from Holland, James was driven to the unpalatable necessity of retracing those steps in his domestic policy which had led him to the brink of ruin. Even this attempt failed. Those measures of restitution, so grateful to the people, were attributed to *His Highness*, and not to *His Majesty*, whose good faith in retracting what had cost him so much to achieve was more than suspected. In this state of things the fleet of the Prince of Orange sailed for England.

When the intelligence of this hostile armament, and of its approach to the shores of England, reached the ears of the King, all brave men expected to see him hastening to meet the invaders at the head of his army. Now came the time when the reputation for courage, which he had, perhaps, not unjustly acquired, was to be put to the test. Energy, promptitude and resolution might yet preserve the throne, which was trembling beneath him. To place himself without delay in front of his troops, and to strike a speedy and vigorous blow, was the bold and wise exhortation of the French king.

"The more a king exhibits greatness of soul in peril," said Louis, in a letter to his ambassador, "the more he strengthens the fidelity of his subjects. Let the King of England exhibit the intrepidity which is natural to him, and he will make himself formidable to his enemies, and cause them to repent of their enterprize."—vol. iii. p. 266.

Again, in a subsequent letter, Louis regretted that the King hesitated to take the personal command of his forces, and finding that he had resolved to place another person at their head, he offered to despatch to James's assistance, under the title of Envoy Extraordinary, a Marshal of France, or a Lieutenant-General of his army. This degrading proposition was made too late to be accepted, nor is it probable that the king would have assented to it, since it must have heightened that jealousy which the nation had already begun to entertain of a connection with France.

In this state of supineness James suffered the Prince of Orange to land without opposition. The disaffected, whose spirits might have been awed by a show of resolution in the king, gathered fresh hopes from the success of his enemies. To forsake the banners of a king who did not venture to lead his followers to the field was not unnatural, and the example of Lord Cornbury was quickly followed. This was the last blow to all James's hopes. That army, which it had cost him so much to create, and which he had regarded as the great engine by which all his designs were in the end to be effected, was now converted

into the instrument of his destruction. Desertion followed desertion; doubt and distrust of those who still gathered under his standards rendered every idea of effective resistance vain; and, without striking a single blow in his defence, James beheld his sceptre wrenched from his hands.

In estimating the character of this great transaction, and of those who played the principal parts in it, M. Mazure has, we think, displayed some harshness and injustice towards William. The circumstance of his relationship and near connection with James appears to have had an undue weight upon the mind of the historian. It is well that the tender charities and affections of private life should in social intercourse be inviolably observed; but when the happiness and welfare of nations are thrown into the opposite scale, who can blame the man who yields to such paramount claims? In other respects also, the character of William seems to be displeasing to the historian; his imperturbable coldness, his utter want of vivacity, and perhaps, more than all, his irreconcilable aversion to France, have arrayed the prejudices of M. Mazure against him.

In closing the volume before us we cannot avoid expressing our regret, or rather our shame, that the literature of England possesses no worthy history of the greatest revolution ever wrought upon English soil. The public have long looked in vain for the performance of this task to the genius of Mackintosh; but we confess that there is another pen which we should even with more satisfaction see employed in tracing this neglected but noble history.

ART. V.—*Traité de Mécanique Céleste*. Par M. le Marquis de Laplace. Tome V. 4to. Paris. 1823—1827.

THE volume of which we have placed the title at the head of this article, completes a work that forms, beyond all question, the most important contribution which has been made to the exact sciences since the publication of the *Principia* of Sir Isaac Newton. Distinguished alike by the elegance, the originality, and the depth of its analysis,—the sublime and imposing character of the subjects which it discusses,—the multiplicity and importance of its practical applications,—and the luminous and elegant manner in which it presents the fruits of the profound researches of many successive generations of gifted men,—the *Mécanique Céleste* of Laplace claims to rank among the noblest and most imperishable monuments of the human intellect.

In contemplating the history of physical science, one cannot but be particularly struck by the slow and gradual manner in

which its fundamental truths have become known to mankind. Works of imagination, poetry, eloquence, and narration, were produced at a very early period, equal at least to any which have resulted from the refined efforts of subsequent ages; but nothing can be imagined more unphilosophical and absurd than the various theories, which, from the time of Thales to that of Des Cartes, were proposed to explain the constitution of the universe and the causes of things. What the mere force of genius could effect was achieved by the ancient philosophers; but knowledge which could only be attained by a diligent comparison of carefully observed facts, or the application of mathematical reasoning, has been almost entirely reserved for modern discovery. Even the beautiful geometry of the Greeks, which indirectly contributed so materially to the grand discoveries of Kepler, remained in the hands of its inventors comparatively steril and unproductive. The only important applications, indeed, which they made of it, were to statics and trigonometry. It is apparently a very simple fact, that heavy bodies descending freely to the earth acquire equal increments of velocity in equal portions of time, yet simple as it appears, it eluded the observation of mankind till the time of Galileo, by whom the principles of dynamics were established towards the end of the seventeenth century. In the descriptive part of astronomy the ancients had doubtless made very considerable advances. They observed the heavens assiduously, were perfectly acquainted with the apparent motions of the planets, and, considering that they wanted the aid of the telescope and the pendulum, the two great instruments of correct observation, obtained several important elements in the science with a surprising degree of accuracy. But of the physical causes of the phenomena which they contemplated with so much interest they were altogether ignorant; for their vague and obscure notions respecting the gravitation of matter, and the influences of the planetary bodies on the motions of each other, can only be regarded as more or less probable conjectures, in which truth and error had equal chances of ascendancy.

But when Newton, guided by the discoveries of Kepler, and Galileo, had arrived at the knowledge of the simple law of attraction, and ascertained that all material substances gravitate towards each other with forces which are directly as their masses, and inversely as the squares of their mutual distances, the whole mechanism of nature was in a manner revealed; a new direction was given to physical researches, and astronomy placed on a firm and unalterable foundation. It was long, however, before the value of this grand discovery could be appreciated in its full extent. Its most important consequences could not be deduced from it

till the subsidiary sciences of analysis, mechanics, and optics, were greatly extended and improved. A calculus was required sufficiently powerful to embrace a mechanism as complicated in its effects as simple in its cause; and observations of sufficient accuracy to furnish data for the determination, by means of the calculus, of the masses, figures, and mutual distances of the planets. Newton himself, by his admirable invention of the fluxionary calculus, supplied the first of these requisites, and the necessary data have been gradually obtained by the laborious zeal of observers, and the ingenuity of artists, who have succeeded in giving to optical instruments a degree of perfection which, a century ago, the most enthusiastic devotee of astronomy could not have anticipated.

Newton not only supplied the principles, and indicated the methods by which physical astronomy has ultimately been rendered the most perfect of all the branches of human knowledge, but also advanced far towards the solution of many of its most important problems. The theories of the earth—of the tides—of the transmission of sound—of the precession of the equinoxes—and of the lunar inequalities, have all been considered in the *Principia*; and although they were necessarily left more or less imperfect, yet the true path of inquiry was distinctly pointed out, and the way prepared for the more extensive and accurate researches of his successors. Among the illustrious individuals who followed in the steps of Newton, those who are most conspicuously distinguished by the number and importance of their discoveries are Clairaut, d'Alembert, Euler, Lagrange, and Laplace. Many others, indeed, by the improvements which they introduced into analysis, contributed greatly to the brilliant success which attended the researches of these five profound mathematicians; our limits, however, will scarcely allow us to allude to their names. The mathematical theories of the planets having gradually reached a state of great perfection, Laplace undertook the important but arduous task of collecting the results of the labours of his predecessors, of deducing them by methods of his own from the first principles of mechanics, and of forming them into a systematic and complete body of science. This task was accomplished by the publication of the *Mécanique Céleste*, in a manner which called forth the unbounded admiration of the few individuals qualified to judge of its importance and difficulty.

The concluding volume of this great work has been published in separate books, at a long interval after the preceding, and contains the last improvements which the prolonged life of the illustrious author enabled him to introduce into the discussion of the different subjects which it embraces. Each book consists of two

distinct parts, the first of which is historical, containing a review of the scientific labours of the geometers who preceded Laplace in the investigation of the principal theories of physical astronomy, and a rapid sketch of the successive steps by which that science has been gradually and laboriously raised to its present state of advancement or perfection. In the second part some points of the mathematical investigations are discussed anew, the analysis extended so as to embrace circumstances of which the consideration had now become practicable, in consequence of the improvements made in the integral calculus, since the publication of the former volumes, and such modifications introduced as were rendered necessary by a more accurate determination of the quantities, which could only be obtained from observation. These books are therefore to be considered as supplementary to the *Mécanique Céleste*, and although not of equal importance with those which preceded them, they still offer various and exalted claims to consideration. Putting their higher merits out of view, and regarding them merely as literary compositions, they will be found interesting in no ordinary degree. The felicitous manner in which the results of abstract science are translated into ordinary language, and the perspicuity and elegance with which the most abstruse and difficult subjects are developed and explained, render them perfect models of scientific disquisitions, and entitle them to rank by the side of the introductory essays of the *Mécanique Analytique* of Lagrange, and the *Système du Monde*, and *Essai sur les Probabilités* of Laplace himself.

It is to the first or historical part of these books that our attention will at present be confined, as being of most interest to the general reader. The abstruse and recondite nature of the subjects it investigates, together with the great labour and intense application necessary to acquire that intimate familiarity with the most difficult parts of the transcendental geometry which is indispensably requisite in order to enter into its spirit, or even to follow its reasoning, will always render the *Mécanique Céleste* a sealed book, excepting to a few individuals on whom nature has bestowed superior aptitude, and whom fortune has provided with the means of pursuing their speculations at leisure. But although very few possess the requisite knowledge to follow, even with a tolerable degree of exertion, the different steps of such complicated analytical investigations as occur in many parts of this work, yet, happily, the explanations of the physical causes of the greater part of the phenomena of nature are within the reach of ordinary intelligence and industry; and the results of theory, even when considered apart from the theory itself, and regarded in the same light as facts ascertained by observation or experiment, afford numerous

subjects of sublime contemplation, on which every liberal mind can dwell with satisfaction and delight. On these accounts we have imagined that a brief abstract of the historical part of this volume will be acceptable to many of our readers, who, for obvious reasons, will not be inclined to consult the work itself. In approaching the task, however, we are fully aware of the extreme difficulty of rendering such subjects perfectly intelligible to those who are unacquainted with the technical language of science, and of avoiding at the same time such very elementary explanations as cannot fail to appear puerile and uninteresting in the eyes of those to whom scientific researches are more familiar. Our difficulties are also increased by the recollection of the splendid and admirable critique on the first four volumes of this work, written by the late Professor Playfair, and inserted in one of the early numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*.

I. The first of these supplementary books, which was published in 1823, and forms the eleventh book of the *Mécanique Céleste*, treats of the figure and rotation of the Earth; a subject which was discussed at great length in the second volume. This very interesting and difficult problem was first considered by Newton in the *Principia*, and has since engaged the attention of all the most eminent mathematicians whose researches have been directed to the system of the universe. The determination of the exact figure of a body, whose surface is so irregular and diversified as that of the earth, might at first view seem a hopeless attempt; but when it is considered that a large portion of the earth's surface is covered by seas communicating with each other, and that the heights of even the most elevated mountains bear but a small proportion to the diameter of the globe, it will easily be perceived that the inequalities are relatively of little account, and that the general figure must be such as will satisfy the laws of hydrostatics. When Newton undertook the investigation of this problem, neither the mathematical nor the physical sciences were sufficiently advanced to admit of his complete success. By assuming, however, that the ellipsoid of revolution is the figure required for maintaining the equilibrium of a homogeneous fluid mass revolving about an axis,—that on going from the equator towards the pole the increase of gravitation is proportional to the square of the sine of the latitude,—and that the earth is equally dense throughout, he demonstrated that the amount of the compression at the poles is one two-hundred-and-thirtieth part of the diameter of the equator, or that the polar is to the equatorial axis in the ratio of 229 to 230. Subsequent researches have confirmed the accuracy of this result, on the supposition of the homogeneity of the earth.

The next attempt to investigate the figure of the Earth was made by Huygens, soon after the publication of the *Principia*; but the principles on which his investigation was founded are restricted and exceptionable, and therefore, in point of fact, no addition was made to the theory of Newton till the year 1737, when Clairaut, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, demonstrated the first two of Newton's assumptions respecting the nature of the figure of equilibrium, and the increase of gravitation towards the poles. But these results were only obtained by Clairaut in the case where the spheroid differs very little from a sphere; MacLaurin was the first who demonstrated generally that the ellipsoid of revolution is the figure which satisfies the conditions of equilibrium, and determined the amount of the attractive force which the spheroid exercises on a material point situated anywhere on its surface. These results, together with several other very remarkable theorems relative to the attraction of spheroids of revolution, are contained in a short treatise on the Tides, of extraordinary merit and elegance, which shared the prize of the Academy of Sciences for the year 1740. It is published in Leseur and Jacquier's edition of the *Principia*, and also in Maclaurin's *Treatise of Fluxions*.

A few years after, in 1743, Clairaut published his *Théorie de la Figure de la Terre*, a work which, though in several respects incomplete, is still by far the best introduction we have to this subject, and ranks indeed among the most elegant applications of mathematical science. Among other important results which it contains, is that very remarkable theorem which still bears his name, and establishes a relation between the oblateness of the spheroid and the increase of gravitation towards the poles, on every supposition which can be imagined relative to the interior constitution of the earth. The theorem consists in this: that if to the fraction which expresses the excess of the equatorial above the polar axis, we add the fraction which expresses the excess of gravity at the poles above the gravitation at the equator, the sum of the two fractions is always a constant quantity, and equal to five-halves of the ratio of the centrifugal force to the gravitation at the equator.* By means of this theorem,

* Let E denote the ellipticity of the earth, or the excess of the axis of the equator above that of the poles taken as unity; C , the excess of gravity at the poles above the gravitation at the equator, taken as the unit of gravitation; ϕ the ratio of the centrifugal force at the equator to the unit of gravitation: then $E + C = \frac{5}{2} \phi$, in every hypothesis relative to the interior constitution of the earth. It is to be observed that the term *gravity* is used to denote the force by which a body would be attracted towards the earth if the earth remained at rest; *gravitation* denotes the force by which a body is actually attracted, that is, gravity diminished by the centrifugal force.

the ellipticity of the spheroid is deduced from observations on the length of the seconds' pendulum at different latitudes.

The next step in the investigation of this problem was made by d'Alembert, who demonstrated that the attraction of any ellipsoid whatever, upon a point situated in the prolongation of one of its axes, is to the attraction of a spheroid having the same centre and foci, and passing through the attracted point, as the mass of the first spheroid is to the mass of the second. It now only remained, in order to complete the theory, to determine the force with which a spheroid attracts a point situated any where without its surface. This was effected by Legendre with regard to spheroids of revolution, and the solution was afterwards extended by Laplace to ellipsoids in general. The results which they obtained were however expressed by series and consequently were only approximative. The honour of a complete solution of the problem was reserved for our illustrious countryman Mr. Ivory, who, by an extremely ingenious and happy analytical transformation, obtained a finite expression for the amount of the attractive force; a result quite unexpected, and which by some of the most distinguished analysts had even been deemed impossible. Mr. Ivory's researches have greatly simplified the theory of elliptic spheroids, and although they are passed over with a very slight notice in the historical sketch we are now considering, it ought to be recollected that they afford the only important addition which has been made to the theory since the publication of the treatises of Maclaurin and Clairaut, and that they completely supersede the labours of Lagrange, Legendre, and Laplace himself on the same subject. It may indeed be regarded as a somewhat singular fact, that although this theory has passed through the hands of the most distinguished mathematicians, and exhausted the utmost resources of the calculus, yet, since the time of Newton, it has only been enriched by three very remarkable results; namely, first, the demonstration by Maclaurin that a homogeneous fluid mass revolving about an axis assumes the form of an ellipsoid; secondly, the formula of Clairaut for determining the figure of the spheroid by means of observations on the pendulum; and thirdly, the expression for the attraction of ellipsoids on exter or particles given by Mr. Ivory. It is also remarkable that each of these results was obtained by methods comparatively simple, and indeed almost elementary.

In the investigation of the mathematical theory of the figure of the Earth, geometers had always considered the case of a spheroid entirely covered by a fluid. In the actual case presented by nature the difficulties of the investigation are greatly increased, but the progress made in analysis since the publication of the

first volumes of the *Mécanique Céleste*, enabled Laplace, in the book before us, to treat the subject more generally, and to have regard to the modifications occasioned by the continents and islands. The results of his researches are not of great importance as throwing any new light on the figure or constitution of the Earth, but they are nevertheless of considerable interest as tending to establish some very curious facts relative to natural history and geology.

The hypothesis of a displacement of the poles on the surface of the Earth has frequently been assumed to account for those indubitable traces of the ocean which abound in the most elevated regions of the globe, and even on the summits of the loftiest mountains. Supposing such a displacement to have been made by means of an extraneous force, by collision with a comet for example, it is evident that the spheroid could only recover its equilibrium through the intervention of the waters of the ocean, which would rush towards the new equator, and continue to accumulate there, till the surface became every where perpendicular to the new direction of gravity. But supposing the displacement of the poles to have been considerable, it may be questioned whether the whole quantity of water on the surface of the globe would be sufficient for the purpose of bringing the figure so near to that which would be assumed by a revolving fluid mass, as it is actually found to be from the measurement of degrees, and observations on the length of the pendulum. Indeed it is demonstrable that it would be altogether inadequate to produce such an effect. The mean density of the sea scarcely exceeds one-fifth part of the mean density of the earth; and its mean depth, about three or four miles, is very small in comparison of the ellipticity or difference between the equatorial and polar diameters. By reason of these two circumstances the influence of the sea on the direction of gravity is rendered inconsiderable. Hence every hypothesis founded on a considerable displacement of the poles of the Earth ought to be rejected as incompatible with the property of equilibrium; and the relative changes of the situation of the ocean and dry land must be referred to an interior, and not to an exterior cause. These considerations have led Laplace to conclude that, "amidst all the revolutions which have changed the surface of the Earth, and destroyed many races of animals and vegetables, the figure of the terrestrial spheroid, and the position of its axis of rotation, have undergone only very slight variations."

The elliptic figure of the Earth is demonstrated by the actual measurement of degrees at different latitudes, and the regular increase of gravitation from the equator to the poles, indicated by

the corresponding increase in the length of the isochronous pendulum, proves that it is symmetrically constituted, or that the successive layers or strata of which it is composed, are all nearly elliptical, and regularly disposed about their common centre of gravity. It is also certain, that the density of the strata increases regularly from the surface towards the centre. To account for this regularity in the disposition of the materials of the earth, and the near approximation of its figure to the spheroid of equilibrium, or that which it would assume if its particles were at liberty to obey the forces resulting from their mutual attraction and the rotatory motion, it has been usual with geometers to assume its original existence in a state of fluidity. In this state the denser substances would evidently arrange themselves nearest to the centre, and as the figure of the strata would undergo scarcely any change during the process of consolidation, the hypothesis of a primitive fluid condition will account for the various phenomena. There are, however, other ways of accounting for the elliptical figure, and the increased density towards the centre, and Laplace shows that all the phenomena may be explained on the supposition that the nucleus of the Earth, instead of being composed of strata of different densities, is formed of a single substance, or that it is homogeneous in a chemical sense. Supposing the interior of the Earth to be constituted in this manner, it is evident that the density towards the centre will be increased by the great weight of the superincumbent mass; but the relation between the density and the compression of the different shells of the central substance being unknown, the hypothesis does not appear to be attended with fewer difficulties, or to render the subject more intelligible than those which have been commonly received. Besides, as the mutual adherence of the particles of a solid body will necessarily prevent it from attaining the figure of equilibrium, if in its primitive state it deviated considerably from it, Laplace admits that even on "this hypothesis, as on all others respecting the constitution of the Earth, a state of primitive fluidity seems necessarily indicated by the regularity of the gravitation and of the figure at the surface."

One of the most important elements in astronomy is the uniformity of the rotation of the Earth about its axis. The length of the day, or the duration of a revolution, is the standard of time to which all the celestial motions are referred; every circumstance, therefore, by which it can possibly be affected, requires to be discussed with more than ordinary care and solicitude. In the fifth book Laplace had treated at length of the influence of internal causes, such as volcanoes, earthquakes, winds, currents in the ocean, &c., on the time of a revolution, and demonstrated that

their effects are altogether insensible. There is, however, another circumstance, indicated we believe for the first time in the book now before us, by which the length of the day may be affected, namely, a variation in the mean temperature of the earth. If, as all the phenomena conspire to indicate, the materials of the globe primarily existed in a fluid state, they must have been exposed to a degree of heat sufficient at least to cause their fusion. The dissipation of this heat must have been gradual, commencing at the surface, and slowly extending towards the centre, till, in the course of ages, the whole mass arrived at the temperature of the medium in which it is placed. Experiments on the temperature at the bottoms of deep mines, as well as various geological appearances, indicate a central heat; and it is not improbable that even now the point of uniform temperature has not been attained, but that the cooling process may be still going forward. Admitting this supposition, let us consider for a moment what its effects will be on the angular velocity of rotation.

It is a well-known property of heat that it causes the expansion of all substances into which it enters. In proportion, therefore, as the materials of the Earth lose their heat, their dimensions will be contracted, and, consequently, a sensible decrease of temperature will cause a sensible diminution of the *magnitude* of the globe, while its *mass* remains constant: for as the most delicate experiments have failed in showing that either light or heat are ponderable substances, the mass will not be diminished by their dissipation. Now, it is an established principle in dynamics, that when a system of bodies is in motion about a fixed centre, the sum of the products obtained by multiplying the mass of each body into its angular velocity, and into its distance from the fixed centre, is independent of the mutual actions of the bodies on each other, and remains unchanged so long as there is no external cause of derangement. From this principle it follows, that, since the number and the masses of the molecules remain constant during the dissipation of the heat, and the consequent contraction of the spheroid, the sum of the products of the velocities and distances of the particles from the centre, or, what amounts to the same thing, the sum of the areas described by each of the molecules referred to the plane of the equator, must be a constant quantity. Hence, if the distances of the molecules from the centre be diminished, their velocities must be proportionably increased.

These considerations render it apparent that the rotation of the Earth must be accelerated by a diminution of its mean temperature; but in consequence of our ignorance of the relation between the loss of heat, and the amount of the consequent con-

traction of the constituent materials, and also by reason of the imperfect state of the theory of the progress of heat in solid bodies, it is scarcely possible to arrive at any precise or accurate result. By adopting the most probable hypothesis, Laplace comes to the conclusion, which is confirmed by the lunar theory, that since the time of Hipparchus, the length of the day has not been diminished by the two-hundredth part of a centesimal second, in consequence of a diminution of the mean temperature of the Earth.

After all the researches, theoretical and practical, which have been undertaken to determine the figure of the Earth, the question will naturally occur, what is the result? or is the actual figure still a matter of uncertainty? Supposing the sea to be continued all round the earth, it is admitted that the figure which it would assume would be that of an ellipsoid of revolution. From the measurement of arcs of the meridian, and a lunar inequality depending on the oblateness of the terrestrial spheroid, Laplace concludes the ellipticity to be $\frac{1}{255}$. Observations on the length of the seconds' pendulum, which have of late years been extensively made at different points on the surface, would seem to indicate an ellipticity amounting to $\frac{1}{255}$; but we observe that Mr. Ivory, who has studied this subject with great care, has, in some of the recent numbers of the *Philosophical Magazine*, urged strong reasons for rejecting several of these observations as anomalous, and inconsistent with the others. The ellipticity deduced from the unexceptionable observations is $\frac{1}{255.3}$, and differs but little from that assigned by Laplace.

II. The twelfth book, which was also published in 1823, treats of the attraction and repulsion of spheres, and of the laws of the equilibrium and motion of elastic fluids. It possesses an uncommon degree of interest from its containing the developement of a new theory of molecular attraction, with its application to the propagation of sound in the atmosphere.

The most curious and interesting phenomena of nature are those, doubtless, which afford us some insight into the ultimate constitution of bodies, and make us acquainted with the reciprocal actions of their particles. Philosophers have been led by the light of experiment, to regard the gases, and indeed all other substances, as agglomerations of material particles, of excessive tenuity, and maintained in equilibrium between two forces, namely, a mutual affinity which tends to bring the particles into closer union, and a repulsive principle which tends to increase their mutual distances, or cause them to recede from each other. The forces which act among the elementary particles of matter, differ widely in the laws which they observe from that which pro-

duces and regulates the motions of the great bodies of the universe. The latter extends indefinitely into space, decreasing in energy as the square of the distance increases; whereas the influence of the former is confined to distances so extremely small as to elude altogether the observations of sense. By reason of the small and insensible extent of their sphere of activity, it is impossible to assign the law of the diminution of the molecular forces in terms of the distance; but the very circumstance which at first view might seem to preclude the possibility of deriving any accurate conclusions from reasoning *a priori* with regard to their effects, namely, that they are only sensible at imperceptible distances, is that which brings them within the grasp of the calculus, and affords the means of explaining from theory a great variety of the most interesting phenomena. But it will be readily conceived, that no ordinary degree of sagacity and skill is required to make such minute energies a subject of calculation. Myriads of particles acting and reacting on each other at imperceptible distances, offer to the conception, as well as to the calculus, difficulties incomparably greater than the simple and uniform motions which take place in the solitude of the heavens.

In forming a theory of molecular action, the great difficulty has always been found to consist in giving a satisfactory explanation of the repulsive energies which are manifested in many phenomena, particularly those of the gases. The hypothesis which Laplace adopts is this: that every particle of matter has a portion of heat united with it: which it retains in virtue of its attraction, and which, acting on the heat of the surrounding particles, occasions the repulsive energies in question. On this supposition the elementary particles of bodies are made to consist of two distinct principles, matter and heat, which act separately and independently of each other. Between two particles of matter there subsists an attraction; between a particle of matter and a particle of heat also an attraction; and between two particles of heat a repulsion. To obtain a clear view of the different actions which take place among the elementary particles, suppose a molecule of gas to be isolated, and surrounded by other molecules situated within the sphere of its activity. In this situation the molecule will be acted upon by three distinct forces: 1st, the attraction of the surrounding molecules; 2d, the attraction of the heat of the surrounding molecules, increased by the attraction of its own heat on them; 3d, the repulsion of its heat by the heat of the surrounding molecules. The first two of these forces tend to diminish the distances between the molecules, while the last tends to increase it.

The different states in which matter appears, viz. solid, liquid,

and gaseous, admit of a ready explanation by supposing a preponderancy in one or other of these three forces. In the solid state, the distance between the molecules is so small that the first force is infinitely great in comparison of the other two; and it is still augmented by the influence of the figure of the molecules, the faces of which assume such positions relatively to each other, that the number of points of contact, and consequently the amount of the attractive force, is the greatest possible. An increase of heat, by dilating the body, and causing the molecules to recede from each other, diminishes their attractive energies, till the first force loses the greater part or even the whole of its influence, and the second, that is, the attraction subsisting between the matter of one molecule and the heat of those which surround it, comes to predominate. In this state matter assumes the liquid form, and the influence of the figure of the molecules is insensible. By a farther increase of temperature the molecules are forced to recede to a still greater distance, and at last the whole of the attractive forces disappear, and those of repulsion alone come into action. Matter now takes the gaseous form, and the particles suddenly assume an expansive force which would instantly cause their dissipation in vapours, unless confined by an external obstacle.

Having laid down these hypotheses respecting the *modus agendi* of the molecular forces, he next proceeds to deduce from them the general laws of elastic fluids, employing some theorems, which had been demonstrated in the second book, relative to the attraction of spherical shells, when the force is supposed to vary as any function of the distance. The first object of this research was to determine the pressure in the interior and at the surface of a sphere of gaseous matter; and by a calculus of no great difficulty he found that it is equal to the product of the square of the number of molecules contained within a given space taken as unity, by the square of the number expressing the heat of each molecule, and by a constant factor. This result, being independent of the radius of the sphere, will hold good, whatever may be the figure of the envelope which contains the gas.

Let us now imagine a space, considered as unity, filled with a gas at a given temperature. If the molecules of the gas could remain in a state of perfect quiescence, the heat would also remain in equilibrium without any motion whatever. But although this state of equilibrium may be mathematically possible, its existence is as impossible in a physical point of view, as that a needle can stand balanced on its point. In a fluid so subtle as a gas, the slightest agitation will destroy the equilibrium of the molecules and of their caloric; and hence a constant change in

the relative situation of the molecules, and a constant radiation of their heat. It is here necessary to observe that the heat which remains combined with the molecules of the gas, is what is called the *latent* heat; that which is emitted or radiated, is the *free* heat, which is sensible to the thermometer, and determines the temperature. In consequence of the great velocity with which the rays of heat must be supposed to move, its quantity bears an insensible proportion to that of the latent heat. Since therefore the mutual distances of the molecules vary at every instant, and every change of distance causes an increase or diminution in the intensity of the attractive and repulsive forces, it follows that every molecule will alternately radiate and absorb heat; and, in order that the temperature of the space may undergo no change, the quantity radiated must be equal to that which is absorbed. Laplace illustrates this constant action, and obtains a fundamental equation by reasoning as follows: in the space we have supposed,

"Every molecule of gas, will at every instant be affected by the rays of heat which emanate from the surrounding molecules. It will absorb a part of these rays; but, in order that the temperature may be maintained, it must necessarily replace the absorbed rays by its own proper radiation. In any other space of which the temperature is the same, an equal number of calorific rays would at every instant impinge on the molecule, and it would absorb a part equal to that which it radiates. The number of rays, therefore, which a given surface receives at every instant, is a function of the temperature alone, and independent of the nature of the surrounding bodies; consequently the number of extinguished rays will be the product of this function, by a constant quantity depending on the nature of the gas. Now, in whatever manner the heat of the surrounding molecules acts by its repulsion on the heat of the molecules of gas, in order to detach a part, and cause the molecule to radiate, it is clear that the radiation will be in a ratio compounded of the heat and of the density of the gas surrounding the molecule, and of the heat belonging to itself: it will therefore be proportional to the density multiplied by the square of the heat. But it is also equal to the extinction; whence the extinction is likewise proportional to the density multiplied by the square of the heat."

By combining this result with that which had been obtained for the pressure, he finds the pressure proportional to the product of the function of the temperature by the density, that is, by the number of molecules contained within the unit of space.

"This proportionality gives the two general laws of the gases. It is evident; in the first place, that when the temperature remains constant, the pressure will be proportional to the number of molecules of the gas, and consequently to its density; which is the law of Mariote. In the second place, when the pressure is constant the number of molecules is reciprocally proportional to the function of the temperature; a function

which, as we have seen, is independent of the nature of the gas. Hence results the beautiful law established by Dalton and Gay-Lussac, according to which equal volumes of the different gases, under the same pressure, are equally dilated by an equal increase of temperature."

The foregoing considerations may be extended to mixtures of different gases, which have no chemical affinity for each other. When gases of different kinds are confined within the same space, each diffuses itself through that space in such a manner that every small portion of the mixture contains the component gases in exactly the same proportion. Regarding each molecule as suspended in space by the repulsive action of the heat of the surrounding molecules on its own heat, Laplace gives the analytical expression of the pressure of the compound gas on the sides of the containing vase, and also of the radiation of each molecule. The result of the calculus is, that, as in the case of a simple gas, the pressure of the mixture is proportional to the density at equal temperatures; that the increase of volume occasioned by an increase of temperature, while the pressure remains constant, is equal to that of a simple gas; lastly, that the pressure exercised by the mixture on the sides of the vessel in which it is contained, is, at equal temperatures, the sum of the pressures which each of the component gases would exercise separately if it existed alone in the same space. Hence the conclusion that "the mixture may be regarded as a simple gas, of which each molecule is an infinitely small group of the molecules of the component gases, mixed in the same proportion as in the whole mixture." It may be remarked, that these results were all previously known from experiment. Their perfect agreement with observation is the best proof of the accuracy of the hypotheses on which the theory is founded.

Newton's theory of the propagation of sound, although it has sometimes been considered obscure, is one of the most ingenious and striking parts of the *Principia*. The accuracy of the assumptions on which it is founded, have been established beyond all doubt by subsequent discoveries and investigations; and the discrepancy constantly found between its results and those of experiment, is now ascertained to be owing to physical circumstances, of which the existence was not even suspected when the theory was first offered to the world. On calculating from the formula given by Newton the velocity with which sound is transmitted through the atmosphere, the result falls short of the actual velocity by about a sixth part of the whole quantity to be determined. Laplace had the merit of being the first to give a theoretical explanation of this discrepancy, by showing that it is occasioned by the increased elasticity communicated to the aerial particles

in consequence of the evolution of heat by their compression. That heat is evolved by the compression, and absorbed by the dilatation of air or any gaseous substance, is a fact perfectly ascertained by experiment. Every one may have witnessed the flash of light which accompanies the sudden condensation of atmospheric air. In the progress of an aerial undulation, every small portion of air through which it passes is first compressed and then dilated: the heat which is extricated by the compression is absorbed by the subsequent dilatation, and although these two actions succeed each other with an almost inconceivable rapidity, yet the vibration is itself so instantaneous, that the effect of the extricated heat is fully communicated before the absorption can take place. Besides, the rapidity with which the vibrations succeed each other, tends to prevent the dissipation of the disengaged heat, and thus occasions a greater influence on the temperature. Now, since the temperature, and consequently the elasticity, is increased by a diminution of volume, it is evident that the undulation will be transmitted with an increased velocity; for the aerial particles will be acted upon by an accelerating force equal to the difference between their actual elasticity, and their elasticity in the quiescent state. Hence the elasticity is not, as was supposed by Newton, proportional to the pressure alone: it is increased on account of the momentary rise of temperature attending the compression. The effect of this increased elasticity on the velocity of sound was first determined by Laplace in the following theorem, which, in 1816, he published in the "*Annales de Chimie et de Physique*:"

"The actual velocity of sound is equal to the velocity given by the formula of Newton, multiplied by the square root of the ratio of the specific heat of air under a constant pressure, to its specific heat under a constant volume."

The first of these specific heats always exceeds the second, hence the velocity given by this theorem is greater than that which is obtained from the formula of Newton; but to determine the actual quantity by which it is increased, it was necessary to assign a ratio between the two specific heats in numbers. This object was first accomplished by the ingenious experiments of MM. Clement and Desormes; and subsequently with still greater accuracy by MM. Gay-Lussac and Welter, who, from a great number of experiments, repeated under almost every possible variety of circumstances, determined the ratio in question to be 1.375. The velocity of sound will consequently be obtained by multiplying the formula of Newton by the square root of this number; and by this correction the theoretical and experimental estimates are found to agree very nearly with one another.

From this theory a strong argument is derived against the doctrine of the propagation of light, in the same manner as sound, by the undulations of an elastic medium. Admitting the light of the sun to be so propagated, its velocity will be determined by the same formula as that of sound; but the application of the formula gives a velocity amounting only to about a seven-hundredth part of that which actually exists, the elasticity of the medium being supposed equal to that of the atmosphere. In order to reconcile the formula with fact, it is therefore necessary to admit an elasticity vastly exceeding that of the atmosphere; but there is no trace of the existence of any force in the regions of space adequate to the production of so great a compression or elasticity of the ethereal fluid.

The first intelligible theory of corpuscular attraction which we possess, is contained in one of the queries appended to the *Optics* of Newton. The doctrine of atoms is indeed as old as the times of the Trojan war; but the extravagant opinions of the ancient philosophers respecting the constitution of matter, serve only to show the futility of all attempts to interpret nature otherwise than by experiment and rigorous induction. Newton also gave in the *Principia*, the first specimen of a calculation of the effects of the molecular forces, by deducing the previously known law, according to which a ray of light, in passing from one transparent medium into another, is refracted in consequence of the attractive powers of the two media. The general introduction of the mathematical analysis into this class of phenomena, is of immense importance to chemical science, which, in its present state, may be said to resemble the theories of astronomy which were framed before the discovery of the law of universal gravitation. The celestial phenomena, which are now calculated from their physical causes, were then only isolated facts, arranged according to observation or fancy. The successful application which Laplace has made of his theory to explain the phenomena of capillary attraction, as well as to the equilibrium and motion of the gases, gives encouragement to hope that the principles he has introduced, will ultimately have the effect of extending and simplifying the philosophy of chemistry. Unhappily, by reason of the inconceivable minuteness of the agents, the rapidity of the motions, and the multiplicity of the principles combined in producing the phenomena, the subject is one of extreme complication and difficulty, and its successful prosecution demands resources which few experimenters can bring to bear upon it. In consequence of a deficiency in the requisite mathematical knowledge, many ingenious speculations have been wasted on this subject; and, relatively to

their success, it may be said with nearly equal truth, of the modern as well as of the ancient theorists,

“Principiis tamen in rerum fecere ruinas,
Et graviter Magni magno cecidère ibi casu.”

The emission of heat from the particles of bodies, or, as the phenomenon is usually called, the radiation of caloric, has long been admitted by philosophers, and successfully employed in the physical explanation of many interesting facts, obtained from observation and experiment. Laplace's theory is therefore not to be considered as being entirely new; it is rather a modification of those which previously existed. The suppositions which he peculiarly introduced, are the retention of the heat belonging to a molecule by the attraction of the molecule, and the repulsion of that heat by the heat of the surrounding molecules. Whether the motions and actions which take place among the elementary particles, are actually communicated in the manner which this theory supposes, is what we shall not take upon us to assert; but when we consider the great simplicity with which it explains the phenomena of the gases, capillary attraction, the solidity of matter, crystallization, the refraction of light, &c. we cannot hesitate in considering it as more conformable to nature, and exposed to fewer objections than any which has hitherto been proposed. Its greatest recommendation consists in the comparative facility with which the effects of the forces it supposes can be estimated by means of the calculus. This circumstance will also be decisive of its ultimate fate, for according as the consequences, even the remotest, which follow from the analytical formulæ, agree or disagree with observation and experiment, the principles on which the formulæ are based must either be finally established or rejected. Laplace is of opinion, that the consideration of these molecular forces ought now to form the principal object of mechanical philosophy:

“It would seem,” says he, “to be of advantage to introduce them even into the demonstrations of mechanics, abandoning the abstract consideration of lines without mass, flexible or inflexible, and of substances perfectly hard. Some essays which I have made show me that in thus approaching nature, one may give to these demonstrations equal simplicity and greater perspicuity, than by the methods hitherto employed.”

It has been said that Laplace contemplated the design of subjecting the whole of the atomic theory, as developed by definite proportions, to a rigorous mathematical survey. Science will long regret that he was not spared to carry his design into execution; for if ever the theory is established on incontrovertible principles,

and empiricism banished from this branch of Natural Philosophy, it must be by the successful completion of such an undertaking. But where is the man who possesses the essential requisites for its accomplishment in a degree comparable to Laplace? An intimate acquaintance with the principles of chemistry, extreme subtlety and skill in following nature through her diversified phases and complicated modes of action, and, above all, a perfect command of the utmost resources of the calculus, fitted him, more than any individual of his age, for placing the corpuscular philosophy on unalterable foundations, and preparing the way for all its future extension.

III. The thirteenth book treats of the oscillations of the fluids which cover the planets. The problem of the tides is one of the most intricate of the *Mécanique Céleste*. The attracting forces of the Sun and Moon, which disturb the waters of the ocean, are modified by so many accessory circumstances, the influence of which it is impossible to submit to calculation, that all attempts to assign from theory their precise effects, are altogether unavailing. If the entire surface of the terrestrial spheroid were covered by a sea of uniform depth, its flux and reflux, occasioned by the solar and lunar attractions, might be determined with as much precision as the celestial phenomena depending on the same causes; but in consequence of the great irregularities of the surface of the earth,—the confinement of the water between narrow straits,—the inequalities of its depth,—its friction against the bottom and sides of its channel,—its reflexion from the shores of large continents,—great differences prevail both in the height and time of the tides even in ports not remotely situated from each other. By reason of these circumstances, and other difficulties which embarrass the subject, the theory of the tides was for a long time comparatively neglected; and, indeed, it was not till it had passed through the hands of Laplace, that its results presented any satisfactory agreement with observation.

The investigation of the effects of the solar and lunar actions, in elevating the waters of the ocean, was first undertaken by Newton; but as this great philosopher left out a very important element in the calculation, namely, the motion of the waters occasioned by the rotation of the earth, his solution went little farther than to establish, incontrovertibly, that the phenomena of the tides is a consequence of the universal gravitation of matter. Newton's theory was developed and considerably extended by Daniel Bernoulli, Maclaurin, and Euler, but notwithstanding the important researches of these three profound mathematicians, it still remained incomplete, inasmuch as they assumed, with Newton, the equilibrium of the waters under the attractive influence of the sun

and moon. In consequence, however, of the rotation of the earth, this equilibrium can never be perfectly established; the investigations founded on its supposition must therefore be regarded as only approximative. It was reserved for Laplace to supply what was wanting to the completion of this difficult research, and to treat the subject with all the generality of which it is susceptible in the present improved state of analysis. The invention of the calculus of *Partial Differences* by d'Alembert, and the discoveries which had recently been made with regard to the nature of fluids and the principles of hydrodynamics, put him in possession of greater advantages than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors.

The first step of his investigation consisted in the solution of a problem which had been attempted unsuccessfully by d'Alembert. Supposing the Earth to be without rotation, and covered by a fluid, the question was to determine the oscillations of that fluid, occasioned by the attracting force of a body in motion round the earth. The solution which Laplace gave of this problem, was perfectly general, including every hypothesis that can be made respecting the density and initial state of the fluid, and even the supposition that every molecule of it is resisted by a force proportional to the velocity. It appeared evident, however, from the mere inspection of the differential equations, that it was indispensable to have regard to the rotation of the earth. He therefore extended his calculus so as to embrace this condition, and at the same time carefully excluded all considerations respecting the initial state of the fluid: it being evident, that its primitive conditions, whatever they were, must have been in the course of time destroyed by the effects of friction and the mobility of the particles. He distinguishes three different classes of oscillations, depending on different causes, and each taking place to its full extent independently of the others, and which, in consequence, admit of being considered separately. The oscillations of the first class are independent of the diurnal rotation of the earth, and are produced by the motion of the attracting star in its orbit. They vary with extreme slowness, and return to their primitive state only after a very long interval; their amount is small, and their determination presents little difficulty. The oscillations of the second class depend on the rotation of the earth, their period is therefore nearly a day. Those of the third class depend on an angle which is double the angular rotation of the earth, and they consequently return in the same order after an interval of half a day nearly. The difference between two consecutive tides is dependent on the oscillations of the second class. This difference which, according to the theory of Newton, ought to be very considerable

at the time of the solstices, is so small as to be scarcely observable in our ports. Newton ascribed this discordance between theory and observation, to the same cause to which he had imputed the retardation of the tide after the syzygies, namely, to the inertia of the waters, but Laplace demonstrated that it depends on the law of the depth of the sea, and that but for the influence of the accessory circumstances, it would disappear altogether if the depth were constant. It follows, therefore, that since the difference between the consecutive tides is extremely small, the depth of the sea, taking in a large extent of ocean, must be nearly uniform, that is, there must be a certain mean depth from which the deviations are not considerable.

From the general expressions of the oscillations of the second class, obtained on the supposition that the sea has an elliptic figure of equilibrium, he deduces a very remarkable consequence, namely, that the motions of the terrestrial axis do not differ from what they would be if the sea formed a solid mass with the earth. This proposition was at variance with the received opinion of geometers, particularly of d'Alembert, who, in his important work on the precession of the Equinoxes, had advanced that the fluidity of the sea deprives it of all influence on the phenomena of precession and nutation.

One of the most interesting topics connected with this discussion, is that which relates to the conditions which render the equilibrium of the sea permanent. It had formerly been remarked by mathematicians, in regard to a fluid surrounding an elliptic spheroid, that if the equilibrium should be disturbed by a slight change of figure, the fluid would have no tendency to recover its primitive state, unless the ratio of its density to that of the solid nucleus of the spheroid should be less than $\frac{1}{2}$. To arrive at this result, however, the fluid had been assumed to be in a state of equilibrium, a condition which rendered the conclusion less general and satisfactory. Laplace took a more extended view of the problem, and sought to determine the conditions by which the oscillations will be confined within narrow limits, supposing the fluid to be impressed with any small initial motion. He found that if the mean density of the earth exceeds that of the sea, any deviation from the state of equilibrium will always be extremely small; in other words, the equilibrium will never be subverted, whatever may be the nature of the causes which produce the derangement. Now, as it is ascertained by many facts, that the mean density of the sea is little more than a fifth part of the mean density of the earth, any general inundation, occasioned by the instability of the equilibrium of the ocean, is impossible. The great changes which have taken place between the relative situa-

tions of the sea and land, must therefore be referred to other causes.

The differential equations of the motion of the sea cannot be integrated by any known process of analysis, and even if their integrals could be obtained they would be of little value, in consequence of our ignorance of the data necessary to determine the values of the arbitrary functions which enter into them. In such circumstances recourse must be had to observation, and a comparison instituted of the general relations which subsist between the phenomena and the causes which produce them. The research of these relations, says Laplace,

"Whether for the purpose of verifying the existence of the causes, or of determining their effects and their laws, is scarcely less useful in natural philosophy than the direct solution of problems. An extended number of observations, even when their precision is not very great, enables us to determine the laws and causes of phenomena, of which it is impossible to obtain the analytical expression by the formation and integration of their differential equations. Such, for example, are the effects of the solar heat on the atmosphere in producing trade winds, monsoons, and the regular variations, diurnal and annual, of the barometer and thermometer."

In conformity with this method, a large part of the book we have now under consideration is devoted to a comparison of the analytical formulæ, with a long and regular series of observations, which the French government, at the instance of Laplace, had ordered to be made in the port of Brest. Nearly six thousand observations were discussed; and the calculations, which were executed by Bouvard, are necessarily of great length and exceedingly laborious. The result of the comparison confirms the accuracy of the numerical results which had been deduced in the fourth book of the *Mécanique Céleste*, from a less extensive and accurate set of observations made in the same port. It likewise establishes the existence of some small periodical variations in the height of the tides, which had been indicated by the calculus on pushing the approximations so far as to include those terms in the expression of the lunar action, which are divided by the fourth power of the distance.

In the last chapter of this book he discusses the influence of the sun and moon in causing periodic oscillations of the atmosphere. From the comparison of a great number of observations of the barometer and thermometer made in the Royal Observatory of Paris, with the formulæ which express the action of the two planets, the influence of these bodies seems distinguishable in causing an atmospherical flux and reflux, but its quantity is extremely small, and by the application of the calculus of proba-

bilities, Laplace found that the existence of the phenomenon, in our latitudes at least, is very doubtful. He is rather disposed to ascribe the lunar influence indicated by the observations, to the elevation and depression of the waters of the ocean, which form a large portion of the base of the atmosphere, and not to the direct effect of the attractive force of the moon. The solar action he attributes to the expansion caused by the heat of the sun. An equally numerous and accurate set of observations made at the equator, where the actions of the sun and moon are exerted with the greatest force, would probably have the effect of determining this curious, but as yet doubtful point.

It has already been remarked that the problem of the tides is one of the most difficult of the *Mécanique Céleste*. It is also one of the most interesting; not only on account of its direct practical bearing, but by its exhibiting an excellent model of the important and delicate art of discussing observations; of selecting such as are best adapted to throw light on the particular subject of investigation; and of combining them in the most advantageous manner, so as to extract from them the greatest amount of information which they are capable of affording.

IV. The fourteenth book contains the history of the problems of the precession of the equinoxes and the libration of the moon, and concludes with some remarks on the revolution of Saturn's ring. In adverting anew to these subjects, Laplace finds little to add to the analysis which he had given at length in the fifth book.

The precession of the equinoxes is one of those phenomena which depend upon the spheroidal figure of the earth, and which would not have existed if that body had been a perfect sphere. Newton demonstrated the very remarkable property that spheres attract, or are attracted by, an exterior body, in the same manner as if the whole matter of which they are composed were condensed into a single point at the centre. With regard to spheroids the case is different; the attractive force of an exterior body not only has the effect of drawing them towards it, but also, by reason that the force varies with the distance, of giving them a motion about their centres of gravity, unless indeed the attracting body is situated in the prolongation of one of the axes of the spheroid. The earth may be considered as a sphere circumscribed by a shell of redundant matter accumulated about the equator. The attracting force of the sun or moon on this shell may be resolved into two, one parallel to the plane of the equator, the other perpendicular to it. The tendency of this last force is to diminish the angle which the plane of the equator makes with that of the ecliptic, and if the earth had no motion of rotation, the two

planes would soon, in virtue of its action, be brought to coincide. In consequence, however, of the rotatory motion of the earth, the inclination of the two planes, or of the terrestrial axis to the plane of the ecliptic, remains constant; in the same way as the axis of a top, when spinning rapidly, preserves the same inclination to the plane of the horizon. But the effect of the force in question causes the line of intersection of the two planes to advance in a direction opposite to that of the diurnal motion, so that the interval between two successive equinoxes is less than that in which the earth makes a semi-revolution in its orbit. In consequence of the constant variation in the position of the line of intersection of the two planes, the pole of the ecliptic has a slow angular motion about the pole of the equator: the time in which it describes a complete revolution is 25,748 years.

After this manner Newton explained the physical cause of the precession of the equinoxes, but the solution which is given of the problem in the *Principia*, though a monument of prodigious sagacity, is defective in some points and erroneous in others; circumstances to which the want of accurate data contributed perhaps as much as the imperfect state of the transcendental geometry at that time. D'Alembert was the first who succeeded in obtaining a general solution, and it was then unquestionably the most difficult dynamical problem which had as yet been submitted to the calculus. The same subject was subsequently treated by Euler. The methods which he employed did not differ from those of d'Alembert, but he succeeded in rendering his investigation more simple and perspicuous. Euler also gave the general equations of the motion of a solid body animated by any forces whatever. The results of his researches on this subject may be seen in his *Theoria Motus Corporum Solidorum*.

Notwithstanding the generality of the researches of d'Alembert and Euler, several points connected with this subject still remained to be discussed when it was taken up by Laplace. One of these related to the influence of the sea on the motions of the terrestrial axis. To this we have already alluded when speaking of the tides. Another was the influence of the oblateness of the earth on the obliquity of the ecliptic and the length of the year. The annual precession being a variable quantity, the length of the tropical year is different in remote ages: at present it is a few seconds shorter than in the time of Hipparchus. A third point related to the nutation of the lunar orbit which corresponds to the nutation of the terrestrial equator. The discussion of these points was necessary to complete the solution of the problem. It may now be considered perfect, for the investigation of Laplace

includes all the causes which have any share in producing the phenomena, and estimates their effects with an accuracy which perfectly agrees with observation.

V. In the fifteenth book we have an extremely interesting and somewhat detailed account of the labours of mathematicians on the theory of the planetary perturbations. This is the most celebrated, and may be regarded as the principal problem of physical astronomy. The accurate estimation of the forces by which the planets, both primary and secondary, disturb the motions of one another, forms the noblest triumph of modern science; and unquestionably the genius of man has never reached to more sublime discoveries than those of the relations which assure the permanence and stability of the solar system.

If the planets exercised no action on each other, the orbit described by each of them would be accurately an ellipse, having the sun in one of its foci; and the law of its motion would be such, that the area described by a straight line joining the centre of the sun and the centre of the planet, would be proportional to the time of description. But in consequence of the universal gravitation of matter, every planet in the system is more or less affected by the attracting influence of all the others, and is consequently forced to deviate from its elliptic orbit; so that the beautiful laws of Kepler strictly belong only to an ideal system, and are not accurately observed in nature.

The first mathematical theory of the perturbations of the planets is due to Euler, who, in 1747, presented to the Academy of Sciences a memoir on the inequalities of the motions of Jupiter and Saturn. A few months after this Clairaut and d'Alembert presented analogous researches on the motion of the Moon as attracted by the Sun and the Earth, and which they in consequence styled, *The Problem of the Three Bodies*. The analysis of these memoirs, and of the subsequent researches by the same three illustrious mathematicians, occupies a considerable portion of the book now before us, and will be read with great interest by all who have turned their attention to the progress of physical astronomy. For a complete account, however, of the analytical methods which they respectively followed in forming and integrating the differential equations of motion, and of the farther progress made in the same theories by Lagrange and Laplace, we would refer the student to the excellent *Essai Historique sur le Probleme des Trois Corps* of Alfred Gautier, published at Paris in 1817.

The general solution of the problem of the three bodies transcends the power of analysis in its present state; but the peculiar conditions of the solar system admit of the introduction of certain

simplifications; by means of which the effect of the disturbing forces may be computed to any degree of approximation. The mass of the greatest planet in the system is at least a thousand times less than that of the sun, and the ratio of the masses of all the satellites (the moon excepted) to their principal planets, is still smaller. Hence, in the equations of the disturbed motion, the terms multiplied by this ratio have very minute values. By omitting them altogether in the determination of the orbit of a planet, a first approximation is obtained, which is the elliptic motion of which the laws were developed by Newton. A second and nearer approximation to the actual orbit is obtained by having regard to these terms in the calculation, and neglecting such as are affected by the squares of the foresaid ratio. A third approximation will in like manner be obtained by including the squares, and rejecting the cubes and higher powers, and so on. Notwithstanding, however, all the simplifications of which the subject admits, Laplace remarks that

“ the different problems of the perturbations of the planets and satellites present very great difficulties, the solution of which demands the most delicate and minute considerations, whether in making choice of such co-ordinates as in the different cases will give the most converging approximations, or in distinguishing among the infinite number of inequalities, such as, although very small in the differential equations, acquire considerable values by integration, and thus determine the cause and the laws of singularities observed by astronomers in the celestial motions.”

The inequalities produced in the motions of the planets by their reciprocal influences, are distinguished into two kinds. The first depend on the configuration of the planets, that is, the relative positions which they have with regard to each other; and as the inequalities of this class increase, diminish and disappear after certain intervals of time, they are called *periodic* inequalities. Those of the second kind are independent of the relative positions of the planets: they are also periodic, but their periods are incomparably longer than those of the first kind; hence they are styled *secular* inequalities. The determination of this last class of inequalities is attended with very great difficulties, both on account of the minute influences which must be considered, and the number of the elements of the orbits which are affected by them. The longitudes of the nodes, the excentricities of the orbits, their inclination to the plane of the ecliptic, their points of nearest approach to the sun, are all subject to secular variations, by reason of which the figures of the planetary orbits, and their situation in space, vary from age to age.

Among the important discoveries made by Euler relative to the secular inequalities, there is one which particularly deserves to be

remarked, inasmuch as its developement led to the demonstration of the stability of the planetary system. In his second memoir on the planetary perturbations, Euler showed that the excentricities, and the position of the aphelia, of Jupiter and Saturn vary incessantly, but unequally in different ages, and that they reassume their primitive positions after a period of about thirty thousand years. In the prosecution of this theory, which Euler had left imperfect, Laplace was led to remark that the different expressions which enter into the integrals of the elliptic elements of the orbits, and produce the secular inequalities, are all periodic, and subject to alternate increase and diminution; and that therefore the system of the planets must always oscillate about a mean state within very narrow limits. This most important truth was, however, only arrived at by having regard to the first powers of the masses of the planets, and to quantities of the third order with respect to the excentricities and inclinations of the orbits. It was reserved for Lagrange to demonstrate generally, that no secular inequality, or term proportional to the time, can possibly enter into the expression of the greater axis of the orbit, or the mean motion derived from it by the laws of Kepler, however far the approximation may be carried with regard to the excentricities and inclinations. It was subsequently demonstrated by Poisson, that even when the squares of the masses are comprehended in the analytical formula, the expressions of the mean motions can never include any quantities but such as are periodic.

By such slow and gradual steps did science reach this sublime result—the most interesting in physical astronomy—which in a manner perfected the theory of gravitation, and carried its consequences so far beyond the anticipations of its great founder. Newton, as appears from one of his *Queries*, was of opinion that the irregularities occasioned by the mutual actions of the planets and comets would probably go on increasing till the system wanted a reformation from the hand of its Creator. The discovery of the periodic nature, and the accurate compensation of the inequalities of the planetary motions, opens up a more sublime view of the mechanism of the universe, and inspires a higher admiration of the Wisdom which presided over its formation; the elements of disorder and decay are entirely excluded from the system; it involves in itself no principle of destruction; and the very conditions of its existence afford the surest pledge and guarantee of its imperturbable duration. The conditions which assure its stability, and exclude all access to confusion, are the three following: first, that the excentricities of the orbits are inconsiderable, and their variations confined within very narrow limits; second, that all the planets, primary and secondary, move in the same direction; and

third, that the inclinations of their orbits to the plane of the ecliptic are very small. These conditions are not necessary consequences of gravitation or of motion; of their final causes, however, we are entirely ignorant, and probably will ever remain so: some barrier will always be interposed between the curiosity of man and Omniscience. They cannot for an instant be admitted to result from chance, for on comparing, by means of the calculus of probabilities, the unique combination on which they depend with all the other combinations possible, it is found that there is almost infinity to wager against one, that the arrangement of the system is the effect of a special cause.

Of the secular inequalities occasioned by the mutual attractions of the planets, those which affect the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn long occasioned the greatest embarrassment to astronomers, and were the latest in being explained from theory. Flamsteed, who observed a conjunction of these two planets in 1682, was the first who noticed a retardation of the mean motion of Saturn. The same circumstance was also remarked by Dr. Halley, who found that a comparison of ancient with modern observations, indicated a retardation of Saturn's mean motion, and a corresponding acceleration in that of Jupiter. The discovery of the physical cause of these irregularities, and the determination of their periods and quantities, belongs to Laplace, and of all the results with which his labours have enriched astronomical science, none required the exertion of a higher degree of sagacity and analytical skill. Observing that the mean motions of the two planets are nearly commensurable, five times the mean motion of Jupiter being almost equal to twice that of Saturn, he concluded that certain terms in the expressions of their mean motions, might, owing to this circumstance, become very sensible by integration, although multiplied by the cubes and products of three dimensions of the excentricities and inclinations of the orbits. The result of a very long and laborious computation fully confirmed this conjecture, and showed that in the case of Saturn there exists a great inequality in the mean motion, amounting at its maximum to $48' 2'' \cdot 3$, and of which the period is 929 years; and that in the case of Jupiter there exists a corresponding inequality of nearly the same period, but which is affected by a contrary sign,—that is, increases while the other diminishes,—and at its maximum amounts to $19' 46''$. The magnitude of these inequalities is not constant; it participates with the secular variations of the element of the orbits. The same cause, namely, the almost commensurable ratio of the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn, gives rise to other very sensible inequalities in their motions; and on calculating their amount with greater accuracy than had been

attempted previously, Laplace had the satisfaction to find the ancient and modern observations represented by his theory, with all the precision of which such subjects admit.

"These inequalities," he remarks, "seemed formerly inexplicable by the law of gravitation; they are now one of its most convincing proofs. Such has been the fate of this brilliant discovery, that every difficulty which has arisen has been for it the subject of a new triumph,—the surest characteristic of a true system of nature."

VI. The sixteenth book treats of the motions of the secondary planets, and particularly of that of the Moon. This subject is intimately connected with the preceding, and is in fact the particular case to which Clairaut and d'Alembert first applied their general solutions of the celebrated problem of the Three Bodies. The great importance of the lunar theory to geography and navigation, gives it a degree of interest which seldom attaches to purely scientific researches; and accordingly from the time of the publication of the *Principia* to that of the *Mécanique Céleste*, the efforts of the most distinguished geometers have been assiduously employed in its development. It has already been mentioned that the problem of the Three Bodies was undertaken almost simultaneously by Euler, Clairaut, and d'Alembert. By their investigations, the principal inequalities of the moon's motion were determined with great accuracy; and the lunar tables constructed by Mayer, from a careful comparison of Euler's theory with observation, were long considered as sufficiently exact for all practical purposes.

The chief point to which Clairaut directed his researches was the determination of the motion of the lunar apogee. This subject derives an historical interest from the circumstance, that an erroneous result of computation by Clairaut occasioned doubts to be entertained of the accuracy of Newton's law of gravity, and even threatened for some time to overturn the system founded on it. If the moon's motion was not disturbed by the action of the sun, the place of its apsides would be perfectly quiescent; but in consequence of that action it becomes variable, and as the amount of the variation is accurately known from observation, the determination of the same quantity from theory affords an *experimentum crucis* of the accuracy of the principles on which the theory rests. Newton had demonstrated that the effect of the sun's disturbing force is to cause a progression of the apogee, but he did not attempt to assign its value. The first approximation of Clairaut gave only half of the observed progression, and as this result was confirmed by the analysis both of Euler and d'Alembert, it seemed to follow, as a necessary consequence, either that the phenomenon depends on some other cause than the gravi-

tating force of the sun, or that the law of gravity is not exactly proportional to the inverse square of the distance. It was not long, however, before Clairaut recognised the cause of his error. By repeating the process, and carrying the approximations further, he found the computed to agree almost entirely with the observed quantity,—a result which had the effect of dissipating for ever all doubts with regard to the law of attraction.

Notwithstanding the successful researches of the three illustrious men whose names we have had occasion so frequently to mention, and likewise those of their contemporary labourers, Mayer and Thomas Simpson, there still remained one inequality of the moon's motion, the cause of which no one had yet been able to explain from the theory of gravity. This was the acceleration of the mean lunar motion, which had been remarked by Dr. Halley, on comparing the ancient observations of eclipses by Hipparchus and Ptolemy, with those of Albategnius in the ninth century, and of modern astronomers. Lagrange demonstrated that the phenomenon in question could not be occasioned by any peculiarity in the figure of the earth; Bossut suspected that it was to be ascribed to the resistance of the medium in which the planets move; and Laplace himself, pursuing an idea first started by Daniel Bernoulli, for some time explained it by the supposition that gravity is not transmitted instantaneously, but, like sound or light, occupies some sensible portion of time in passing from one body to another. Granting that the moon's acceleration depends on this cause, he showed that, in order to satisfy the observations, the gravitating force of the earth must be transmitted to the moon with a velocity eight millions of times greater than that of light. Afterwards, however, while occupied with the theory of Jupiter's satellites, he was led to the discovery of the true cause of the phenomenon. He found that it depends on the secular variation of the excentricity of the earth's orbit; and that the same cause also produces two other inequalities, namely, the variation of the node and perigee of the orbit of the moon. This discovery rendered it certain that the acceleration of the moon, like all other phenomena depending on gravitation, cannot be subject to a continual increase. While the disturbing forces of the planets continue to diminish the excentricity of the orbit of the earth, the moon will continue to be accelerated; but when the same forces shall have changed their direction, the contrary effects will take place; the excentricity of the earth's orbit will be increased, and the mean motion of the moon retarded.

This is another of those sublime and beautiful results which we owe to theory alone. Observation can furnish no information with regard to the cause, the period, or the quantity of the

acceleration of the mean motion of the moon. Like all other inequalities of the planetary system, it is ultimately redressed; but millions of years must elapse before it runs through the whole period of its changes. Inequalities which are compensated in the course of a few years may be determined by observation, and represented by empirical equations; but when their periods are so protracted, that, in comparison of them, whole ages—even the longest periods of historical record—dwindle into mere points, their minute and gradual variations are so blended with the mean motions, that observation alone is incapable of detecting or separating them.

These secular inequalities may tend to throw a considerable light on various chronological questions, for, if the mean motion of the moon is determined by observation at any epoch, the date of the observation may be recovered to within at least a century or two. It was in this manner that Laplace found that the tables of the moon brought from India by Legentil, instead of dating, as Bailly supposed, three thousand years before our era, are in fact not so ancient as the tables of Ptolemy.

The almost perfect agreement which subsists between the results of the lunar theory and observation, gives rise to some important reflections on the nature of gravity,—that mysterious power whose influence extends to every particle of matter in the universe, and which determines the figures, and regulates the motions of the bodies which circulate through the celestial spaces. It has already been remarked that, on the hypothesis of a successive transmission of the attractive force, Laplace found that its velocity must be eight millions of times greater than that of light to explain the secular variation of the mean motion of the moon. But since the observed quantity of the moon's acceleration agrees exactly, or at least very nearly, with its amount, as computed from theory, he concludes, that the velocity of the attracting force, if not infinite, must exceed, by at least fifty millions of times, the velocity of light.

Another question may be put with regard to the nature of the attractive force, namely, whether its action is in any degree modified by the interposition of the substances of the heavenly bodies; for example, whether the attractive force of the earth, which must penetrate the whole substance of the moon before its influence reaches the remotest particles of that body, acts with the same intensity on those particles, as on the particles situated nearest to the earth, regard being had to the law of the distance. The answer to this question is derived from the following considerations. If the attractive force of the earth suffered any diminution in penetrating the lunar substance, the effect of the dimi-

nished energy would be sensible on the parallax; but the computed amount of the parallax agrees perfectly with observation; it is therefore certain that the attractive force of the earth is the same on every molecule of the moon, and consequently is not affected by the interposition of the lunar substance. A similar conclusion is obtained by considering the attractive force of the sun upon the earth. It may, therefore, be considered as sufficiently established, that the force of gravity is of so subtle a nature that the densest substances of the universe offer no obstacle to its free passage.

From the circumstance that all bodies descend with equal velocities in a vacuum, it is inferred that the attractive force of the earth acts with the same energy on every particle of terrestrial matter; but may not a modification of the law of gravity be occasioned by the different natures of the substances of the celestial bodies? This question is answered in a manner very similar to the preceding. If the action of the sun on the particles of the earth differed by only a millionth part from its action on the particles of the moon, the difference would occasion a variation in the sun's parallax amounting to several seconds; but the agreement of theory and observation renders the supposition of any such variation impossible: it follows, therefore, that the attracting force of the sun, in equal times and at equal distances, impresses equal velocities on the earth and the moon. The same result is derived from the theory of Jupiter and Saturn. The great perturbations of these two planets demonstrate that Jupiter acts on Saturn according to the same law as on his own satellites.

"Thus," says Laplace, "the property of attracting equally all bodies placed at the same distance, belongs to every particle of matter. This law, which geometers at different times have proposed to modify, whether relatively to its decrease as the square of the distance is augmented, or to the instantaneous propagation of the attracting force, or to the nature of bodies, is such as Newton proposed it, or at least the phenomena indicate no sensible modification."

The second chapter of this book is devoted to an exposition of the lunar theory of Newton. By applying the methods of the integral calculus to the developement given in the *Principia* of that inequality of the moon's motion in longitude which is known by the name of the *Variation*, Laplace shows its analogy with the methods at present in use, and the manner in which Newton obtained by a circuitous, though highly ingenious process, the integrals of the differential equations of motion. Laplace regards this developement as one of the most remarkable things in the *Principia*. The fertility and resources of Newton's genius are, indeed, in no circumstances more strikingly displayed than in de-

vising methods of obtaining a near approximation to his object, when the means of reaching it directly did not exist, or were unknown.

The volume is concluded by a short posthumous supplement, composed of two papers found among the MSS. of the author. The first contains some remarks on the developement of the function which expresses the distance between two planets; and the second a discussion of the continued series of observations on the thermometer, made in the Royal Observatory of Paris, with a view to determine the influence of the lunar attraction in causing a flux and reflux of the earth's atmosphere. To this last subject we have already alluded. The result of the discussion confirms the conclusions he had arrived at formerly, as to the minute, or rather inappreciable influence of the moon on the atmosphere. Laplace seems to have taken a great interest in the determination of this question. It was, indeed, the last scientific labour in which he was engaged, having been composed a very short time previous to his death, and read, we believe, to the Academy of Sciences within a fortnight of that event.

We have now gone over the contents of this volume, and it will be unnecessary to dwell on the merits of a work of which the character is so well known, and the excellence so universally admitted. The *Mécanique Céleste* is, in all probability, destined to form, for a long time to come, the code of physical astronomy; and, indeed, when we consider the almost perfect state in which most of the theories it embraces have been left, it is not easy to imagine in what manner it can be superseded or materially improved. Succeeding geometers may, probably, discover methods of rendering some of the investigations more elementary and accessible,—the approximations may in some instances be carried farther,—the numerical coefficients of the formulæ may acquire still greater exactness by means of multiplied observations,—the arrangement might, possibly, in some places be advantageously altered, so as to render the mutual connection of the different subjects more apparent, and facilitate the labour of the student; but all the grand problems in the magnificent system of science which it unfolds have been completely solved, and no astronomical phenomenon of any importance now remains of which the laws have not been perfectly established by mathematical analysis.

The name of Laplace is associated with the noblest efforts of science, and occurs at almost every step, which, during the last fifty years, has been made in mathematics, mechanics, astronomy, and general physics. After the mention we have made of his numerous and brilliant discoveries, it is almost superfluous to

state, that among mathematicians he occupied the very foremost rank. The first memoirs which he presented to the Academy of Sciences procured him, at a very early age, a reputation for a profound knowledge of the transcendental geometry equalled only by that of his illustrious rival Lagrange; and, if we except Euler, it would scarcely be possible to name another mathematician whose scientific life has been so fully occupied, or who can vie with him in the almost marvellous number and variety of his labours. We cannot attempt here to enumerate the various improvements and novel methods by which he has enriched almost every branch of analysis; in addition to what is implied in the important discoveries which we have enumerated, it will be sufficient to allude to the calculus of generating functions, by means of which the doctrine of infinite series has taken a new form; and the great extension which he has given to the theory of probabilities. It was not, however, to the pure mathematics—to the investigation of the abstract relations of number and quantity—that the efforts of the inventive genius of Laplace were mainly directed. He valued analysis chiefly in reference to its useful applications, and employed it as an instrument of irresistible force, to extort from nature her sublimest secrets, and render them subservient to the wants and purposes of mankind. It is to the profound skill and dexterity with which he handled this instrument that he owes the brightest portion of his fame; and it must be granted that the sagacity which he displayed in tracing the effects of the mechanical laws of the universe through the abstractions of analysis, has rarely, if ever, been equalled, certainly never surpassed. The development of the complicated laws of Jupiter's satellites, the determination of the cause and the measure of the acceleration of the moon, the secular inequalities of Jupiter and Saturn, are results which entitle him to rank with the greatest discoverers in astronomical and physical science,—with Kepler, and Galileo, and Newton.

The countrymen of Laplace, justly proud of his scientific glory, have frequently contrasted him with Newton. As he has had the singular good fortune of completing in a manner the edifice of which that great man laid the foundation, their names must always be associated in the history of physical astronomy; but they were placed in circumstances so completely different, that the services which they respectively rendered to science can scarcely be brought fairly into comparison. In many respects, indeed, he resembled Newton. In patient sagacity in the investigation of phenomena, in unbounded ingenuity, in the application of mathematical analysis, in comprehensive and philosophic views of the economy of nature, he made a near approach to his

great prototype; but Newton had everything to create, even to the calculus by which his grand discovery, that of the law of gravitation, was to be established; Laplace, on the other hand, at the commencement of his brilliant career, found the existence of gravity and the law of its action demonstrated, the principles of mechanics established beyond exception, and a calculus sufficiently powerful to grapple with the most intricate problems. Newton's glory is placed above all competition, not only on account of his having led the way, but on account of the difficulties which he encountered and vanquished. But while we agree with Halley that no mortal can ever approach more nearly to the divine intelligence than Newton—

“Nec fas est propius mortali attingere Divos,”

—we must at the same time admit that no one has approached more nearly to Newton than Laplace.

The influence which the discoveries and literary labours of Laplace have had in advancing mathematical knowledge has been immense. After the Newtonian philosophy began to be generally received and cultivated, the best treatises on dynamics, astronomy, and even pure mathematics, which appeared in this country, were composed expressly for the purpose of serving as introductions to the *Principia*, and of facilitating the study of that immortal work. In like manner the avowed object of the greater part of the numerous elementary books in this department of science, which, during the last thirty years, have issued from the French press, has been to conduct the student by the easiest and shortest route to the sublime productions of Laplace and Lagrange. It has been remarked by Bossut, that the influence of fashion extends even to the sciences—*tout est mode même dans les sciences*—and this being the case, it has been fortunate for their interests that two works of such transcendent excellence formed the beau ideal of those by whom they are cultivated. It is of incalculable advantage to the student to be in possession of elementary works composed on a uniform plan and verging to a common point. The theories of the calculus have now been extended so far, and in so many different directions, that unless he is skilfully guided, scarcely any degree of aptitude or assiduity will secure him a competent knowledge even of those which have the most frequent and extensive applications. Many of those elementary treatises to which we refer are productions of singular merit. The *Traité de Mécanique* of Poisson, for example, notwithstanding some imperfections, is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it was intended, and is, on the whole, one of the best books of the kind that has ever been published.

In concluding this article, some information will probably be expected from us as to the history and manners of the extraordinary man whose scientific labours, which form the subject of it, have so eminently contributed to the acceleration of human knowledge. The life of an individual incessantly engaged in the most profound speculations, and in the composition of works requiring a vast expense of thought and labour, and of which the multiplicity is not the least astonishing feature, is not likely to abound with incident, or to afford other matter to the biographer than the consideration of its own productions; but Laplace lived in extraordinary times, and, like several of his distinguished contemporaries and countrymen, took an active and prominent part in the political occurrences of his day. The few following particulars, which we give on the authority of the *Biographie Universelle et Portative des Contemporains*, are not devoid of interest; and they furnish one instance more, in addition to the number already on record, of an individual successfully making his way, by the mere influence of genius and talent, to the highest dignities and renown, in spite of every disadvantage of birth and fortune.

Laplace was born at Beaumont-en-Auge, in the department of Calvados, in March, 1749. The circumstances of his parents were extremely humble, and he was indebted for the means of acquiring his early instruction to the generosity of some rich individuals to whom his uncommon talents and astonishing aptitude for mathematical studies had accidentally become known. The expectations which had been formed of him were quickly realized by the great rapidity of his progress, which was such that at a very early age he was appointed a professor of the mathematics in the college of his native town. This field, however, soon appeared too confined for his aspiring views, and he abandoned it in a short time in order to prosecute his studies with greater advantages, and seek his fortune in Paris. In the capital, the brilliant talents of the young geometer soon procured him protectors; among others d'Alembert, who admitted him to his friendship, and in some measure directed his first steps in the career of the sciences. Laplace profited so well by the counsels and lessons of this illustrious master, that in a short time he signalized himself by the capital discovery of the invariability of the mean distances of the planets from the sun, and by the establishment of some theories of great importance in analysis. His first essays were made under the auspices of the president Saron, to whom he dedicated his works, and who defrayed the expense of their publication. Through this high patronage, which he had sufficient dexterity to turn to the greatest account, he was appointed to succeed Bezout in the situation of examiner of the

royal corps of artillery; an office which left him sufficient leisure to prosecute the studies which he had commenced with such distinguished success. At the early age of twenty-four he was admitted into the Academy of Sciences, and from this time devoted himself with ardour to the composition of a series of memoirs on the most important questions of physical astronomy, and to the developement in all their details, of the consequences that result from the general laws which regulate the system of the universe. Besides these and other researches connected with the improvement and extension of mathematical science, his attention was turned successfully to the investigation of the principles, and to the experimental researches of chemistry; and, associated with his illustrious and unfortunate friend, Lavoisier, he was the first to repeat in France the experiments of Cavendish to effect the decomposition of water. During the Revolution, when distinguished excellence of any kind was considered by those who had possessed themselves of the executive power of the state as a sufficient cause for proscription, Laplace was several times in danger of meeting a premature fate. It must, however, be admitted that he was not one of those retiring unobtrusive sons of genius who gladly relinquish the objects of political ambition for the calm pursuits of philosophy; on the contrary, he entered into all the phrenzies of that distracted period with the same enthusiasm which he displayed in his other occupations; and the extravagant and even ridiculous excess to which he carried his professions in favour of liberty, equality, and republicanism, especially when contrasted with the suppleness and subserviency of his subsequent political conduct, greatly diminished the respect which would have been willingly yielded to his profound genius and distinguished services in the cause of science. At the establishment of the Polytechnic School he was appointed one of the professors in that admirably conceived institution. In 1796 he did homage to the Council of Five Hundred by presenting to them his *Exposition du Système de Monde*; a work which was received by the scientific world in general with unbounded admiration. In 1799, he was nominated by the Consuls to the ministry of the interior. In this situation he soon found, probably, that the effects of human passions are not so easily submitted to the calculus as those of the forces of nature; at all events his success as a minister of state was by no means commensurate with his high reputation as a mathematician. Bonaparte, who himself aspired to the renown of science, and who always manifested the most friendly dispositions towards Laplace, said of him, in reference to the inaptitude which he displayed in the management of practical matters, that he never

seized any question in its true point of view, that he sought for subtleties in every thing, that his ideas were problematical, and that, in short, he carried into the administration the spirit of the infinitesimal calculus. It is well that the affairs of this world can be conducted by genius of a far less transcendent kind. The same year he was called to a place in the senate: of which body he was subsequently vice-chancellor and president. In 1806, he was raised to the dignity of Count of the Empire. But although he was indebted for all these offices and honours to the personal favour of Bonaparte, yet, on the emperor's reverse of fortune in 1814, he was one of the first to push matters to extremity against his ancient benefactor, and to vote for the overthrow of the imperial power, and the establishment of a provisional government. On the re-establishment of the Bourbons, the facility with which he had deserted his former master, and his zeal in the service of the restored dynasty, were rewarded with the title of marquis, and a seat in the chamber of peers. How different the fate of his amiable and more upright and consistent colleague Monge, who, on the same occasion, was stript of his employments, and had his name erased from the list of the Institute, because he had the magnanimity to respect, in his fallen fortunes, the man whom he had professed to reverence and admire in the plenitude of his power. In 1816, Laplace was named a member of the French Academy, an honour to which he was eminently entitled by the admirable clearness, and purity, and elegance of his style. He died in March, 1827, full of years and glory.

ART. VI.—*Histoire de l'Empire de Russie*, Par M. Karamsin; traduite par MM. St. Thomas, Jauffret, et de Divoff. Tom. I—XI. 8vo. Paris. 1819—1826.

SURPRISE has been often expressed that of an empire so prodigiously extended, and so preponderating in its influence, as Russia, nothing worthy of the name of history should have appeared before that of Levesque. We have in our own language what is called a History of Russia by Tooke, but this is little more than a meagre abridgement of the French author. Meagre we may well term it; for it comprises within a very few pages the events of six centuries,—a period to which Levesque devotes nearly *three*, and Karamsin no less than *nine*, large volumes. Hence the earlier portion of Russian history is hitherto almost entirely unknown to the English public.

But this surprise will surely cease when we consider that the

chief materials for such a history can be found only in Russia itself, where the MS. chronicles have lain for ages shrouded in the dust of libraries, and inaccessible, not only to foreigners, but to natives, without the imperial permission; and that these MSS. being for the most part in the ancient Slavonic dialect of the country, are intelligible to few. Besides, no one less obstinately persevering than the veriest German commentator, however well he might be acquainted with the ancient and modern dialects, would have patience to devote the necessary time to the preparatory yet indispensable occupation of examining authorities as dry in their manner as they are often uninteresting in their details, —authorities, too, not always easy to be decyphered by those even who are most conversant with such matters. This task requires,—not so much brilliancy of imagination, or a facility of moral and philosophic induction, as the obscure and less esteemed qualities of erudition and industry.

No wonder then that the lively Frenchman, notwithstanding his long residence in the Russian capital, and his access to the chronicles and public documents, should have been found inadequate to such a task. That he opened to us numerous stores of information previously unknown; that his work well entitled him to the gratitude of every reader, we most readily admit; but if he did much, he left more to be done. He has either entirely omitted, or but slightly touched on, some of the most important and interesting parts of his subject; and he frequently indulges in loose and bold conjecture, which more extended research would show to be utterly unfounded. We could not easily point out any history where the mistakes are greater either in number or in magnitude: a list of them alone would fill a volume.

Convinced of the defects to which we have alluded, and that Russia possessed no satisfactory work on the subject, Mr. Karamsin attempted to supply the desideratum. He rightly judged that no basis yet existed on which a good history could be raised; accordingly, disregarding what had before appeared, he resolved to collect his own materials at the fountain-head. He ransacked the public and private libraries of the empire, in which preliminary employment he is said to have passed fourteen years. Not only did he consult the native authorities, from the monk Nestor downwards, but the historians and travellers of other countries,—Greek, Latin, Arabian, German, Scandinavian, Polish, Hungarian, and English,—who were contemporary, or nearly so, with the events he relates. To his erudition, or at least his industry, ample testimony is borne by the notes at the end of each volume. In fact, few authorities which could possibly bear on the subject,

appear to have escaped him. Hence he has collected a mass of information infinitely more important, as well as more voluminous, than that of Levesque.

But while rendering our tribute of praise to the industry and research of the author, we must protest against the extent to which they have been carried. His anxiety to omit no event of the least importance has led to a minuteness which we suspect will prove insufferably tiresome to any but a native reader. The period which his history embraces is one during the greater part of which the events are obscure, and the authorities comparatively few;—to this no less than eleven ponderous volumes are devoted. With Mr. Karamsin all human labours are at an end; but should the work be continued on the same scale of tedious minuteness for the two last centuries, (a period so much more prolific in historic materials, and those of the highest interest and importance,) it will be swelled to a fearful extent: indeed, no life will be protracted long enough to complete it. Besides, whatever be the author's other excellencies, he exhibits little of the sound judgment, the critical acumen, of those higher qualities which some modern historians have taught us to expect, and without which a book may be very learned, but will not long please. His chief merit is, in truth, that of an industrious compiler: he has done little more than transfer, in his own rhetorical language, the substance of his numerous authorities—of the ancient chronicles especially—into the interminable volumes before us. His great fault is that of dwelling with the same minuteness on events which are doubtful or insignificant, as on those which are equally indisputable and momentous. By assigning an undue prominence to *all* his figures, he has produced a picture both disproportionate and ineffectual. On the whole, we may say of him, that it would be difficult to point out any historian who exhibits equal industry, and at the same time an equal lack of judgment and taste.

The volumes before us (which are all that Karamsin has left behind him,) contain the history of his country from Rurik, the founder of the monarchy in the ninth century, to the death of the reputed impostor Demetrius, at the beginning of the seventeenth. Over this wide space we purpose to cast sometimes a hurried, at other times a leisurely glance, according to the relative interest, importance, or novelty of the subject. Our object will be to advert to the more striking historical events omitted by Tooke, as well as to the genius, character and manners of the Russians, and to the former state of their society, political, moral and religious, as far as it can be ascertained; not from Karamsin only, but from the concurrent testimony of the authorities to which we have

~~access~~. But before we proceed to the establishment of the first Russian dynasty, we will imitate our author in giving some introductory notices of the ancient inhabitants of the country.

Most of the numerous tribes which inhabited Russia before the ninth century, were doubtless of Slavonian origin. When they first settled in the country is impossible to be determined; nor is it easier to ascertain at what period they forsook the common cradle of the human race. Probably, however, the Slavi were established in Europe many ages before the foundation of Rome. On the present occasion, we cannot be expected to enter into a controversy which opens so extensive a field to inquiry, but we think the opinion we have expressed—an opinion held by Dolci, Gatterer, Schloezer, Malte-Brun, and others equally eminent—is borne out by Strabo, Tacitus, Jornandes, &c., and above all, by the affinity subsisting between the Slavonic and the ancient languages of Greece and Rome. Of this affinity Levesque and other writers have furnished unquestionable proofs. Now we are certainly not among the number of those who contend that for such kindred words the Slavi were indebted to their southern neighbours: we believe the converse of the proposition; and therefore that the Slavi were settled in Europe long before the existence of historic records.

But whether the position we have advanced be tenable or not, is of little importance in our present inquiry. All that we are now interested to know is, that the nations anciently inhabiting Russia, by whatever names they were distinguished, were of the origin we have assigned them. We will not weary the reader by repeating their names, or defining the limits of their respective possessions: both were perpetually changing, from the restlessness of those tribes, or the arrival of whole nations from Asia. Like a resistless inundation, the new comers often swept away the petty boundaries which had been erected, and left behind them one wide waste of desolation. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the Huns—whose terrific empire, when no longer upheld by the giant-hand of Attila, soon fell to the earth—the conquerors established themselves in the country, and in time were confounded with the more ancient inhabitants.

But why were those various nations or tribes designated by the generic appellation of *Russians*?

From the testimonies adduced by Malte-Brun and others, there is, we think, no reason to doubt that the name in question is derived from the *Rhoxolani*, or *Rhoxani*,* one of the tribes to

* This derivation of *Russian* from *Rhoxolan*, or *Rhoxan*, is neither difficult nor improbable. The *x*, it is supposed, was substituted by the Greeks for the *m*, or *th* of the barbarians: in the Doric and Eolic dialects that character was expressed by the

which we have alluded. In the time of Strabo they were settled on the vast plains near the source of the Tanais and Borysthenes. Appian tells us that they were warlike and powerful; and we learn from other writers of at least equal weight, that having joined their arms to those of a neighbouring nation, they frequently harassed the Roman confines near the Danube and the Carpathian mountains; that in A.D. 68 they surprised Mæsia, in 166 carried on war against the Marcomanni, and in 270 were numbered among the enemies over whom Aurelian triumphed. During the three first centuries, then, they occupied the southern parts of Poland, Red Russia and Kiovia,—the very seats possessed by the *Russians* of the ninth century. Jornandes assigns them the same region; and the anonymous geographer of Ravenna fixes them in Lithuania and the neighbouring countries. These authorities are to us decisive that the *Rhoxani* and the *Russians* are the same people; but if any doubt remained, it would be removed by the concurrent testimony of the native chronicles, the Polish traditions, the Byzantine historians, and the Icelandic sagas, all of which are unanimous in applying the term *Russian* to the inhabitants of the country formerly possessed by the *Rhoxani*. Hence, as these were the most celebrated of the original tribes, that term by synecdoche became generic.

The *character* of the Slavi, or early Russians, was such as might be expected from their habits—in war courageous, but cruel, and greedy of plunder; in peace barbarous, but simple and hospitable. So far was hospitality carried among them, that if a man were too poor to entertain his guest, he was permitted to steal from his richer neighbour what he lacked for the purpose: the vice was justified by the virtue. Polygamy was allowed; and the women, as in all savage communities, were a degraded sex. As in India, widows were consumed on the funeral piles of their husbands; and according to the Arabic geographer, Yakut, she was not the only victim: a slave was also sacrificed in the same manner.* This inhuman custom, which both the Indians and the Slavi probably derived from the same source, was originally founded on the notion that wives and slaves were doomed to serve their lord in the next world as well as in this; and that until the former were put to death, the latter would remain without the

simple s. Hence from *Rhoxani* to *Rhossani*, *Romani*, *Rossi*, (the proper orthography requires the *o* not the *u* in the first syllable,) the transition is natural and easy. A MS. of Jornandes in the Ambrosian library at Milan has *Rossomannorum* instead of *Rhocolanorum*,—a reading which confirms the identity of sound between the *s* and the *z*. The addition by that historian of the Gothic termination *mann*, to the primitive word, will surprise no one.

* See the translation of a curious article on this subject in the *Asiatic Journal* for July, 1828.

necessary aid. Male children were reared for war; but if the female infants of a family were considered too numerous, they were destroyed at their birth. A custom still more horrid was that of children leaving their aged and helpless parents to expire for want.

But with all their ferocity and barbarism, the early Russians were not unacquainted with the softer arts of life.

"In the sixth century, the northern Winidæ (a widely extended branch of the Slavi, or perhaps but another name for the old race) told the Emperor of Constantinople that music was their greatest pleasure, and that even in their journeys they seldom carried arms, but always lutes and harps of their own workmanship. They had also other instruments, which still form the delight of the Slavonian nations. It was not in the tranquillity of peace, and in their own country only, that the Slavi indulged in music and rejoicing: even in their warlike expeditions, and within sight of the enemy, they sang and made themselves merry. We learn from Procopius, that when attacked by night, A.D. 592, by a Greek general, the Slavi were so much engrossed by their amusements, that they were surprised before they could adopt any measures of defence. Many popular Slavonic songs of Lusatia, Luxemburg, and Dalmatia, appear very ancient; and so do many Russian couplets now current, in which the gods of Paganism and the Danube are celebrated. That river was dear to our ancestors; for on its banks they made the first essays of their valour, and obtained their first triumphs. Probably those airs, which were so sweet and peaceful among the Winidæ, while military glory and success remained unknown to them, were changed into war-songs when their armies had approached the Roman empire, and penetrated into Dacia."—"Hence the origin of poetry, which among all nations is, in its commencement, the organ for expressing love and happiness, and for celebrating the bold deeds of the warrior."—vol. i. p. 84.

To this ardent enthusiasm for song among the Slavonian and Teutonic nations, especially among the Poles, the Tyrolese, and the Germans, we can ourselves bear testimony. We well remember—indeed we can never forget—hearing full 30,000 soldiers simultaneously join in one of their favourite songs of triumph, as they were returning through Germany from their expedition to France in 1815. The effect was more than tremendous: it was awful,—far beyond what we had previously imagined possible.

In the earliest stage of their society, the Slavi had no regular form of government, nor did they recognise any authority beyond the natural one which family relations impose. To deliberate on affairs of general concern, the warriors and those "whom age had taught wisdom," assembled in some appointed place,—often in one of their Pagan temples. But superior bravery and success

in war soon brought superior power; military chiefs became the civil judges; and often when the son of a hero inherited the great qualities as well as the substance of his father, he succeeded to his dignity. The following extract is curious :

" This power among the Slavi was indicated by the denomination of *boyards*, *voyvods*, *kniaz*, *pan*, *jupans*, *karols* or *krols*, &c. The first, which is unquestionably derived from *voyč*, a combat, and which might originally designate a warrior of extraordinary valour, became afterwards a public dignity. The Byzantine annals of A.D. 764, speak of *boyards*, who were the lords or chief magistrates of the Bulgarian Slavi. The title of *voyvod* also was in its origin applied only to military commanders; but as in time of peace those chiefs would continue to exercise their authority over the people, the term was subsequently used to designate a ruler in general among the Bohemians and the Saxon Vendi: in Carniola it signified a prince; and in Poland not only a general in chief, but a judge. The word *kniaz* is probably derived from *kon*, a horse; though many of the learned deduce it from the oriental word *kagan*. In the countries inhabited by the Slavonians, horses were the most valuable species of property: among the Pomeranians, a maritime people, thirty were esteemed a rich inheritance, and every proprietor of one was termed *kgnaz*, noble captain, or chief.* In Croatia and Servia the title was given to the brother of a king; and in Dalmatia the head judge bore that of *veliky-kgnaz*, or great chief. According to Constantine Porphyrogenetus, a *pan*, among the Slavi of Croatia, governed three districts, and presided over the diets, when the people assembled for the purpose of deliberating. Until the thirteenth century the name, the possessors of which were long all powerful in Hungary, was employed by the Bohemians to designate any rich proprietor; and at present it signifies a lord in Polish. In Slavonic countries, particular districts were called *jupans-toa*, and the governors *jupans* or deans, according to the same Constantine: the old word *jupa* means a village. The chief duty of these dignitaries was the administration of justice. This is sufficiently proved by the fact that at this day the peasants of Austria and Upper Saxony call their judges by no other name: but in the middle ages the dignity of *jupan* was more honourable than that of *kgnaz*. These *jupans* had under them certain *suddafts*, or puisne judges, to assist them in their judicial duties. A singular custom has been preserved in some villages of Lusatia and Brandenburg: the labourers secretly choose from their own body a king, to whom they pay the same tribute as their ancestors paid to the *jupans*. Lastly, in Servia, Dalmatia, and Bohemia, sovereigns assumed the title of *krali*, or *karali*, that is, according to some authorities, punishers of crimes, from the word *kara*, punishment."—vol. i. p. 92.

These dignities, however, were not originally hereditary; indeed, some of them never became so. The people reserved to

* In Lusatia politeness awards the appellation *kgnas* to the master, *kgniaguina* to the mistress of the house.

themselves the right of electing, and often of deposing their chiefs, if convicted or even suspected of mal-practices. When some of them became at length hereditary, the innovation was effected by force; and the people never ceased to lament the extinction of their right to elect their rulers. In Carinthia the election of a voyvod, or duke, was accompanied by a curious ceremony. The object of their choice appeared before the people clothed in the meanest attire. A labourer was seated on a huge stone which served as a throne: before him the new ruler swore to defend religion and justice, and to support widows and orphans. The labourer then descended from the throne; the duke ascended, and every one present swore fidelity to him.

The *religion* of the Slavi is too vast a subject to be even noticed here. Some account of it (chiefly extracted from Levesque) may be found in Tooke.

Leaving the ancient inhabitants of Russia, we now proceed to glance at the history of that country from the establishment of the first great dynasty.

In the ninth century—the period when Russian history becomes authentic—the country possessed a few considerable towns independent of each other, and under different rulers. Of these the most powerful were Novgorod and Kief, (Kiow,) both of which, tradition says, had existed some centuries. “Who can resist God and Novgorod the Great?” was a proverb that sufficiently indicated the preponderance of the former over the petty states in the neighbourhood; but the democratic form of her government opened a wide field to internal disorders. “Malheureusement,” says Levesque, “il est bien rare que les hommes puissent être paisibles quand ils ne sont pas chargés de chaînes;” a maxim, however, which we should scarcely have expected from the man. While discord prevailed within, the Scandinavian pirates and other enemies assailed her from without. Convinced that by her own efforts she could no longer preserve her independence, she called in those pirates, (who were ever ready to draw the sword for any cause which promised them a recompense,) to assist her. Ere long the Scandinavian chief, Rurik, assumed the sovereignty of Novgorod, whether by force, or by the voluntary suffrages of the inhabitants, is doubtful. The case seems parallel to our calling in the Saxons against the Picts: in both instances, and from the same cause, the allies may have become the masters. It was in A.D. 862 that Rurik thus obtained undisturbed possession of the state; at the same time his brother, Sineus, assumed the government of Bielo-Orzero, and Truvor, a third brother, that of Izborsk. On the death of these two, Rurik became undisputed sovereign of all northern Russia.

That these strangers—the Varages of Nestor, and the *Βαρύγγοι* of the Byzantine historians—were Scandinavian pirates, is much more than probable. The very name, *Vaeringar*, which in the northern tongues signifies sword-men, or war-men, and the fact that when a king of Sweden in the tenth century passed through Constantinople, the Varagian guard acknowledged him as their king, are proofs of their identity with the northern pirates. They had been accustomed for ages to infest the maritime coasts around the Baltic, and at the period in question in greater numbers than ever. Harold Harfager had just driven them from Norway, and compelled them to seek booty in other countries. Thus while some visited Iceland, some the British isles, and others France, many hastened to Novgorod, and, as we have seen, obtained possession of three considerable governments.

Kief also did not long escape the foreign yoke. Two of the Scandinavian chiefs, having some cause of dissatisfaction with Rurik, left Novgorod, with the intention of seeking a more brilliant fortune in the service of the Greek emperor. On their way to Constantinople, they took possession of Kief, and ruled it as independent princes. After Rurik's death, however, and during the minority of his son Igor, Oleg, the regent, added this new conquest to the rest, and transferred to it the seat of government from Novgorod. He made other conquests, and is said even to have humbled the Greek emperor; but as the latter statement is highly improbable, and totally unsupported by the Byzantine annals, we cannot join Mr. Karamsin in his patriotic feeling of triumph on the occasion. The death of this ambitious guardian, who retained the reins of sovereignty long after the majority of his ward, was, according to Nestor, singular enough. He had a favourite horse, which, however, as the diviners had foretold that it would be the cause of his death, he had ceased to mount. Five years having elapsed, he remembered the prediction, and inquired after his horse. He was told that it was dead. Ridiculing, as in appearance he well might, the pretended science of the impostors, and, in the exultation of the moment, he hastened to contemplate his dead enemy. He placed one foot on the skull, exclaiming, "So, this is the dreaded animal!" but scarcely had the words been uttered, when he received a mortal wound in the heel, inflicted by a serpent concealed within.*

After reigning thirty-three years, during which period he made

* Something very like the above fable, and probably the original, may be found in an Icelandic saga quoted by Torfæus. A witch predicted to Orvar-Odda that Fax, his favourite horse, would occasion his death. The animal died, Orvar visited the ditch in which it lay, when an adder issued from the skull, and bit him mortally in the heel.

two irruptions into the Greek empire, Igor was assassinated by the Drevlians, A.D. 945. His widow Olga, who governed during the minority of her son Sviatoslaf, revenged his death in a manner equally perfidious and cruel; but her subsequent conversion to Christianity atoned for all. Though that religion had several professors in Kief, into which it had been introduced in the preceding reign, she went to Constantinople, to be more accurately instructed in the new faith; and there she was baptized, the emperor himself (Constantine Porphyrogenitus) standing as sponsor. Her shocking treachery to the Drevlians was not considered any impediment to her canonization: as she was the first Russian sovereign who submitted to the holy rite, a grateful church has placed her in its venerable catalogue of saints. But neither Sviatoslaf nor his subjects were much influenced by her example: the golden-whiskered Perune, and a host of inferior deities, were still the objects of general adoration.

Of the three sons left by Sviatoslaf, Yaropolk, Oleg, and Vladimir, the two former fell victims to their unnatural contentions, (Yaropolk, under the title of grand duke, held Kief, and Oleg the country of the Drevlians,) and the last, who had been ruler of Novgorod, succeeded to the undivided sovereignty. For his success in restoring the unity of power, and in increasing his territories by his wars with the surrounding states, Vladimir, who piqued himself on his superior piety, was anxious to testify his gratitude to the gods. New statues were erected to their honour, and Perune was carefully provided with a new and costly pair of appendages. But, lest these acts of homage should be insufficient to satisfy his divine protectors, he resolved to add a human victim. He fixed on a youth, a Scandinavian and a Christian, whose father, not content with opposing the design, railed with all his might against the idols of the country, and thereby exasperated the inhabitants of Kief to such a degree, that both he and his son were sacrificed in their own house. It is, however, some consolation to think, that if they were the first, they were also the last Christian martyrs in that city; for not only Kief, but the greatest part of Russia was about to embrace the pure faith. We are not informed by what means the zeal of the grand duke in the cause of Paganism began to cool. Certain it is that he became displeased with the deities he had made; so much so, that he resolved on the introduction of a better religion. But how select, when so great a number were offered to his choice? We are told that Christians, Mahometans and Jews, sent the most learned of their doctors to demonstrate the superior excellency of their respective modes of faith; each was anxious to boast the honour of converting so renowned a Pagan. As

this is a subject important in itself, and but slightly noticed by Tooke, we willingly make room for the following extract.

"The first ambassadors," says Karamsin, chiefly from Nestor, "were from the Bulgarians of the Volga. The religion of Mahomet, propagated by the victorious arms of the Arabs, already reigned over the eastern and northern borders of the Caspian; the Bulgarians also had embraced it, and they wished Vladimir to do the same. The description of the Mohammedan paradise, with its smiling houries, inflamed the imagination of this voluptuous prince;* but then he disliked circumcision, and the prohibition of wine he thought foolish. 'Wine,' exclaimed he, 'is the chief delight of the Russians; we cannot do without it.' The deputies from the German Catholics harangued him on the greatness of God, and the vanity of idols. 'Go home,' replied the prince, 'our forefathers never received a religion from the pope.' After listening to the Jews, he asked them where their country lay. 'At Jerusalem,' was the reply; 'but in his anger God has dispersed us throughout the earth.' 'What!' said Vladimir, 'do you, who are the cursed of God, pretend to teach others! Away! we have no wish to be without country as you are.' At length a Greek philosopher, (his name is unknown,) after demonstrating in a few words the falsity of other religions, explained to the grand duke the spirit of the Old and New Testament—the creation, original sin, our first parents, the deluge, the people of God, redemption, Christianity, the seven Œcumenical Councils; finally, he drew a forcible picture of the last judgment—the subsequent happiness of the blessed, and the punishment of the damned. Struck with this description, the prince sighed and said: 'What bliss for the good, and misery for the wicked!' 'Be baptized,' replied the philosopher, 'and heaven will be your inheritance.'

"Having dismissed this philosopher laden with presents, Vladimir assembled his boyards; he acquainted them with the discourses of the Mahometans, Jews, Catholics, and Greeks, and requested their opinion. 'Prince,' replied the boyards and elders, 'every man praises his own religion; but if you wish to choose the best, send wise men into different countries, to ascertain what people honour God in the manner most worthy of him.' Accordingly, the grand duke selected for this purpose

* Vladimir was truly the Solomon of his age, if it be true that he had four wives and eight hundred concubines. The first of his wives, Rogueda, who had been affianced to his brother Yaropolk, whose father and brother he had assassinated, and whom he had ferociously carried off, could forgive him the death of her dearest relations, but not his infidelities. She showed her resentment, and was in consequence driven from his palace, and compelled to reside in a solitary building on the Libeda, near Kief. There, however, she was sometimes visited by her husband. As he was one night sleeping by her side, she resolved, in a sudden fit of jealousy and revenge, to take away his life. She accordingly raised a dagger to plunge it into his heart; but that instant he opened his eyes, and was fortunate enough to arrest the descending blow. He arose, intending to put her to death, when the child of both rushed between them, and besought pardon for the mother. After a short struggle, nature triumphed: Vladimir embraced his child, and left the house. He was persuaded by his nobles not only to pardon Rogueda, but (probably to remove her) to settle on her the principality formerly held by her father.

ten of the wisest persons he could find. Among the Bulgarians, they saw nothing but wretched-looking temples, tedious prayers, and sorrowful faces; among the German Catholics, ceremonies without dignity or magnificence. At length they reached Constantinople. 'Let them see the glory of our God!' said the emperor. Knowing that a barbarous mind is more forcibly struck with external splendour than with abstract truths, he conducted the ambassadors into the church of St. Sophia, where the patriarch himself, in his pontifical vestments, was celebrating the divine office. The magnificence of the place, the presence of the clergy, the splendour of the sacerdotal garb, the ornaments of the altars, the exquisite odour of the incense, the delightful melody of the choristers, the silence of the people, and finally, the holy and mysterious majesty of the ceremonies, powerfully affected the Russians. They thought the temple the residence of the Most High, and the place where his glory was manifested to mortals. On their return to Kief, they gave Vladimir an account of their mission. They spoke with contempt of the Mahometan worship, and with little favour of the Catholic; but of the Greek ritual with the greatest enthusiasm."—Vol. i. p. 260.

The representations of his deputies, and the conviction that Olga, "the wisest of mortals," would not have embraced a bad religion, soon determined Vladimir. But he had no notion of being baptized like other men; he could not allow the humble priests, who had been permitted to settle in Kief, to administer the sacred rite to *him*; he could not condescend to receive it from any one below an archbishop at least. Would he *solicit* the Greek emperors (Basil and Constantine then reigned) for the favour? Not he: he would declare war against them, and *compel* them to see that his baptism was celebrated with all due splendour. Hostilities accordingly commenced, and he eventually succeeded in obtaining his admission not only into the Christian church by no less a dignitary than the Archbishop of Cherson, but even into the imperial family: as he forced the two brothers to bestow on him the hand of their sister the princess Anne, and returned triumphant to Kief, with his royal spouse, with priests, books, vases, and relics without number.

Vladimir was not satisfied with his own conversion; he insisted that his subjects should imitate his example, and the means he adopted for the purpose were efficacious enough. He did more in a single day than would have been performed by a thousand preaching missionaries. He began by demolishing the idols, which had so lately been the objects of his worship, and which he had probably loved the more from their being his own workmanship. Poor Perune found his fine whiskers of little avail; as he was the greatest of the gods, so he was doomed to receive the greatest measure of contempt. The deified log was tied to the tail of a horse, and while dragged to the top of a hill to be rolled

down into the river, it was soundly cudgelled by twelve lusty soldiers. When all these visible signs of Paganism were removed, the royal convert ordered that his subjects should everywhere conform to the new faith,—an order obeyed without opposition. On a certain day all the inhabitants of Kief were assembled on the banks of the Dnieper; and, on a signal from the monarch, all plunged into the river, some to the waist, others to the neck; parents held their children in their arms while the ceremony was performed by the priests in attendance. Thus a nation received baptism, not only without murmuring, but with cheerfulness; for all were convinced that a religion, embraced by the sovereign and boyards, must necessarily be the best in the world. In all places, however, this change was not immediate; in some of the more sequestered districts Paganism subsisted until the twelfth century.

Vladimir has obtained the name of Great from his victories, and of Saint from his zeal. His conversion made him a new man. He, who had indulged in the grossest sensuality, was now faithful to his Christian consort: he, who had delighted in blood, now hesitated to make war when his dominions were invaded, and even to punish with death the most atrocious criminals. He founded schools for the instruction of his barbarous subjects, encouraged the liberal as well as the necessary arts, fortified towns, peopled uninhabited regions, and by his salutary judicial regulations, approved himself no indifferent legislator. By the Russian chroniclers he is styled the Solomon of his country—a name which he certainly merited for better reasons than the number of his concubines. But with all his talents and successes—with all the undisputed benefits which he conferred on his subjects, Vladimir was the cause, however unintentional, of Russia's greatest miseries. With the Scandinavians, the feudal system had been introduced into the country; the chiefs had been rewarded for their services by grants of provinces, over which they were constituted independent judges as well as governors. They owed no more than military obedience to their superior lord: for their administration in their fiefs they held themselves accountable to no one. So powerful did they become, that they were no more than nominally dependant on the grand duke; they made war on one another without asking his consent, and sometimes in opposition to his commands and threats. To reduce them to obedience was not always practicable, especially after the division of the sovereign power among the sons of the grand duke. Svintoslaf, as we have seen, was the first to set so fatal an example; but the consequent dissensions of his three sons might have proved a salutary lesson to his successors. That example was but too well imitated by Vladimir, who, towards the decline

of his life, parcelled out his dominions, under the title of hereditary fiefs, among his numerous sons. Little did he foresee that such a step was preparing unspeakable horrors for the future; that for many succeeding ages his descendants would be armed against each other, and the blood of the country's best defenders spilt in obscure and criminal contests; that a measure, dictated by the blindness of paternal affection, was laying the foundation of the Tartar domination over all Russia. Even in his lifetime he had an opportunity of contemplating the ruinous consequences of such a measure; his last public act was to march against his rebellious son Yaroslaf, whom he had placed over Novgorod; but he died before he could reach his destination, A.D. 1014.

The history of the country from this period to the first incursion of the Tartars in 1223, presents little more than a sickening picture of civil disorders. The authority of the grand duke at Kief was no longer able to punish the refractory; he was himself frequently compelled to share the fate of other vanquished princes, —to lose his eyes, or retire to a monastery for life. Indeed, Kief soon ceased to exercise even a nominal influence over the rest. About the middle of the twelfth century, Andrew of Susdal founded the great principality of Vladimir, which was ere long recognised as the chief of the Russian powers; and in 1169 Kief was taken and sacked by the same ambitious governor. Novgorod began to choose its own rulers, who were so entirely dependent on the citizens, that they were deposed on the slightest pretexts: in the short space of a century, no fewer than thirty-four were successively entrusted with the limited administration of that opulent republic. The nominal governor seems to have been elected chiefly for his military talents, in order that he might protect the inhabitants against foreign aggression: the elders reserved to themselves the greater portion of the internal administration.

But in this obscure period of more than two centuries, the philosopher discovers something more valuable than military achievements, however splendid,—something which exhibits a partial view of Russian society, and of the then existing state of opinions and manners. We allude to the first code of *written* laws which the country possessed, which were partly compiled and partly composed by the grand duke Yaroslaf, who reigned over nearly all Russia from 1019 to 1054. A few of its more curious provisions we lay before the reader; he will find some of them not much unlike those of other northern people, especially of our Saxon ancestors.

I. If one man kill another, the latter shall be avenged by his relations,

who shall be permitted to put the assassin to death. If no such avengers exist, the assassin shall pay into the public treasury,

1. For a boyard, or thane, the double fine, or eighty grivnas.
 2. For a page of the prince, his cook, or other domestics; for a merchant; for the superintendant or sword-bearer of a boyard; for every free Russian, whether of Slavonic or Scandinavian origin, the simple fine, or forty grivnas.
 3. For the assassination of a woman half the usual fine. There is no fine for killing a slave; but if murdered without sufficient cause, the value shall be given to the master. For a serf belonging either to a boyard, or free Russian, five grivnas shall be paid to the owner.
 4. For the superintendant of a village, acting either for the grand duke or a boyard; for an artisan, schoolmaster, or nurse, twelve grivnas.
 5. For a female servant, six grivnas shall be given to the master, and a fine of twelve shall be paid to the state.
- II. If in the heat of anger or intoxication one man kill another and conceal himself, the district in which the murder is committed shall be responsible for the fine. But if the assassin keep his ground, he shall pay half the fine, and the district the other half.
- III. If one man strike another,
1. With the scabbard or handle of a sword; with a stick, the fist, a cup or goblet, he shall pay twelve grivnas.
 2. With a club, three grivnas.
- IV. For any slight contusion, three grivnas as a fine, and one to the party injured; but for any wound in the hand, foot, eye, or nose, twenty grivnas to the state, and ten to the plaintiff.
- V. If one man pull another by the beard, or knock out a tooth, he shall pay a fine of twelve grivnas,* and one to the plaintiff.

But for the protection of *property* as well as individuals, theft was punished by a minutely regulated scale of fines, corresponding to the value of the thing stolen. Even he who mounted a horse without the owner's permission, was fined; and if through negligence a hired servant suffered his employer's property to be injured, the loss was deducted from his wages. Amidst so much anxiety, however, to protect every description of property, it is singular that so wide a door to fraud, as is exhibited in the following regulation, should be opened. "If one man lend money to another, and the latter deny the loan, the ordeal shall not be applied; the bare oath of the defendant shall be sufficient to exonerate him from the debt."

To this monument of antiquity, so characteristic of the national manners, we may add, that though the state of Russian society after St. Vladimir was materially influenced by the progress of Christianity, yet religion did not so much change as modify these

* The grivna was a copper coin, and equivalent, we believe, to about 4½d. sterling.

manners. The association of ardent zeal for the faith with the enjoyment of pleasures prohibited by it, exhibited a picture anomalous indeed, but for that very reason the more striking. Princes, nobles and merchants were eager to build churches and monasteries, but at the same time they indulged in their favourite amusements,—music, dancing, wine and women. Almost every man of substance had one concubine at least,—an enjoyment by no means confined to laymen; and sobriety was never a Russian virtue. Doubtless, a zeal for holy church was in itself considered a sufficient expiation for unlawful enjoyments: and towards the close of life, when the empire of the passions had lost its influence, nothing was more common than for a man, whose life had been more than ordinarily licentious, to lull his conscience by assuming the monastic habit.

After subduing all northern Asia, from China to the Caspian Sea, Ghengis Khan despatched two of his generals to subjugate the nations on the borders of the Euxine. The Polovtses being too weak to offer any resistance, took refuge at Kief, and then the Russians were for the first time acquainted with the formidable enemy which was preparing to march against them. The princes entered into a mutual league to face the common danger, and the fugitive strangers were associated with them. But either there was treachery in their councils, or cowardice in their proceedings; for when the combined army was attacked by the Tartars on the banks of the Kalka, the Prince of Kief rendered so little assistance to the common cause, and the Polovtses made so feeble a defence, that the invaders slaughtered vast numbers of the allies, and obtained a decisive victory. That the Tartars would thence have proceeded to conquer all Russia, which, from its exhausted state, occasioned by intestine wars, would have fallen an easy prey, is certain; but they were recalled by their imperial master, to assist in reducing a more powerful enemy. By this sudden retreat, Russia had time to breathe; and it might naturally be supposed that the princes would suspend their petty animosities; and join heart and hand in making preparations for defence against the too probable return of their assailants. No such thing; civil discord raged as violently as before; the blood of the people flowed as copiously as ever in these shameful contentions; so that when Baty, the grandson of Ghengis, advanced in 1237 at the head of another Mongol army, the country was in too exhausted a condition to offer any effectual resistance. After defeating all opponents, the invader destroyed Moscow, which had for some time been rising into notice; Vladimir and other cities soon shared the same fate; and such were the ravages he committed, that the whole country was little more than a desert. Laden with

plunder, he returned to the neighbourhood of the Don, but in the following year he came to invest Kief. He took it by storm, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and destroyed the city so completely, that nothing remained but smoking ruins. Ancient Kief disappeared for ever; and all Russia was the theatre of horrors far surpassing any which it had before exhibited. "It seemed," says our historian, "as if a deluge of fire had passed over it from east to west,—as if pestilence, earthquakes, and all the scourges of nature had united to ensure its destruction." It everywhere submitted to the conqueror, who resolved to hold it, and the surrounding countries, in subjection for ever: Novgorod was the only city which escaped the common doom. Having also subdued several provinces of Poland, Hungary, Croatia, Servia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia, Baty returned to the banks of the Volga, where he established the seat of his empire over the conquests he had made. He summoned the Russian princes to his camp, to do homage for their respective possessions; and he confirmed the superiority of Yaroslaf over the rest. All agreed to pay annual tributes, which were to be regularly transmitted through the grand duke. From this period to the reign of Ivan III. those princes were in a state of slavish dependence on the khans of Kaptshak, or the Golden Horde.

The fact will doubtless appear singular, but it is not the less true, that the Russo-Greek Church enjoyed equal security, and greater privileges, during the domination of the Tartars than under the native princes.

"One of the most remarkable effects resulting from the domination of the Tartars over Russia, was the increased honours awarded to our clergy, and the augmentation of their revenues. The khans, whose policy it was to oppress both prince and people, protected the church and servants of Christ: towards both they testified great benevolence: they caressed the metropolitans and bishops, to whose petitions they turned a favourable ear; and their respect for the shepherds often disarmed their anger against the flocks. Thus the metropolitan Alexis restored tranquillity to his country, by mediating between its people and the horde. Disgusted with the world, and with the evils under which Russia groaned, the highest personages sought for peace in the serenity of the cloister: they exchanged their splendid habits for the mantle of the monk, and thereby added lustre to a state into which even princes entered before the arrival of the mortal hour.* The khans punished with death any of their subjects who dared to pillage, or in any way to molest the monasteries, which piety was ever ready to enrich by valuable legacies. Every man at his death left something to the church, and this

* Most of the Russian grand-dukes made their profession, and assumed the cowl, when they found their end approaching. Sometimes, indeed, they recovered, but they were compelled to relinquish for ever their worldly dignity, and retire to the cloister.

was especially the case while the plague continued (and so long continued) to desolate Russia. As the ecclesiastical domains paid no tax, either to the horde, or to the native princes, we need not wonder that they prospered. After the necessary expenditure in church ornaments, and for the maintenance of the monks, money enough remained to purchase new landed possessions. The bishops of Novgorod, indeed, employed the treasures of St. Sophia for the good of the state; but our metropolitans did not follow so laudable an example. Whilst the people languished in misery, the monks, who were occupied in commerce, and exempted from every species of contribution, had no other care than that of augmenting their fortunes. Thus, without adverting to the high estimation attached to the monastic life, and to the force of religion, the temporal privileges alone of the sacred profession influenced the inhabitants of town and country to rush into the cloister; for riches, as well as public esteem, became the reward of piety. There, sheltered from violence, and placed beyond the reach of want, men could reap without the trouble of sowing. We have few monasteries remaining which were founded either before or after the Tartars: almost all are monuments of that period."—vol. v. pp. 461—463.

It might also have been expected that the Mongols would have introduced some changes in the national manners, or at least in the internal administration; yet such does not appear to have been the case. The conquerors were first Pagans, then Mahometans; so that, being despised as unbelievers, and hated as enemies, their usages would have little influence over the conquered. The Greeks were the only people from whom the latter derived anything like improvement,—the only people whom they were desirous of imitating. And as to the internal administration, the Tartars never interfered with it.

In other respects what we have said respecting the civil disorders of Russia, preceding the invasion of the Tartars, will apply with equal, if not greater, justice to the period of their domination. The picture is too revolting to be contemplated by the humane mind, and too uninteresting in itself to fix the attention of any beholder: it is one wide waste, unenlivened by a single verdant spot. The grand-dukes, indeed, seem to have been occasionally sensible that the evils of the country were owing to the division of power; some attempts were made to restore its unity, but unfortunately what was done by one, was undone by his successor. Still some progress was made, however slow, towards the only measure which could ensure independence to the country, or happiness to its inhabitants. Moscow in time became the acknowledged head of the other principalities, many of which, either by conquest, or in default of succession, were permanently incorporated with it. Sometimes, too, the khans themselves augmented the possessions of the grand-dukes. In the reign of Vassilly the

Blind, autocracy made greater strides than ever, but to his son and successor, Ivan III., was reserved the glory of restoring it. This prince, who ascended the throne in 1462, succeeded by his valour, and still more by his prudence, not only in throwing off the foreign yoke, and depriving the principalities of the rights of sovereignty, but in raising his country to no mean rank among the European powers. He was the true founder of the Russian greatness. Become independent autocrat, the humble title of grand-duke was no longer suited to his dignity: he assumed that of *Tsar* in his correspondence with other potentates, but at home he was satisfied with the ancient designation. After a splendid reign of forty-three years, this great monarch transmitted the sceptre to his son Vassilly, who perseveringly trod in the footsteps of his father, and died in 1534.

We now come to the reign of Ivan IV., called the Terrible by his own subjects, and the Tyrant by foreigners. As we consider him the most extraordinary monarch the world has ever produced, and as little is known of him in this country, we are sure the reader will not be sorry if we enter into a more detailed view of his character and actions.

Ivan was but an infant at his father's death, and he lost his mother, the regent, before he had attained his seventh year. The administration of the government was in consequence entrusted to a council of boyards, whose dissensions and intrigues threw the empire into such disorder that it was nigh becoming a prey to its Tartarian and Lithuanian enemies. During this state of anarchy, the education of the future sovereign was almost totally neglected: it was evidently the object of his ambitious guardians to remove him as much as possible from public affairs, and by thereby rendering him unqualified to hold the reigns of government, to secure the continuance of their own authority. But he had received from nature faculties of no ordinary kind: he soon perceived that both he and the nation were slaves to a vile oligarchy: hence he learned to fear and to hate all who afterwards aspired to a participation of the sovereign power. His natural disposition was cruel: to torture or kill domestic animals, and to ride over women and old men, were his favourite amusements—amusements in which he was encouraged by those whose duty it was to restrain his vicious propensities. Hence was laid the foundation of a tyranny which was afterwards to astonish all Europe. The first effects of it were experienced by one who had helped to foster it, and who had therefore little commiseration from the people. This was Prince Shuisky, president of the council. Ivan was no more than thirteen years of age when he resolved to inflict summary vengeance on this object of general

execution: the unfortunate wretch, on a signal from the young prince, was dragged out into the street, and worried alive by dogs in open daylight. In 1546, Ivan having reached his eighteenth year, was crowned Tsar of all the Russias,—a title thenceforward adopted at home, as well as in relations with foreign courts.

In the beginning of his reign, Ivan was doubtless disposed to follow the natural bent of his mind towards cruelty; but the influence of his consort, the mild and amiable Anastasia, and the exhortations of a monk, continued for many years to restrain the monster within. During this period, indeed, he seemed to have undergone an entire change: he was not only indefatigable in discharging the duties of his station, but he exhibited so many instances of generosity and clemency, that he was equally beloved and adored by his people. Victorious over its natural enemies, and tranquil at home, Russia looked forward to long years of happiness under its hopeful monarch. But if the lion was chained, it was not destroyed; if it slumbered, it might be suddenly aroused in its anger to dart its fangs into the heart of the victim. The advice of an old bishop, who during the preceding reign had been banished from court for his crimes, and whom Ivan consulted on the best means of governing his kingdom, made a profound impression on the mind of the Tsar. "If you wish to be truly a sovereign," said the bishop, "never seek a counsellor wiser than yourself: never receive advice from any man. Command, but never obey, and you will be a terror to the boyards. Remember that every one who is allowed to *advise*, ends by *ruling* his sovereign."* Ivan kissed the old man's hand, exclaiming—"My own father could not have spoken more wisely!" Still, so long as Anastasia lived, no change was perceptible in his conduct: he applied himself unceasingly to the welfare of his subjects; but, on the death of that excellent princess in 1560, the slumbering demon arose in all the terror of his might.

Ivan commenced by banishing his prudent counsellors, and substituting in their place those who were likely to prove most submissive to his will. His vengeance fell on all his former associates. The partizans of the late ministry were everywhere hunted out: some were put to death, others imprisoned or banished. One prince was stabbed by the Tsar's own hand, because he dared to reproach a new favourite; another was poignarded in the church, because he would not join in the lascivious diversions of the court. A higher victim was denounced,

* This is said to have been the advice given by the dying Cardinal Mazarin to the young Lewis XIV.

Prince Andrew Kurbsky, who, both in the cabinet and the field, had rendered signal services to the emperor; but, having received some intimation of the fate which awaited him, he fled into Lithuania, and joined himself with the great foe of Russia, Sigismund King of Poland. Not satisfied with becoming a traitor, he sent by a confidential servant an insulting letter to his former master. The messenger had courage to appear before Ivan, who, on learning from whence he came, struck him across the legs with an iron rod which he generally carried in his hand. The blood issued from the wound, while the Tsar, with an unmoved countenance, and leaning on his rod, perused the letter. It certainly did not spare the majesty of the autocrat: it accused him of shedding the blood of Israel's elders, even in the temples of the Highest, and of innumerable other crimes: it threatened him with the tribunal before which he must one day appear to answer the spirits of the murdered; it enumerated the services of the writer, whose face, it concluded by saying, he would never see again in this life. The Tsar, who prided himself on his literary acquirements, and who wrote most of his letters with his own hand, condescended to send a reply to his rebellious subject,—a reply so extraordinary, and so characteristic of the writer, that we make a few extracts from it.

“ In the name of the All-powerful God, the master of our being and actions, by whom kings reign and the mighty speak, the humble and Christian-like answer to the Russian ex-boyard, our counsellor and voyvod, Prince Andrew Kurbsky.—Why, thou wretch, dost thou destroy thy traitor-soul in saving by flight thy worthless body? If thou art truly just and virtuous, why not die by thy master's hand, and thereby obtain the martyr's crown? What is life? What are worldly riches and honours? Vanity! a shadow! Happy is he to whom death brings salvation!”

After attempting to answer some of the accusations of Kurbsky, it continues:

“ What thou sayest of my pretended cruelties, is an impudent lie: I do *not* destroy the elders of Israel; nor do I stain with their blood the Lord's temples: the peaceful and the righteous live securely in my service. I am severe against traitors only; but who ever spared them? Did not Constantine the Great sacrifice his own son?”—“ I am not a child: I have need indeed of God's grace, of the protection of the Holy Virgin, and all the saints; but I want no advice from men. Glory to the Most High! Russia prospers; my boyards live in peace and concord: it is only your friends, your counsellors, that invent mischief in darkness. Thou threatenest me with the judgment of Christ in the other world: dost thou then believe that the divine power does not also regulate things here below? Manichean heresy! According to you, God reigns in heaven, Satan in hell, and men on earth. All error! falsehood!

The power of God is everywhere, both in this life and the next. Thou tellest me that I shall never again see thy Ethiop face : heavens ! what a misfortune ! Thou surroundest the throne of the Highest with those whom I have put to death :—a new heresy ! No one, saith the apostle, can see God.*—“ But I am silent, for Solomon forbids us to waste words with fools like thee.”*

The disaffection of Kurbsky raised a powerful army of Poles against Russia, and at the instigation of Sigismund, the Tartar khan also invaded the southern provinces. The Tsar, now considering all his courtiers as partizans of Kurbsky, distrusted every one who approached him. In his rage he put numbers to death on mere suspicion; but he complained that the victims were too few. To increase them, and to get rid of the remonstrances of the clergy, which were sometimes troublesome, he adopted an expedient which has the merit of originality at least to recommend it.—Suddenly a report was spread that the Tsar was about to leave Moscow,—no man knew whither. Accordingly the square of the Kremlin one morning in December was covered with sledges, some of which were filled with gold, silver, raiment, images, crosses, relics, &c. While the people were staring at each other, out came the emperor, accompanied by his family, the officers of his household, and a numerous retinue. He went to the church of the Assumption, and ordered the metropolitan to celebrate mass, prayed with great fervour, and received the blessing of Athanasius. He held out his hand to be kissed by the surrounding nobles, mounted his sledge with great solemnity, and drove off, escorted by a regiment of horse. This mysterious departure alarmed the city: a month passed in great anxiety, when an officer arrived with two letters from the Tsar,—one addressed to the metropolitan, the other to the inhabitants. In the former, Ivan adverted to the disorders which had prevailed during his

* We could adduce other examples, equally extraordinary, of Ivan's correspondence. We content ourselves with a few extracts from a letter which he wrote to the King of Sweden, after obtaining some successes over that monarch. To understand his allusion to Queen Catherine of Sweden, it is necessary to observe, that Ivan, having been deceived by a false report of her husband's death, had endeavoured to secure her for his harem, or perhaps for his wife.—

“ We chastise both thee and Sweden : the righteous are sure to prosper ! Deceived by the false report of Catherine's being a widow, I wished indeed to gain possession of her, but with no other design than that of delivering her to the King of Poland, (her brother,) and obtaining in exchange the province of Livonia, without bloodshed. Whatever any of you may calumniously say, such is the truth. What care I for thy wife ? Is she worth the undertaking of a war ? Many daughters of Polish kings have married grooms and varlets : ask well-informed people who Svoidilo was in the time of Jagellon. Dost thou think I care more for King Eric ?”—“ Tell me ;—whose son was thy father ? what was thy grandfather's name ? If I am wrong in believing, at this very day, that thou art sprung from some low-fellow or other, send me thy genealogy to convince me of my error.”—vol. ix. p. 274.

minority, and which he asserted were about to break out anew; and he complained that in his attempts to secure the public tranquillity, by punishing the guilty, he was continually thwarted by Athanasius and the clergy. He had therefore abandoned the helm of affairs, and had left the city, to wander whithersoever heaven might direct him. In the other, he assured the people of his good-will,—that of *them* he had no reason to complain; and he concluded by bidding them a final adieu.

This intelligence was like a thunder-bolt to the citizens: all were in the utmost consternation; for experience had taught them that the government of *one* tyrant was infinitely preferable to that of *many*: besides, Ivan, like our Henry the Eighth, was by no means unpopular with the middling and lower classes. The shops were instantly shut, the tribunals of justice were closed, and all business was suspended. "The Tsar has forsaken us, and we are undone!" burst from every mouth. "Who will now defend us against the enemy? what are sheep without the shepherd?" All waited on the metropolitan, whom they besought to turn the emperor from his purpose. "Let him punish," cried they, "all who deserve it: has he not the power of life and death? The state cannot remain without a head; and we will acknowledge no other than the one God has given us." It was soon resolved that a numerous deputation of prelates and nobles should follow Ivan, prostrate themselves to the dust before him, and entreat him to return and rule thenceforward as he pleased. They proceeded to the village of Alexandrovsky, where he then was, and pathetically besought him to have pity on Russia. If he despised the vanity of worldly greatness, he should remember that *religion* claimed his return,—that he was the first of orthodox monarchs, and that, if he abandoned his high duties, who would be able to maintain the purity of the faith? who would preserve millions of souls from error, and consequently from everlasting damnation?—This was just what the artful Ivan expected. Unable to withstand their pressing entreaties, and, above all, to leave the true church a prey to destruction, he consented, but not without much apparent reluctance, to resume his *troublesome* duties, provided the clergy engaged not to interfere when he punished those who were plotting the downfall of the state, and the destruction of himself and family. His *magnanimity* was extolled to the skies. The deputation returned, and the Tsar soon followed them, but so changed that his appearance excited universal astonishment. His countenance was dark, his eye had lost its lustre, he was beardless and bald,—fearful effects of the fury which raged within! He expatiated again on the crimes of the boyards, and on the duty of every sovereign to preserve tranquillity by precautionary measures.

Then followed some godly observations on the nothingness of this world, and the necessity of preparing for a better. Finally, he concluded his pious harangue by proposing the establishment of a new body-guard, to consist of a thousand men of noble birth, and to be called the *Oprishnina*, or Select Legion. This was instantly conceded by men who were too short-sighted to foresee the dreadful consequences that must result from the use of such an instrument in the hands of such a man. He would no longer inhabit the magnificent palace of his father: he erected a new one outside the walls of the Kremlin, and surrounded it with lofty bulwarks like a fortress: thither he retired, leaving to his nobles and judges the administration of justice.

Now commences the true reign of terror. The first victims were Prince Shuisky and his son Peter, who, though of the royal race of St. Vladimir, were as illustrious for loyalty as for birth. Both approached the place of execution with a calm and dignified air. The younger first offered himself to the axe, but the feelings of nature, which are the strongest in the purest hearts, would not permit the father to witness the death of his son; he insisted on leading the way. The axe descended, the head was severed from the body; and while the survivor was eagerly kissing the lifeless but still venerated countenance, his own head fell with it. Four other princes were beheaded, and a fifth impaled, the same day. Some boyards were compelled to embrace the monastic state; others were exiled to Kazan; and a still greater number were reduced to beggary by confiscation.

In the mean time the Select Legion* was formed: it consisted, not of one, but of six thousand men,—not of the high-born only, but of the lowest and most infamous of the people. To provide for these satellites of tyranny, twelve thousand householders were driven from their habitations and possessions: all Russia became their prey. They plundered and oppressed their unfortunate countrymen with impunity; they invented accusations against men of substance, to share in the spoils of confiscation. Hence they became the objects of universal fear and execration—the best titles to favour from their master. As symbols of their occupation, he caused each to suspend from the saddle-bow a *dog's head* and a *broom*: the former denoted that they *worried* his enemies; the latter that they *swept* Russia!

* This formidable body, better known by the name of the *Strelitzes*, having, after an existence of a century and a half, ceased to answer the purposes of its institution, was finally put down by Peter the Great, in 1699. In our own days the Turkish sultan, actuated by feelings similar to those of the illustrious founder of the modern greatness of the rival empire, has, by a bold but sanguinary stroke of policy, succeeded in ridding himself of the more ancient and equally formidable power of the Janissaries, who had so often hurled his predecessors from their throne.

"The new palace had the appearance of an impregnable fortress, yet the Tsar did not think it sufficiently secure: he disliked Moscow, and he therefore removed to Alexandrovsky, which was afterwards his ordinary residence, and which, from a humble village, began to expand into a town, with its stone churches, shops and houses. Its celebrated Church of Our Lady was painted outside with the most dazzling colours, enriched with gold and silver; each brick had its representation of the cross. The Tsar inhabited an extensive palace, surrounded by a ditch and rampart; the officers of the court, with the other functionaries, civil and military, had separate houses; the legionaries had their particular street, and so also had the tradespeople. Ivan commanded that no one should either enter or leave the town without his express permission; and to fulfil this order troops were continually patrolling to the distance of three versts. In this threatening castle, which was surrounded by dark forests, the Tsar devoted the greater portion of his time to divine service, thus seeking to calm his troubled soul by the constant exercises of devotion. He even transformed his palace into a monastery, and his favourites into monks. He gave the name of *brothers* to three hundred of his most depraved legionaries: he himself took that of *abbot*. He made Prince Viazemsky the *treasurer*, and Skuratof the *sacristan*. Having provided them all with black vestments, under which they wore splendid habits embroidered with fur and gold, he composed the rule of the order, and by his own example inculcated its scrupulous observance. This is the description of so singular a monastic life. At three o'clock every morning the Tsar, accompanied by his children and Skuratof, went to ring the bell for matins; soon all the brotherhood assembled in the church: absentees were punished by a week's imprisonment. During the service, which lasted until six or seven, the emperor sang, read and prayed, and with so much fervour, that his forehead bore marks of his prostrations against the ground. At eight all met again to hear mass; and at ten they sat down to table, except Ivan, who in a standing posture read aloud from some edifying book. In the repast there was no lack of good things; everything, especially wine and honey, abounded to such a degree, that every day might have been taken for a festival. What remained after eating was carried to the market-place, and distributed to the poor. The Tsar, that is to say the abbot, dined after the rest; he then conversed with his favourites about religious matters; sometimes he slept, or perhaps he descended into the dungeons to see the torture inflicted on some poor wretches. This horrible spectacle seemed to delight him greatly; he always returned from it with a countenance more cheerful than usual; he jested, and spoke with more than his wonted gaiety. At eight in the evening vespers were read, and at ten Ivan retired to his bed-chamber, where three blind men lulled him to sleep with tales. At midnight he arose, and began the day with prayer. Sometimes while he was in the church he listened to the reports of his ministers about public affairs; and often the most bloody orders were dictated at *matin-song* or during mass! To diversify this uniformity of life, he often took what he called *turns*; he visited monasteries, inspected the frontier fortresses, or pursued the wild beasts in forests and deserts: he

was particularly fond of bear-hunting. But in every place, and at every moment, he was busied with public matters; for notwithstanding their boasted influence in the administration, none of the boyards durst decide on anything without consulting him."—vol. ix. pp. 106—109.

From his retirement at Alexandrovsky, this precious saint continued to send forth his terrific mandates for the destruction of princes and nobles. Some who dreaded his vengeance renounced the world; but the sanctity of the cloister was but a poor defence for them. They were dragged forth often to be tortured before the fatal blow was given. The Opritszniks, armed with long daggers and hatchets, went from street to street in search of victims, who amounted to a score daily. The streets and squares were covered with dead bodies, which no one dared to bury; few indeed durst leave their houses. Philip, the new metropolitan, whom the emperor had forced from a desert island in the White Sea, was the only man who had the intrepidity to remonstrate with the tyrant: for this he was thrown into prison, and treated with great rigour. Being thus rid of an unpleasant monitor, the monster's thirst for blood was no longer satisfied with that of *individuals*; to quench it whole cities must bleed. The inhabitants of Torjek having one fair-day quarrelled with a few Opritszniks, were all declared rebels, and either tortured or drowned. The same bloody scenes were exhibited at Kolomna, merely because most of the inhabitants were the dependants of an obnoxious noble. Many ladies were first stripped naked, and afterwards shot in sight of the public.* But of all his deeds of blood, none is so memorable, and none would be so incredible were it not attested by incontrovertible proofs, as the punishment of Novgorod and some of the towns in the vicinity.

A vagabond, Peter by name, and a native of Volhynia, having been justly punished for his crimes by the authorities of Novgorod, resolved to be revenged on the whole city. He composed a letter, as if from the archbishop and the inhabitants to the King of Poland, offering to put themselves under the protection of that monarch. This letter he concealed behind an image of the Virgin, in the church of St. Sophia, and then went to Moscow to acquaint the Tsar with the existence of the conspiracy. However willing Ivan might be to take instant vengeance on the inhabitants, who had long been hateful to him, he despatched a confidential servant with Peter to the place where the treasonable document was concealed. It was soon found, and the condemnation of the whole city pronounced. In December, 1569, the Tsar left

* This exposure of women was not unusual even in Moscow. When the Tsar passed along the streets, he often compelled the wife of an obnoxious boyard to remain in a position we will not describe until he and his attendants were out of sight.

Alexandrovy, accompanied by his son and his favourite legion. On his way he exterminated the whole population of Klin, a town in the principality of Tver. Thence he proceeded to Tver, where his confident Skuratof secretly strangled the deposed metropolitan, in the cell of a monastery to which that virtuous pastor had been exiled.

"This secret crime was followed by public ones. Instead of entering Tver, Ivan remained during five days at a neighbouring monastery, while his lawless soldiers were pillaging the city: they commenced with the clergy, and did not leave a single house unvisited. The lighter and more valuable property they carried away; what they could not remove they burned; and they amused themselves in torturing, cutting to pieces, or hanging the people. In short, they reminded the unfortunate inhabitants of the terrible era of 1327, when the khan Usbeck exercised his vengeance on their ancestors. The Polish prisoners of war who were detained in the prisons were massacred, or drowned in the Volga. Ivan assisted at this spectacle!"—vol. ix. p. 183.

Proceeding still towards Novgorod, the Tsar depopulated the towns, and laid waste the country to the banks of the Ilmen. On the second of January his advanced guard entered that devoted city. The churches and convents were closed, and the monks who could not pay twenty roubles each were bound and flogged from morning till night. The houses of the inhabitants were guarded, and the owners fettered. Terror seized on all; all in fearful expectation awaited the arrival of the monarch.

"On the sixth of the same month Ivan halted with his troop at Goroditche, a village distant two versts from Novgorod. The following day saw the massacre of all the monks who had not paid the redemption tax: they were beaten to death with clubs, and their bodies transported to their respective monasteries for interment. On the eighth, at the head of his legion, and accompanied by his son, he made his long expected entry. The archbishop, with the clergy and the miraculous images, waited for him on the bridge. He refused to receive the accustomed benediction, and heartily cursed the prelate.*—He then ordered the crucifix and images to be carried into the church of St. Sophia, where he heard mass: he prayed with great fervour; and afterwards went to the episcopal palace, and sat down to dinner with his boyards. Suddenly he rose and raised a terrible cry! At this signal his satellites appear; they seize the archbishop, his officers and servants: the palace and cloisters are instantly given up to plunder. Soltikof, master of the court ceremonies, and Eustace, the Tsar's confessor, ventured to ransack the cathedral itself; they bore away its treasures, its sacred vessels, images and bells; they also pillaged the churches attached to the rich monasteries. After these acts of sacrilege came the tortures of death, which were executed by Ivan and his son in the following man-

* We have omitted the Tsar's tedious address to the archbishop.

ner. Every day from five hundred to a thousand inhabitants were brought before them, and immediately massacred, tortured to death, or consumed by a combustible composition. Sometimes these unfortunate beings were tied to sledges, by the head or feet, and dragged to the banks of the Volkhof—to a place where that river is never covered with ice. From the bridge which overhangs it whole families were precipitated into the water—wives with their husbands—mothers with their sucking children. In the mean time some soldiers, armed with pikes, lances and hatchets, sailed on the river, and pierced or hewed in pieces all who attempted to swim on the surface. This massacre continued five weeks, and ended by a general pillage. Ivan, followed by his legion, visited all the neighbouring monasteries: everywhere he removed the treasures from the churches, ruined the buildings, destroyed the horses and cattle, and burned the corn. In the same manner was Novgorod treated. The Tsar passed from street to street to watch his ruffians besieging the houses and shops: the doors were forced or the windows entered; the silks and furs were divided among the rabble; the hemp and hides were burned; the wax and tallow cast into the river. Detachments of these robbers were sent into the domains of Novgorod to pillage and murder, without examination or respect of persons.”—vol. ix. pp. 185—187.

At length Ivan condescended to pardon all who remained alive. He ordered them to assemble: they appeared, pale and ghastly, like spectres rather than living beings, so worn out were they with terror and despair. He spoke to them with mildness; desired them to pray that heaven would grant him a long and happy reign; and, finally, bade them a most gracious adieu! He quitted the city, after transmitting his immense booty to Moscow, and proceeded to Pskof. In the executions at Novgorod and in the environs, the number of victims is estimated at sixty thousand! The surviving inhabitants were in a state approaching to delirium: they had seen enough of life, which indeed they were not long doomed to support, for pestilence and famine destroyed most of those whom the monarch's tender mercies had spared. The city was a desert; it was one vast cemetery.

Pskof was to have shared the same fate as Novgorod; but for once the tyrant suffered humanity to plead for the submissive inhabitants. The houses of the rich were, indeed, plundered, but no lives were taken. The Archbishop of Novgorod, and other prisoners, he forced along with him to his *monastery* of Alexandrovsky. There all were closely confined in the dungeons until the *pious abbot* could find time to pronounce their doom.

Though we are well nigh sickened with describing such horrible scenes, we will present the reader with another, because it exhibits the character of Ivan in a fuller light than the preceding. It is the execution of the prisoners just mentioned, as well as of

mur, nay often with resignation by the victims themselves, may seem incredible, yet nothing is more true. "It is the will of God and the Tsar!" was the only exclamation when any new execution was ordered. This blasphemous association of names only proves to what a height the doctrine of passive unresisting obedience was carried in Russia. When, on mere suspicion, the monster ordered a man of rank to be impaled, the latter, in the midst of his dreadful sufferings, which continued twenty-four hours, never ceased to exclaim, "God save the Tsar!" To use their own metaphor, the Russians were indeed sheep, who considered it impious to repine when their shepherd delivered them into the hands of the butcher. Nor was their future prospect much more cheering than the present; the Tsarevitch promised to inherit with the dignity, the cruelty also of the father; but heaven in mercy willed otherwise. The young prince had one good quality—courage, (he might have had many, had his earlier years been passed in any other place than his father's court,) and he longed to prove it on the enemies of his country. On one occasion he requested the emperor to entrust him with a few troops, that Pskof, which was then besieged by the Poles, might be relieved.

"This laudable proposal excited the wrath of Ivan. 'Rebel, thou wishest to dethrone me in concert with the boyards!' He raises his arm against his son: Boris Godunof vainly endeavours to prevent him: with his iron-rod he inflicts several wounds, and at length a violent blow on the head lays the Tsarevitch at his feet, bathed in blood. This sight instantly calms his fury. Terrified, pale, trembling, he exclaims in deep despair—'Wretch, I have slain my son!' In the agony of his grief he throws himself on the young prince: he embraces his son, and endeavours to stop the blood which flows from a deep wound: he calls aloud on his surgeons; implores mercy from God, and pardon from his son! But divine justice has accomplished its decree! Kissing the hand of his father, and exhibiting the tenderest proofs of love and pity, he exhorted the latter not to give way to despair: 'I die an obedient son, and a faithful subject!' and he accordingly expired, four days after receiving his death-blow, in the horrible retirement of Alexandrovsky."—vol. ix. pp. 445, 446.

It would be a libel on the moral justice of God, to suppose that this tyrant, in comparison with whom Caligula and Nero sink into insignificance, escaped punishment even in this world. So touched was he by "the worm that never dies," and by the awful representations of an alarmed fancy, that he often rose in the middle of the night, threw himself on the floor, raised the most frightful cries, and ceased only when nature had wholly exhausted herself. At one time he intimated his intention of retiring to a monastery, when, strange to say! his very subjects,—not merely from attachment to his person, but from fear of his

vengeance,—unanimously besought him not to abandon them, but to support still longer the burden of public affairs.

At length approached the too protracted term of the monster's life. In the winter of 1580 he began visibly to decline: in March he was seized with a dangerous illness. According to the superstitious spirit of the times, it is said that some astrologers predicted his approaching end, and that the Tsar threatened to roast them alive if they suffered a word of that prediction to escape their lips. From that mysterious admixture of good which is not wanting in the worst of hearts, Ivan on his death-bed did not forget the duties of a sovereign. He made some judicious regulations for the government of his dominions after his decease; appointed experienced counsellors to his son Feodor; recommended the preservation of peace, and a diminution of taxes in the then exhausted state of the country; and ordered the liberation of all prisoners not confined for capital offences. Hence it might be inferred that, being about to appear before a tribunal more terrible than his own, he wished to make all possible atonement for his past wickedness. No! this world alone occupied him. He insisted one day on being carried in his arm-chair to the apartment which contained his treasures, that he might feast his eyes with once more beholding them. To Mr. Horsey, an Englishman, who accompanied him, he entered into a learned disquisition on the various qualities of diamonds and jewels, and by what marks their respective value might be ascertained. But bad as is this view of the picture, a more awful and revolting one remains. We are told that when, about two days before his death, his daughter-in-law approached his bed-side, to alleviate his pains by her attentions, she was compelled to retreat with horror,—he attempted her chastity!

“The strength of the Tsar declined more rapidly than ever, and in the delirium of his fever his senses wandered. As he lay without consciousness, he frequently called loudly on his murdered son, whom in imagination he saw, and to whom he spoke with tenderness. But on the seventeenth of March he was somewhat better by the application of a warm bath. The day following, if we may believe Horsey, he said to Belsky: ‘Go, and order those impostors the astrologers to be put to death. According to them this is my dying day, and yet I feel stronger and better.’ ‘*Wait,*’ replied the intended victims, ‘*the day is not yet past,*’ A second bath was prepared, in which he remained about three hours: he then went to bed, and reposed a little. Soon, however, he rises, calls for the chess-board, and while seated on the bed in his night-gown, preparing the pieces to play with Belsky, suddenly he falls backward, and closes his eyes for ever!”—vol. ix. p. 554.

Thus ended the life of one whom we have characterised—

how justly let the reader now determine—as the most extraordinary monarch the world has ever produced: he is assuredly without a parallel. Like Caligula and Nero, indeed, his early reign was not only blameless, but auspicious: he was for some years a model for sovereigns; but neither of those monsters equalled him in the number of victims sacrificed,—in magnificence of crime; neither possessed his boundless influence over his subjects; neither associated the same constant observance of religious ceremonies with the perpetration of deeds which none but an incarnate demon could have conceived; and neither came to a natural end. Karamsin compares him with Louis XI. of France, but we do not consider the comparison a happy one. In cruelty the French tyrant must yield the palm to his Russian brother; and it is certain that while Louis ridiculed—most probably disbelieved—the religion of which he was so apparent a devotee, Ivan treated with sincere reverence the one he professed and firmly admitted to be true. Nor do we think the former was equally licentious with the latter. Not only did Ivan indulge in open sensuality with the young and beautiful victims of his lust, but he married seven times, (a monstrous crime in Russia,) and was a suitor to our Elizabeth for his eighth wife after he was seized with his last illness.*

In his public conduct Ivan ceased to be fortunate when he ceased to be virtuous. Twice was Russia invaded by the Tartars, who on one occasion laid Moscow in ashes; on both, the Tsar, instead of displaying the bravery of his early reign, fled before the enemy, and left his generals to defend the country as well as they could. Nor was he more successful in his Polish wars; yet, owing to the dissensions of his enemies rather than the valour of his troops, he contrived not only to maintain the integrity of his states, but to add to their extent. In his reign Siberia became part of the empire: it was conquered for him,—not by his regular troops, but by a handful of Cossacks and professed banditti.

We are afraid our readers will think that we have devoted

* "Habet, ut aiunt, in gynæceo suo 50 virgines, ex illustri familiâ oriundas, atque Livoniâ abductas, quas secum, quo se confert, ducit, iis loco uxoris, cum ipse uxoratus non sit, utens." Again: "Au mois de Juillet, 1568, à minuit, les favoris du prince, Vlasemsky, Skuratof, Griazavi, à la tête de la legion des élus, enfoncent les maisons d'un grand nombre de seigneurs; de negocians, enlèvent les femmes connues par leur beauté, et les conduisent hors de la ville. Au lever du soleil, ils sont rejoints par le Tsar en personne, escorté de mille satellites. On se met en route: à la premiere couchée on lui présente les femmes, parmi lesquelles il en choisit quelques unes, abandonnant les autres à ses favoris. Ensuite il fait avec eux le tour des murs de Moscow, brûlant les metairies des boyards disgraciés, mettant à mort leurs fidèles serviteurs, exterminant jusqu' aux bestiaux, surtout dans les villages de Kolomna qui appartenaient au grand ecuyer Feodorof: rentré dans Moscow, il fit reconduire chez elles les femmes enlevées, dont plusieurs moururent de honte et de douleur."

too large a space to the reign of Ivan IV. Our excuse must be found in our wish to advert to none but the more novel and striking events of Russian history; and we are sure that, after St. Vladimir, that reign is the only one recorded in the volumes before us possessing much interest. The dryness of the earlier Russian annals, even to natives, is proverbial.

The reign of the feeble Feodor, who died in 1598, contains nothing to arrest the attention. That of his successor Boris Godunof (with which Mr. Karasmin breaks off) is remarkable only for the extraordinary imposture of the monk Dmitri (Demetrius), who, after a short-lived triumph, was assassinated on the throne he had usurped. As an outline of these events (and we could give no more) is to be found in Tooke, we will now hasten to the conclusion of our remarks.

We have thus glanced over the widely-extended period embraced by Mr. Karamsin; we will now advert, with as much brevity as possible, to such peculiarities in the national manners and character as we could not well notice in the preceding pages.

The ancient habitations of the country were of wood (as they are at this day) and of very small dimensions. The upper was the only inhabited portion, the ascent to which was by stairs outside the building. Round each apartment benches were fastened in the wall, and these served both as seats and beds, except in winter, when a couch of skins was spread on the floor. The men occupied the apartments near the entrance; the women those in the interior, which were inaccessible to strangers. The greatest proof of confidence one Russian could show to another, was to permit his wife to be seen. The favoured friend might even be allowed to kiss her, but woe to him if he ventured to touch her further, or neglected to keep his arms suspended at his sides.

In this close imprisonment, women had no authority within their dwellings: they were in all things the submissive slaves of their husbands, whose duty it was to visit them with corporal punishment whenever they deviated from their accustomed sphere. In such a state of things love could not be expected to exist, especially as no intercourse was allowed among unmarried persons, and no man knew anything of his future wife before he met her at the foot of the altar. Marriage contracts were sometimes made by the parents of the parties, but oftener, perhaps, through the interference of certain old women, whose sole profession consisted in providing young people with partners. These old women always warranted the chastity of their fair clients; and if in this respect they deceived the young bridegroom, they not only lost

the recompense to which they were entitled, but received no small number of curses and blows.

But human nature is every where the same: where tyranny and restraint prevail, intrigue will always be busy. In all countries "Love laughs at locksmiths," and though the Russian ladies were scarcely ever permitted to cross the domestic threshold—were forbidden even to appear at church—they sometimes contrived to elude the vigilance of parents and husbands, and meet their gallants. Chastity is not to be preserved by bolts and bars, nor will it always subsist under unreasonable coercion.

If pecuniary fines availed where one man slew another, they had little efficacy in cases where women occasioned the death of their husbands. For such a crime, the punishment could not be too horrible: the culprit was buried alive, in a perpendicular position, but so that the head was left uncovered, and there she was left to perish by hunger and cold.

The authority of parents over their children was as boundless as that of husbands over wives and of masters over slaves. A parent could even sell his child.

The funerals of the Russians strikingly resembled those of the wild Irish. The corpse was surrounded by women who were hired to weep and howl. "Why didst thou die? Why hast thou left thy beautiful wife, and hopeful children? Wast thou not rich and respected? Oh, why didst thou die?" were the usual exclamations on such occasions.

We have before observed, that the morals of the Russians were sufficiently lax. To this we may add, that they were of all nations the most lazy. Their days were passed in lounging about the public squares, or in carousing at the wine-shops. It would be difficult to say whether they were more remarkable for laziness or filth.

In such a state of society, the intellect was not likely to improve, any more than the morals. Yet Russia had always its warlike songs, which were the unfailing amusement of the people at their entertainments, and especially during the long winter-evenings. Some of these were of considerable length. The most ancient ones have all disappeared except *The Expedition of Igor*, a poem of the twelfth century. We have already mentioned this poem, and characterised it in the Sketch of Russian Literature which will be found in our first volume, (p. 605,) but as it holds a very high place in the estimation of the Russians, we think that circumstance as well as its antiquity will justify our giving a brief analysis of it. We are indebted to Mr. Karamsin for our extracts.

"Igor, Prince of Novgorod-Severaky, is ambitious of glory: he beseeches his guard to march with him against the Polovtses. 'I will break my lance in distant deserts: there my ashes shall remain if I cannot dip my helmet in the Don, and quench my thirst with its waters.'"

Many warriors assemble; the neighing of horses is heard beyond the Sula; the voice of glory resounds in Kief; the blast of the trumpet rouses Novgorod, and at Pontivle the standards float in the wind. Igor is waiting for his beloved brother Vsevolod, who soon arrives at the head of his troops, "like wolves eager for the carnage." Igor places his foot in the golden stirrup; he perceives the thick darkness before him; the heavens portend terrible storms; the wild beasts howl in their caverns; birds of prey soar above the soldiers, whose ruin is presaged by the eagles' cry; and the foxes raise their shrill voice on seeing the shining shields of the Russians. The battle commences; the barbarian legions are routed; their virgins now belong to the warriors of Igor, who acquire immense booty in gold and costly stuffs; the clothes and ornaments of the Polovtses fill up the marshes, and serve as a bridge to the victorious army. Igor is satisfied with a banner taken from the enemy.

But a new army soon arrives from the south, and Igor must contend for another victory. The contest continues two days, and on the morning of the third, the Russian standards are lowered to the enemy, "because no blood remains to be shed." All is consternation when Igor is dragged away captive. "On the borders of the Blue Sea are heard the songs of the virgins, (Polovtses,) who strike together the pieces of gold taken from the Russians."

The author of the poem here addresses the more renowned Russian princes, whom he urges to speedy vengeance on the Polovtses. To Vsevolod III. he says:—"Thou canst dry up the Volga by the ears of thy numerous boats; or drain the Don with the helmets of thy warriors." To Rurik and David: "Your shining helmets have often been dyed with blood: your heroes are furious as wild bulls when wounded by red-hot iron." To Yaroslaf, whom he terms *the wise*: "From thy golden throne, thou defendest the Krapack mountains by thine iron-clad legions: thou canst close the gates of the Danube, open the way of Kief, and send thy arrows into the remotest regions."

The poet next bemoans the death of a prince of Polotsk, who had been killed by the Lithuanians:

"O prince! birds of prey have covered thy soldiers with their wings, and savage beasts drunk the blood of thy warriors. As for thee, thou hast suffered thy *jewel-soul* to escape through thy golden collar from thy manly body."

Allusion is then made to the civil wars, and above all to the battle between Yaroslaf and the Prince of Polotsk :

"The banks of the Niemen are covered with heads as numerous as sheaves in autumn ; and like the descending flails, the swords separate warriors' souls from their mortal covering. Oh mournful times ! Why could not the great Vladimir remain on the mountains of Kief ?" (that is, *why was he not immortal ?*)

In the mean time the wife of Igor is mourning her absent lord. From the ramparts of Pontivle she casts her eyes over the plain, and exclaims :—

"Cruel winds, why have ye borne on your wings the light arrows of the khan against the warriors of my love ? Had ye not enough to do in swelling the waves of the Blue Sea, to bear along the Russian ships ! Great Dnieper ! thou hast removed huge rocks to open thyself a passage into the country of the Polovtses ; thou hast borne the vessels of Sviatoslaf to the camp of Kobiak : bear back to me also the beloved of my heart, so that I may not every morning compel thy waters to carry him the tribute of my tears. Bright sun ! thou favourest mortals with thy light and heat ; but why have thy burning rays consumed in the wilderness the legions of my well-beloved ?"

But Igor is at liberty ; he has eluded his guards, and on a flying courser he is approaching his country. For his subsistence he kills swans and geese. His horse at length falls down from fatigue : he embarks on the river Donetz, to which the poet gives speech.

"Great Igor, what must now be the fury of Khan Kontshak, and the rejoicing of thy dear comrades !" 'Donetz,' replies the prince, 'how proud thou must be to bear Igor on thy waters, and to prepare for him a grassy couch on thy silver banks ! Thou surroundest me with thy refreshing vapours when I repose under the shade of the trees on thy bank. The wild-fowl that swim on thy surface are my protectors and guards.'"

Igor soon rejoins his disconsolate wife.

This poem must be allowed to be far from destitute of the imagery and allusions which may be supposed to abound in a barbarous region. In this respect it is superior to most compositions of the period : it is certainly not below the most celebrated Sagas of Scandinavia.

To conclude : we anticipate that an opportunity will shortly occur of resuming the subject of Russian history, and of enabling us to trace the gigantic progress of this great empire, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the present time.

ART. VII.—*Essai sur l'histoire de la Philosophie en France, au XIXème Siècle.* Par M. P. Damiron. 8vo. Paris. 1828.

THERE are many circumstances which make this book curious; the body of opinions it contains—the mode in which they are developed—but, above all, the secret which it divulges, of the rapid strides which the German school of rationalism is making in France. M. Damiron has ranged the various authors, whose opinions he has analysed, under three schools;—the *Sensualistic*, the *Theological*, and the *Eclectic*. Under the first of these are placed the disciples of Locke and Condillac, and the reader will find the opinions of Cabanis, Destutt Tracy, Volney, Laromiguière, and Azais, briefly, though clearly stated. Under the second school, we have the theological philosophy of Comte Joseph de Maistre, a man of profound and original views, and of MM. de Lamennais, de Bonald, and Baron d'Eckstein. Under the third school come M. Cousin, Berard, Virey, Keratry, Massias, De Gerando, Royer-Collard, Jouffroy, &c. They who are sufficiently conversant with the literature of France will observe, that the various persons enumerated and classified by M. Damiron, were probably not aware that they entertained opinions in common with others to such a degree, as to bring them under the banners of any sect. We here find physiologists and metaphysicians, speculators in physics and on mind, amicably seated side by side. Still, however, M. Damiron has done good service, by pointing out the leading ideas of these various speculators, and classifying them by their tendency. It is clear, though perhaps at first sight not apparent, that an anatomist like Berard, employed all his lifetime in the dissecting room, may have come to conclusions on the immateriality of the vital principle, which give the support of analogy to those who have arrived at a similar conclusion by a totally different road as to the immateriality of the soul. It is by the *tendency* of their speculations that M. Damiron has classed the various authors, although many of them cannot be called metaphysicians in the strictest sense of that word.

There is one part of M. Damiron's work which no doubt will excite attention in France, namely, his account of the Theological school. It contains a "*rational*" view of Catholicism, and shows that the dogmas of this religion, when taken as the data of a philosophical system, lead in politics to absolute despotism.

"In general human nature is not good—it has need of coercion. If the chiefs who govern us do not reign according to this principle, it is to be feared that disorder and anarchy will ensue. It requires a master to constrain, to subject and *force* it to fulfil the conditions of its destiny: 'Elle se perdrait par la liberté; car

certainement elle ne l'emploierait pas dans un but d'expiation, et n'en userait pas pour son salut.' Rulers ought not to be considered institutors or guardians, but judges and correctors. Human nature is wicked, and it is the wicked they have to do with. They must not yield to the people, but they must govern them imperially, and treat them '*souverainement*.'"—Introduction, p. xx. These are, according to M. Damiron, the principles of Catholicism; and hence, he adds, the sources of the illiberal opinions of the theological school. On this subject we have nothing to offer but M. Damiron's words, as we neither profess, nor care to examine their truth.

With such a heterogeneous mass of opinions, the reader will perceive that an analysis of the work before us would be epitomising an epitome. We have preferred, therefore, taking up a single question, and balancing the arguments for and against it. We are informed by the author, that already the greater portion of metaphysicians in his native country have bowed to the philosophy of M. Cousin; nay, not only the privileged few, but even the people are made acquainted, through one of the most popular journals (the *Globe*) with the all-sufficient doctrine of the Absolute. In a former Number of this Journal* we presented the reader with a rapid sketch of the principal points of this philosophical system; we traced how it flowed from the doctrines of Kant, and showed that its necessary, and inevitable, consequence was Pantheism. We are aware that this has been denied, and the idea even ridiculed by the followers of this sect. Some, say they, style us Atheists, others Pantheists; surely, they add, a system must be little understood by its revilers which at one moment is branded with Atheism, at another with Pantheism—no God and all God—in the same breath. Specious as this defence appears at first sight, it is not the less true that the Pantheism of the Rationalist is in fact Atheism; for to suppose "the Absolute" (as the jargon of that school terms the Deity) to be a force unconscious of its own existence, until it has by some extraordinary mode arrived at consciousness in man, is in so many words to assert, that Deity is on a level with Matter, one unconscious existence with another unconscious substance. It is true that M. Cousin has not gone the length of Schelling and Hegel (whom, however, he has copied even in his very phraseology without acknowledgment) in *stating verbally* his notions of Deity. But it is impossible to read his *Fragments Philosophiques* without being convinced that he arrives at the conclusion, that God and Matter are one, and that individual existences are only parts and portions

* See vol. i. p. 358.

of the Absolute, the "*Ens realissimum*," just as an individual space is a portion of the infinite space. Having already examined these opinions at some length, we shall not trouble the reader with tedious repetitions; we notice them, however, to show that the same effect which followed the philosophy of Schelling in Germany, is exhibiting itself in France—an utter indifference to all *forms* of religion.

"Revelation is only accessible through tradition. But revelation, even when it is faithful, expressing as it does a vague and obscure subject, cannot in itself be clear or precise. It wants light: true, naïve, and inspired—full of simplicity, of grandeur, and abounding in poetry—everywhere it is, as it were, a popular chaunt, (*chant populaire*,) or rather a metaphysical hymn: but there is no theory, for all is sentiment.* Thus, traversing ages and countries, translated and retranslated, variously interpreted, modified in a thousand manners, incomplete and altered: in this state it reaches generations little fitted, either by position or habits of thought, to comprehend it; and, far from enlightening, it serves but to confound their understanding, to trouble and disgust their genius."—p. 391.

No system of philosophy is entirely false; in spite, therefore, of the abuses of rationalism, we are of opinion that, under the husk of its exaggerations, it contains the nucleus of a system the most accordant with the phenomena of nature, and the revelation of a God. Deny but one proposition of the rationalist,—namely, that the reason must solve all difficulties which are presented to the mind,—and we get rid of the question how individual existences can exist without our supposing them to be portions of the Deity; that is, we get rid of Pantheism. Having once done this, much of the philosophy of Schelling may be admitted, not only with safety, but with comfort; for it towers infinitely above the sensualism of Locke, Helvetius and Condillac. It reveals to us, from observation of the mind itself, that there are existences besides our own—which mind alone perceives—which are not objects of sense, but nevertheless exist as surely as we ourselves exist. It shows that the true, the good, and the beautiful,—Deity, morals, and art,—are not variable notions, deductions from sensations, but immutable ideas, and existing in every mind. The philosophy of Locke annihilates all the higher feelings, and leads to the misery of unlimited scepticism. Admit but that all our ideas are derived from sensation and the reflection on our sensations, and we are forced with Hume to deny the existence of necessary connection, or cause and effect, that is, of all order; we can have no sensation of infinite space or time, or of substance or Deity; in

* We have no word for the French term "*sentiment*;" it means not that of romance, but all that is connected with sensibility and sensation.

Such is the materialism of Cabanis—simple, clear, and explaining a host of phenomena, as, for example, the influence of climate, sex, temperament, regimen, on the *moral* of different individuals; we can easily understand how the nerves may be affected by these external agents, and how different characters are thus formed.

Admitting, in the first place, the above statement to be so far correct, that our sensations, nay, that the mind itself is wholly dependent on our organization, that a little disorder of the stomach will pour in an uncontrollable flood of melancholy ideas, or a quicker flow of blood on the brain, raise us into phrenzy;—grant all this, and it proves nothing more than that the faculty is *dependent* on the organ, and not that it is the result of organization. The pipe into which the musician breathes, while perfect, will answer to its stops; injure it, alter its condition, and though the same hand shall touch, and the same breath shall strive to give it utterance, it will no longer discourse the same eloquent music. If our object was merely to throw the *onus probandi* on the materialist, we might fairly stop here, and beg him to prove how life results from organization, or thought from the brain, and we will venture to say that all his supposed arguments would amount to nothing more than the *suspicion* that it might be so. They would all go to establish a dependancy of mind on matter, of life on organization, but not a step to show that this connection was in the relation of cause and effect. They would show, what is admitted on all sides, that there is no faculty or force which exists in a separate or pure state, but that it is always conjoined to something else. But this is all. Magnetism, electricity, life and mind, are connected with, but do not originate from matter.

If we consult our own minds, we are conscious of the existence of a “force,” which is essentially *one* and indivisible. This is no logical deduction, but a direct effect of our faculty of consciousness. This force is “our personality,” the “Ego,” and no man in his senses believes he is two, or that he is divisible. If we examine ourselves still more strictly, we find the “Ego” to exhibit properties so distinct from the properties of matter, that it would never occur to any but a metaphysician to confound existences so totally different as mind and matter. The properties of one are length, breadth and thickness, weight, colour and figure. Those of the other, thought, passion, volition. What should we think of any one who asserted that a thought was square, or a sentiment scarlet, or that a volition weighed a pound?—surely that he was mad—and the grounds for our judgment are derived from our consciousness alone: that gives us evidence, and sufficient evidence, that mind cannot be confounded with matter.

The naturalist separates a stone from a plant, a plant from an animal, nay, separates one plant from another, and asserts that there are powers in the one which essentially distinguish it from the other. The materialist, however, while he acknowledges the distinction between two such similar objects as a couple of trees, makes no difficulty of believing that two such dissimilar existences as mind and matter are the same at bottom.

If it is the brain which thinks, it being a mass compounded of various kinds of matter, it must think in some part, as in the medullary substance for example, or in all its parts; it must think therefore in A or B, or in A, B. Now if all our thoughts, feelings and volitions are referred to our personality alone, which is one, how is this plurality of thinking *points* reconcilable with the phenomenon of our individuality? If any part of our brain thinks, however minute, yet that part being divisible, there must be two or more thinking points.

It is said that though all our nerves have the faculty of sensation, yet that there is but one person, one "Ego," because there is a "nervous centre." But how does this explain the unity of the Ego? what is "this nervous centre" but concentrated *nerves*—a *nomen collectivum*—a mere abstraction? It is no more an absolutely real unity than a regiment is a unity, and the one might serve as well as the other as an explanation.

Not only is the fact of the unity of our faculty of consciousness totally inexplicable when the brain is regarded as the sole origin of mind, but Mr. Damiron has collected from Berard, physiological deductions which tend to show that that organ is not even the sole and unique condition of sensibility (sentiment).

1. The sensibility of the limbs does not always correspond with the state of the brain. In hemiplegia, for example, when the brain is as yet diseased, and the superior and intermediate parts are paralysed, the inferior parts may resume their sensibility from below upwards. Facts of this kind, when seriously meditated, lead to the suspicion that the theory which refers the sensibility of parts to the brain in an absolute manner, is anything but exact; for according to it, as the brain is restored to health, those parts nearest to its influence should more readily and more easily recover their sensibility than those more remote. Had there been but one centre of nervous action, such would have been the result; but if there were many, or at least, if this centre were not circumscribed by the brain—if it extended to the spinal marrow—if it were subdivided into as many secondary compartments as there were different origins to the nerves—if these compartments, united by their organization, their continuity, and their functional and vital analogies, mutually strengthened each other—the pheno-

mena in question would admit of a better explanation, and partial palsies would be elucidated under these views, although they remain unexplicable under a theory which starts with a single centre of nervous action.

2. Entire classes of animals, as for example zoophytes, have no brain, and yet have sensation; hence there must be other textures than the brain which serve for sensibility and other functions of life. In those classes of animals in which the brain is first perceptible, this organ possesses so little importance, anatomically or physiologically, that it is impossible to conceive it to be the absolute and sole seat of sensation; it is but a ganglion, like the rest, and oftener less than the rest, taking a share, and that a very limited one, in the general service to which it concurs.

3. There are examples in which the trunk has been separated from the brain, or where the spinal marrow has been completely divided, and yet signs of sensation have been recognised in the trunk, and the parts of the spine thus separated. In certain species of animals, parts may be disjoined, and yet continue to live and present the phenomena of sensation.

4. The brain may be altered, nay some say destroyed, and yet, if this take place gradually, sensation is not extinguished.

5. The notion of making the brain the sole organ of sensation has arisen out of the notion that that organ is the generating centre of the nervous system—a notion which is daily losing ground. Not only is the brain not the sole centre of the sensitive faculty, but even the nerves are not the sole agents of that faculty; for,

1st. The nerves present everywhere the same vital and organic appearances, while the sensations to which they contribute are of the greatest variety, and without doubt are in the ratio of the different tissues which the nerves supply.

2d. In man, as in many other animals, there are parts which are sensible without nerves; or are less so than others, although possessing many nerves; or which, without losing or gaining anything as to nerve, lose or gain as to sensibility. In animals which have no nerves, life and sensation exist.

From these reasons it is clear that the organization with relation to the "moral" does not play the part we suppose, nor in the way we suppose. These considerations led Berard to assert the existence of a hyperphysical power.

"The soul," says this excellent physiologist, "is one, indivisible, immaterial. United to body it can only unite itself to it as soul, and not according to the laws which unite one piece of matter to another. It is not in juxtaposition with the organ, nor is it interposed, nor 'intercalée' (infiltrated?); it is simply present: it feels, it lends and it receives

activity: it is united in its exercise to its organ by certain physiological and vital conditions, without which it could not develop its faculties; but it does not owe these faculties to the organ: it is a force in harmony and energy with other forces which also have their functions and properties in the organism."—*Damiron*, p. 210.

Such are the conclusions to which one of the most eminent physiologists of the nineteenth century has arrived with regard to the thinking principle; and if it be considered that this has been done by a pupil of Bichat, and a native of a country as yet remarkable for its materialistic philosophy, we cannot but gladly acknowledge that the commencement of a better era is at hand. M. Virey, a man well known as an eminent physiologist, was one of the first who tried to bring back his countrymen to a more vigorous and wholesome, a more enlarged and consolatory philosophy than the sensualism of Locke. He also has in his work—*De la puissance Vitale*—arrived at the conclusion of the existence of a hyper-physical power which animates matter. Instead of regarding this world as an assemblage of bodies capable of taking on life of themselves, he regards it as a vast whole, of which the parts are united, vivified and put into action by a power, primitive and one, whose source is an All-wise, All-good and Almighty God.

Our limits will not permit us to enter into a detailed examination of this system; we shall present the reader with a few arguments drawn from memory, (for M. Damiron's meagre analysis leaves us no other alternative,) to prove the existence of a hyper-physical force. This is the main question; for if nothing but matter exist, if there be no witness in us of an immaterial world, then let us not think, for thought will be sorrow. Away with consolation! for who shall console the wretch who has measured life, from the cradle to the grave, by moments of successive anguish. Let the parent despair, and the husband, and the friend; for the rude shocks of this world will leave them nothing but the horrors of memory without hope. The grave will, indeed, have a victory, and death a sting; dust will not repose with dust; but thought and affection, all that guides, and all that cheers us, will sink for ever into the tomb.

If, however, there be reasons to believe that the principle of life is only connected with matter, the evidence of consciousness will be supported in the belief of an immaterial thinking principle, and philosophy, at the end of nearly twenty centuries, will at length have perceived a glimmering of that awful revelation—a direct assertion of a distinct principle of life—"I am the light and the life."

It must be remembered in the first place, that the question of the existence of a vital principle, separate from, but connected with, matter, does not admit of demonstration. This principle has

never been, nor can it ever be, made visible or tangible, or become the object of any sense. But a legitimate induction allows us here, as in other sciences, (to use the words of Newton,) "to pass from the complex to the simple, from movements to the forces which produce them."

In comparing the laws of living matter with those of dead, we perceive—

1. That if the living principle be an essential property of matter, it would follow that this property would increase with the quantity of matter. This, however, is not the fact. Nature nowhere manifests more life and energy than in its minutest productions; the insect with its instincts has more faculties than many a larger animal; the dog has more than the horse, and man more than the elephant, and that more than the whale.

The first rudiment of all living forms, whether animal or vegetable, is a fluid in which a few globules are found. If organization were the cause of life, this cause would have little energy in a fluid, in which *no organ* is to be detected; and yet the reverse is the fact, for in no state does the living principle act so energetically as in the first periods of our existence. In the first month of conception the human embryo weighs only a few grains; at the ninth month it weighs eight pounds, and is twenty inches in length. In the first month it is as simple as a worm in its organization; at the ninth it has all the characteristic complication of our species. In the early periods of our existence, therefore, the living principle is not employed, as in the latter, in preserving only, but in building up. Every the minutest artery, nerve, or vein, is then laid out with uniform wisdom; parts are planned and formed which had no previous existence; and it seems to us as reasonable to assert from a contemplation of these facts, that the house is the cause of the architect, as to suppose that organization is the cause of life. If organization be the cause of life, then the consistent materialist must give up that axiom in physics—that the effect is in proportion to the cause.

2. In the natural sciences we say that such and such substances are conductors or non-conductors of electricity. We do not say that they cause electricity; they develop its phenomena, and that is all. Now life, like electricity, or any other force, though it does not exist separate from other matter, yet is *transferable* from one body to another. The plant, for example, collects from the elements, from air, earth and water, that which it transforms into wood, sap, leaf, and fruit, thus *vivifying* the elements. The animal collects from the plant its material for nerve, blood, and muscle. Or, to take a more familiar example,—the bread on which a child is fed is assimilated to its body; it is digested, taken up, poured into the thoracic duct, thence into the vein,

thence into the lungs, where it becomes red blood, and subsequently is converted into muscle capable of motion, or brain of thought. Here then a piece of inanimate matter has received the gift of life; it matters not to the argument in what part of the body this has occurred, but the fact is certain, that it has *acquired* vital properties. Is it not a distinct transfer of something from one substance to another, leading to the suspicion, that that cannot be called a property of any kind of matter which seems merely to be attached to it for a time, which quits it, although the matter appears to remain the same, or which, lastly, is transferable from one substance to another. On what other grounds than these do we assume caloric, or the principle of heat, to be distinct from the substance which is temporarily under its influence?

3. It has been asked triumphantly what becomes of this said immaterial principle, which in the polyp, and the lower animals, is *divisible almost ad infinitum*?

This argument is more specious than solid; it proves nothing against the existence of a force which is distinct from the organ in which it resides. A bar of iron which previously possessed no magnetic properties is made to acquire them; it may be cut into fifty loadstones. Are we to infer, therefore, that the magnetic fluid is not something distinct from the iron, merely because it still adheres to its *divided* portions?

These hints may suffice to show that matter is not the cause of life. The Germans have gone a step further, and have made life the cause of matter, at least of the matter of our globe. This is, no doubt, hardly to be proved in the present state of our knowledge: however, there is much more to be said in favour of this, the revival of an ancient hypothesis, than for the contrary opinion. A vast number of the substances which are termed inanimate are unquestionably the products of organized life. Most of the gases, many of the metals, earths, &c. are produced by plants and animals in spots where these metals and earths do not exist.

The phosphate of lime enters into the composition of the bones in man in nearly the same proportion all over the world; and yet there are islands where this particular earth does not exist, and these islands inhabited by human beings whose bones contain it in the usual quantities.

It is well known that the presence of soil is necessary to plants, but that the soil is not taken up in substance. The plant derives the elements of its increase from air and water; and yet in many of these the chemist detects earths. The contemplation of these, and similar facts, proves that life is capable of generating what is termed dead matter, while there are no arguments on the other side, that matter is capable of generating life.

4. Extension, figure, impenetrability are properties of matter—and we never see them quit matter; while the dead nerve, although to all appearances the same as the living, loses its pretended property of sensation, and the dead muscle its irritability. It may be said that the dead muscle or the nerve is not the same as the living, but that death has been accompanied by a cessation of motion in the fluids, and perhaps by other changes equally important to life. Now this objection amounts to an assertion, in the first place, that the machinery in motion produces life; and, in the second, that life is dependant on some particular combination of the material, which combination may be destroyed, and yet not be perceptible to us. As to the first, we ask if there is a single instance in nature of motion producing any thing but motion. Does any one believe, for a moment, that motion will give rise to the faculty of sensation, or that of thought? If so, let him not be termed a sceptic, for his is a grade of credulity fitted for the practices of any mountebank.

The second objection may be easily answered, if it is asserted that there are considerable changes in the dead body, and that these changes are the causes of death, or rather that life is dependant on these changes. We would ask the proof. The nerve appears in the dead as in the living subject, but there is no circulation of blood—true—but is blood life? So far from it, that most physiologists look on it (we think erroneously) as dead; and not a single one as the principle of life. We repeat, that life may be extinguished by passion, by some poisons, and the organization not be perceptibly altered. If the materialist asserts that death is caused by alterations in the organization, do not let him henceforth accuse us of assuming a *qualitas occulta*, in assuming a vital principle independent of the organization; for there can scarcely be a more baseless refuge than these “changes which are not perceptible” as the causes of death.

There are a variety of other arguments which tend to support our theory of life—such as, temporary suspension of vitality, the phenomena of hybernation, the effects of stimuli on the living frame. No property of matter has any thing in common with these effects of life. No stimulus makes a stone more or less impenetrable—more or less capable of exaltation. Its properties are not exhausted or recruited—nourished—decayed—or lost.

But it would be useless to multiply instances, or trace differences more minutely. Our object has been simply to advance a few arguments in favour of an immaterial vital principle. We have given them as they occurred to us, without any attempt at system; and the reader, if he have patience to peruse, will, we trust, regard them rather as hints, than as a fully developed attempt at refuting the proposition that life is the result of matter.

ART. VIII.—1. *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*. Par M. le Comte de Choiseul Gouffier. Tome Second, 4 parties. fol. Paris. 1809. 1820. 1824.

2. *Voyages dans la Grèce, accompagnés de Recherches Archéologiques, et suivis d'un Aperçu sur toutes les Enterprises Scientifiques qui ont eu lieu en Grèce depuis Pausanias jusqu'à nos jours*. Par P. O. Brøndsted, Chevalier de l'ordre de Dannebrog, &c. Première Livraison. Gr. in 4to. Paris. 1826.

3. *Voyage de la Grèce*. Par F. C. H. L. Pouqueville. Deuxième édition, revue, corrigée et augmentée. 6 tom. 8vo. Paris. 1826, 1827.

4. *Histoire Moderne de la Grèce depuis la chute de l'Empire d'Orient*. Par Jacobaky Rizo Néroulos, ancien premier ministre des Hospodars Grecs de Valachie et de Moldavie. 8vo. Genève. 1828.

THE present political state of Greece has been most prolific in originating printed discussions, both from our own, and the continental presses. Many volumes have been dedicated to the service of some particular object—to party purposes among contending klephtes—to the Greek loan—to Utilitarian schools—and to the delineations of Grecian character through the medium of romance. In selecting the works with which we have headed this Article, we have been anxious to avoid merely temporary matter, and rather to elucidate the geography, history, and antiquities of the country, than to delineate its present distracted state, or forebode its future honours or deterioration.

I. Choiseul Gouffier is a name which has been long dear to the scholar and the *dilletante*: the length of time which has elapsed between the commencement and termination of his grand work—a period of more than forty years—though the cause of some regret, has kept up a warm interest among those who delight in magnificence of execution, combined with much solid learning. The first volume is beyond our statute of limitations; but the second, and especially the earlier parts of it, have the highest claims on our notice.

His account of the Troad is decidedly the most satisfactory which has yet appeared, and has, we think, put to rest not only the sceptic Bryant, but the matter-of-fact Morritt, and the enthusiastic Gell. In quality of Ambassador of France, at a period when every concession was made by the Porte to his nation—in possession of both public and private funds—with scientific fellow-labourers, choice instruments, and, above all, much leisure and ardour for the task—our author may be said to have described the whole district ichnographically. The maps are laid down with

extreme precision and beauty, and we may travel over them in the closet, with at least more success than some have done over the ground they represent. With literally every inch of the debated land before us, and Homer by our side, we may naturally be led to form conclusions with his Excellency, or indulge our own topographical fancies, with the knowledge that we are working on certain data.

"The ruins of Troy are undeniable arguments of its former greatness," was the remark of Stanyan in his History of Greece—and this with the *etiam perire ruinae* of Lucan to confront him! But in fact, before the very modern date of Chevalier and Bryant, the ignorance of our best travellers and scholars on this subject was deplorable; and these were but as children in Mysian topography. We are now, however, indebted to the French for an important addition to that mass of interesting knowledge, which their D'Anville had already communicated concerning the geography of Asia.

The two first parts of the second volume are entirely engrossed with this subject, and a part of the third. On comparing this portion of the work with that which preceded it many years, (1782,) we are strongly reminded that it is no longer the young and enthusiastic traveller who is exploring Greece, with a rapidity of mind and delineation, which occasionally leads him into error and untenable hypothesis, or binds his devotion merely to arts and antiquities. Illusion now gives place to reality: the painter and the poet yield to the intelligent critic, who desires to speak to the reason rather than to the imagination. All those traits, which were so lively and piquant, in his more youthful descriptions of Greece, are now gone: he is occupied in sober geography—in geology—and not unfrequently in discussions which betray profound erudition.

Among the more useful parts of the work, and one of which the French government will no doubt take advantage, is a most accurate survey of the Hellespont, or canal of the Dardanelles. While the drawings of Lampsaki, and many others, are hard, and generally, indeed, unequal; we can give unqualified praise to the draught above mentioned, and many others of the same nature. And while we are on the subject of plates, we will venture to express a wish, that M. de Choiseul's portrait had been omitted, drawn by Mr. Dien, who, "as persons say who knew Choiseul, has rendered with most successful fidelity not only the features, but the spirit and the graces of the author's physiognomy." We would much rather have *supposed* Monsieur le Comte.

The lovers of Eastern costume will be much gratified with the concluding portion of the *Voyage Pittoresque*: for ourselves, we wish the space had been filled up by more descriptions and deli-

neations of Thrace and Macedon. This appears the great desideratum in the work, and, as we shall see hereafter, it has not been supplied by M. Pouqueville. After M. de Choiseul's death, which happened in 1817, before his great work was finished, the French Government purchased the precious collection of antiquities which he had formed in Greece, for the *Musée Royal*, where they are now exhibited; the materials for the termination of his work were left in a forward state, and the names of Barbé du Bocage and Letronne sufficiently vouch for the fidelity with which the important task of completing his labours has been executed.

II. The Chevalier Bröndsted comes into the field with a work of minor form, but a more assuming title-page; and presents us with the first of eight livraisons, of which, we are much afraid, the latter seven will long remain in manuscript. Yet we sincerely regret this want of success. The Chevalier (who is a Dane, but a Dane who follows Niebuhr at a very long interval,) is rather an amusing companion; and, though a little self-sufficient, yet seems to work with honesty and good intention. His chief fault is his dwelling far too long on the same spot, and on his own researches. He visited Greece with a learned friend in the years 1810-11-12; there good luck—for such it was to any traveller in those days—brought him in contact with Messrs. Cockerell and Foster; and he does not seem inclined to extenuate this good fortune. The result of his Travels, as far as yet printed, is little more than an expedition to the Island of Ceos, (now Zea,) on the coast of Attica, of which we have hitherto had very meagre accounts. When he was snug in his little island, he brings his situation very graphically before his readers.

“Our little colony of thirty men established themselves in the barn or *halyzi*, which was swept, and strewed with fresh straw, grass, and all sorts of thick boughs. We were soon in possession of most excellent furniture. Three stones served for a table, and a much greater quantity made our hearth. The latter was consecrated by solemn libations, and those ceremonies which please Vulcan and the household deities; it was erected in the centre of the place, so that its enlivening influence might be felt by the whole party. Another spot had been very suitably consecrated to Bacchus. This island has ever been inhabited by the jolly god of Naxos—the marbles and medals we have discovered give us the assurance of it—and, indeed, how should his worship have been neglected in an island so well provided with vines? His oval altar, a capacious barrel, always well filled, presented an agreeable view, especially in bad weather, when it happened to us, as it frequently did, to be inundated by torrents of rain; we were then obliged to dig two trenches, and let the water, which we turned aside from our hearth, run off by little gutters. In the evening our workmen assembled round one

side of the fire, wrapped themselves up in skins, or in their huge woollen cloaks : and this scene often reminded me of the verses of Homer, where he speaks of the flocks of Neptune, the sea-calves of the sage Proteus. We, on the other side of the fire, talked with rapture about Greece and Denmark, Italy and Germany ; we often also took sketches or wrote, whilst waiting the frugal repast which our domestics were cooking. It was thus that we inured ourselves to the little inconveniences inseparable from an expedition such as ours, and for that peculiar plague which is in Greece the greatest enemy to sleep. But long accustomed to resignation on this point, we consoled ourselves with a distich of Goëthe, in which he has, I think, pretty fairly balanced the good and the evil.

" As soon as the inhabitants of the country knew of the fantastical employment of the Franks in the midst of these ruins, we wanted neither provisions nor visits from the curious. A great number of workmen came to offer us their services voluntarily. Some difficulties arose, however, on the part of the possessor of the land, and the *soi-disant* primates of the town ; but these were soon overcome by means of a little money. In this manner we went on with our trenches for two or three weeks, with the aid of some thirty or thirty-five labourers."—pp. 16, 17.

The discoveries made by the Chevalier Bröndsted consist chiefly of mutilated marbles and coins ; he was not equally successful in excavating the more valuable and perishable works of art. Carthæa has not yet been sufficiently rummaged : and as Ceos, notwithstanding the proverbial salubrity of its atmosphere, and its vicinity to Attica, has been comparatively unexplored, antiquarians may expect a rich harvest even yet from the ruins with which it is encumbered. Neither Dodwell, Hughes, or Hobhouse, visited this island ; nor can we find any references to it in the voluminous collection of Walpole. We are therefore inclined to believe that Mr. Bröndsted is the first traveller who has observed an ancient monument a quarter of a league to the north of the town of Zea.

" It is a colossal lion, represented reclining on his left side. He is awake, and his head is raised. The form of the piece of rock, of which it is composed, has doubtless given the sculptor the idea of assisting nature in giving it this shape. It is in fact evident, that this enormous stone could not have been carried to this place, but that it has been carved on the spot. It is also of the same grey granite of which all the surrounding rocks are composed. The whole is executed with spirit. In the repose of the animal, as well as in the proportion of its limbs, nature and truth are combined. As this large figure was intended to be seen at a distance, the artist has done right in not giving too minute attention to the details. We remarked, however, that precisely at a certain distance the head appeared too slender, and somewhat too long, a fault which disappeared when we came near the monument, as soon as the whole could no longer be comprised at one view.

" We measured this lion most accurately, which, in spite of the proximity of the spot where it is situated to the modern town, has never been described, to my knowledge, by any traveller."

A short description of Macronisi, or the Rocky Isle, is subjoined to the tedious sojourn at Ceos.

III. M. Pouqueville has written a copious and elaborate account of Greece in six volumes, which, from his long residence in the country, might be supposed a work not only of information for the present generation, but of authority for the future. In our examination, however, of his extended survey, we have been disappointed in the expectation which we had gladly formed. Mr. Hughes, when he was for some time resident in Albania, found M. Pouqueville an entertaining and useful companion. He may have been so in the dining-room, when the said Mr. Hughes became "tired of ducks," but in the closet M. Pouqueville is quite a different thing.

Diffidence is sometimes the prelude to a most conceited book. We totally absolve M. Pouqueville from any such delicacy or affectation in his setting forth; and we cannot, perhaps, more fairly usher his pretensions to his readers, than by a few of his first prefatory remarks on himself.

"I knew the physiognomy of the men with whom I was about to enter into communication. I knew Greek enough to confer directly with them. I possessed sufficient Hellenic knowledge to enable me to decipher ancient inscriptions. I was no stranger to the physical sciences;—nor to natural history."—"Of seventy towns of the Epirotes, overthrown by Paulus Æmilius, I have discovered fifty-five!"

M. Pouqueville's course of reading appears, from his own account, to have been somewhat extended; and, when it is added to the long verbal communications he had with monks and primates, it might, we think, have caused some surprise, even in Gibbon. He first, as he tells us, ran over theology, hagiography; homilies, martyrologies, and unpublished MSS. We know not how much sacred geography and ecclesiastical history he consulted: and he more than implies, that he looked through fifteen Byzantine historians in thick folio. This was only a prologue to this *glutton of books*. "Arrived at the historians of Rome and Greece (he went backward in his researches, as he vaunts,) I found myself in the way of marching, with a more firm step, than with the help of the Byzantines." After studying portions of Strabo and Polybius, Livy and Thucydides, he modestly adds:

"I could have given interpretations to these precious relics, and *have proposed my corrections*;—I did better: I studied them just as they are."

The success which we understand M. Pouqueville's work met with among his countrymen on its first publication—and which is now much on the wane, if we may credit some of the French periodical works—arose chiefly from the importance attached, in

the present times, to any volumes dedicated to the knowledge of modern Greece. The grand and imposing spectacle of a people bursting its chains: the ancient reminiscences coupled with its name, would have given celebrity to a far more ephemeral production than the present. The self-complacency and arrogance of the author would, for a season, be overlooked, from natural avidity to explore the more immediate causes of the moral decadence, and the probable resuscitation, of a race so fallen and trampled on. But to the gratification of such curiosity must the value of the present work be mainly bounded: and as there was heretofore no *general* account of Greece in the French language, the travels of Pouqueville became a flattering and pleasing contribution to the literature of his countrymen. Criticism, however, is somewhat lynx-eyed; and has discovered that parade, and verbiage, and assertion, are sorry substitutes for accuracy of historical, antiquarian, and geographical research.

In the Introduction, he informs us that "his work has been pronounced the *most* remarkable one of its kind which has been published since the revival of letters," also "the *most* complete." It is certainly the *least* exact. The best details with which he furnishes us are those connected with Epirus, Acarnania, Thessaly and Macedon, as being the least known. But then he teaches us nothing which we cannot procure in a much less flippant, and a much more authentic form, in Chandler, Stewart, Dodwell, Gell, Leake, Walpole, Hughes, and Holland. To these we should have, with much pleasure, added the name of Mr. Hobhouse, the companion of Lord Byron in his travels, had he not relied far too much on this very Pouqueville; to which Colonel Leake alludes in his "Researches in Greece," when he says, "he could not have chosen a more fallacious guide—Pouqueville is always out!" The fact is, that boasting, and an affectation of science which does not belong to him, are the besetting sins of our author; in archaeology, ancient philosophy, and etymology, his blunders are of the most offensive kind, both against literature and common sense.

We were first led to a conclusion of M. Pouqueville's want of judgement by his acquiescence in the long-detected forgeries of M. Fourmont. We had humbly opined that Professor Porson had long ago combated with, and broken in pieces, that image of clay; and after the most convincing proof of the falsehoods (for we can afford them no more courteous name) of the creator of the goddess Onga, we should scarcely have supposed even a Frenchman would have been so hardily chivalrous as to have started up in defence of that, for which his learned countrymen have long since ceased to contend. With this cruel destroyer of Greek marbles, who stands forth to the world as a far more mischievous

impostor than Bower or George Psalmanazar, the French Consul makes common cause. Speaking of some slabs of marble among the ruins of Sparta, which were pointed out to him, from which the inscriptions had been barbarously erased by a French *milord*, Mr. Dodwell says, vol. ii. p. 405,

“The fact is generally known at Misithra (Sparta), and it was mentioned to me by several persons as a received tradition. This must doubtless have been one of the mean, selfish and unjustifiable operations of the Abbé Fourmont, who travelled in Greece by orders of Louis XV. in the year 1729. In a letter to the Count de Maurepas, he boasts of having destroyed the inscriptions, in order that they might not be copied by any future traveller. But it is *conjectured* by many, and perhaps not without reason, that his principal object in obliterating the inscriptions was, that he might acquire the power of blending forgery and truth without detection, and that his fear of competition was subordinate to that of being convicted of paleographical imposture.”

Philological inquiry has gone still farther than this mere *conjecture*, and decided the question of base and unblushing forgery. The paleographical skill of Payne Knight and Porson have rejected the inscriptions which have been foisted on the public. The former has done so tacitly, and the latter in no measured language; to which we may add Lord Aberdeen's strong arguments in Walpole's Collection; altogether a mass of such weight that even M. Pouqueville bends under it in his fifth volume, and is compelled to be just at the expense of his consistency.

The author whom we have cited above, is very particular in his description and enumeration of the islands, by whatever name they are designated, at the mouth of the Achelous; and had we not just risen from a perusal of this part of his Travels, we should scarcely have recognized the *ai βῆται* in the French *Oxye*. M. Pouqueville is of opinion that all the Echinades, properly so called, now form a portion of this continent. This is not the case. Some islands, we are led to believe, have in the course of ages been united to the main land by accumulation of mud banks; but there still exist at least nine separate Echinades, which belong at present to the Island of Ithaca, or Theaki, and produce corn and oil, and a scanty pasture for sheep and goats. These islets cannot be visited with impunity, as hordes of pirates nestle among their crags. In this immediate neighbourhood it is presumed that Dulichium is submerged beneath the Ionian Sea. Our author says, he *can affirm* it. The more sober English traveller (whose book should be the companion of every person who journeys to Greece, and not less on the shelves of every college and school library) merely tells us, that in passing over a shoal nearly

eight feet below the surface of the water, he was informed by the captain of the vessel that it was called Δουλιχία.

"Surprised to hear him mention a name which I conceived was unknown in the country, I inquired his meaning. He told me that the Island of Doulichion, so celebrated in the time of Ulysses, was the same which we were then passing over."—*Dodwell*, vol. i. p. 108.

At Athens we should conceive every traveller would tread with a cautious step. Ignorance would generally be silent, as detection and exposure would be close at hand. Again—as everything has been handled in this sacred spot with more curiosity, examined with more zeal, and described and illustrated with more execution, than in any other district of Greece, we confess, notwithstanding the little respect we have shown for M. Pouqueville's abilities, we should not have expected to encounter such a blundering passage as the following.

"It was interesting," he says, "to compare the state of this province (Attica) at the epoch of its mythological heroes with what it is now, and to show that Minerva, in placing her beloved city under the protection of the Furies, had foreseen the dissensions which her calamities would occasion; and the sway of barbarians, whom we find established as tyrants, in spots where so much glory, so many virtues, and so high a civilization once shone."

The bad taste of the passage we may pass over; but by what device did M. Pouqueville find that Minerva placed Athens under the protection of the Furies? He cites the *Andromache* of Euripides in proof of his position, verses 446, 447. We have not the most distant conception of our author's source of error; it certainly does not originate in the verses, or in the play which he has cited, as there is nothing therein which at all refers to his purpose.

This specimen of inaccuracy is in his Introduction; but while we are on the subject of Athens, we cannot omit a scene between Lord Byron and a monk, in his fifth volume, where the author quits the character of topographer for that of romancer. The absurdity of the story, (which, however, it is but fair to state, he gives as the production of another pen,) will, perhaps, enliven the necessary dryness of our other details. It is worthy of Mr. Leigh Hunt's graphic pen.

"I inquired concerning Lord Byron, what he did, where he lived, and anecdotes concerning his stay at Athens. He lodged latterly at the Capuchin Convent. The Reverend Father Paul had found favour in the sight of this surprising genius;—his age, his profession, his gentleness, had gained him the affection of that nobleman in such a manner, that he devoted himself to him with all the caprice of his character. Wearied with everything, *oppressed by his familiar demon*, Byron came one day to find Father Paul, and request his hospitality.

"The monk on seeing him reminded him of the words of the last conversation they had had together—'You cannot convince me, I am still an *Atheist*.' Instead of replying, Byron requested the Father to permit him to inhabit a cell, and relieve him from the ennui which poisoned his life. 'While uttering these words,' said Father Paul, 'he pressed my hands, and called me his father; the locks of his hair, dripping with perspiration, covered his forehead; his face was pale, his lips trembled: dared I to ask him the cause of his melancholy?'—'My father, all *your* days are like each other; as for *me*, I shall always be a traveller.'—'Have you no country? If the feeling of absence causes your sorrow, depart; my prayers and good wishes will accompany you to England.'—'Speak not to me of England; I would rather be dragged in chains on the sands of Libya, than revisit places imprinted with the curse which I have given them. The injustice of men has made England odious to me; it has separated us for ever; after the death of man, however, if it be true that the soul survives, I should be delighted to inhabit it, as a pure spirit. This mystery is only known to God.'—'Well, if you have renounced your country, take care to give your mind occupation, without too great exertion of your fancy. Is it the fault of the Creator if men are misled by false doctrines? God never pre-destined their perfect knowledge. Think you that peace of mind and health of body can be the lot of him, whose life is perpetually in contradiction to that of other men? His reason is perverted who doubts the infinite power of God, and the man inscribed on the list of *Atheists* must be necessarily unhappy.'—'Atheist! Atheist? This is then the end of your consolation to me! It is thus that you call your son! Minister of that God who reads the hearts of men, learn, my reverend father, that it is beyond your power to discover an *Atheist*, even if his own mouth made you the hypocritical confession. An *Atheist* it is impossible to find—to admit his existence is to outrage the Sovereign of the World, who, in perfecting his noblest work, did not forget to engrave there the name of its immortal Author. Passions may arouse doubts; but when the *Atheist* questions himself, the evidence of a God confounds his incredulity, and the truth of the sentiment which fills his thoughts absolves him of the crime of *Atheism*. It is easy for you, my father, never to murmur against the Author of your being; you, who, in the gentle quiet of a life exempt from storms, have acquired the conviction that the sun of your old age will illumine the same scenes as did that of your youth. As for me—thrown on the earth like a disinherited child, born to feel happiness, and never finding it—I wander from climate to climate, with the sentiment of my everlasting misery. Since reason has unfolded to me the feeling of my wretchedness, nothing has yet tempered the bitterness of my distress. Fed with the hate of men—betrayed by those whose kindness I compared to that of angels—attacked by an incurable disease, which has swept away my ancestors—tell me, man of truth, if murmurs excited by despair can characterize an *Atheist*, and bring upon him the anger of Heaven. Oh! unhappy Byron!! if after so many mortal trials thy last hope of salvation is taken from thee—well!!—Here the voice of my Lord faltered.

"His gloomy silence lasted nearly a quarter of an hour. All on a

sudden he rose from his chair with eagerness, and walked round the room, stopping before the holy pictures which adorned it. A moment after he came to me, and said, 'Do you remember that you promised a month ago to give me certain things which you possess?'—'I possess very little, and that little has nothing which can tempt you: however, speak!'—'I remember the words of your answer, and you can no longer refuse me anything.' Then he advanced towards a corner of my room, and taking down a beautiful crucifix which I had brought from Rome, he placed it in my hands. I offered it to Byron, saying, '*This is the consoler of the unhappy.*' He seized it with transport, and kissing it several times, he added, with eyes bathed in tears, 'My hands shall not long profane it, and my mother will soon be the guardian of your precious relic!'—vol. v. p. 48—51.

M. Pouqueville was remarkably fortunate in discovering the tomb of the family of Cimon, in one of his walks to the Necropolis of the Piræus; and to group the pictures well, he meets over this tomb with "an *old man*, such as Phidias would have chosen for the God of Eloquence." Now we, unwittingly perhaps, deceived by Tooke's Pantheon, had thought the God of Eloquence was represented as "ever young,"—but let that pass. Mr. Dodwell consumed many laborious hours with mattock and spade, opening and diligently excavating some scores of tombs in this very Necropolis; and he has given us a long and very interesting chapter on this subject. But he was unfortunate enough to miss this tombstone, which must be seen, it appears, under "a certain angle of light." Mr. Dodwell's discoveries were very splendid at the spot. He opened tombs at the rate of thirty in nine hours; and not being interrupted by "the God of Eloquence," he collected a vast and most curious assortment of mirrors, strigiles and marionettes, tragic masks and cinerary vases. The sober antiquarian diligence of the English traveller is well contrasted with the rapidity and flippancy of the French topographer.

We must now escort our readers back to Epirus, and examine a few more false positions of our author; who cites the opinion of Pelloutier, though he does not thoroughly agree with him in his wild hypothesis, which avers that the Pelasgi were incontrovertibly the Celts! Yet he falls into a more strange error when he makes Antoninus Liberalis accountable for locating the Celts in Amphilochia. We were somewhat startled at this passage, and immediately referred to the Greek Mythologist, when we felt comfortably relieved from the apprehension that our forefathers came from the Hell of the Greeks, *Aïdonie*, by discovering that the text in the said Antoninus has Σελλοι, and not Κελται.

In his history of the religion of these mountain tribes of Epirus, M. Pouqueville is equally wrong in asserting, that

"as they adored a supreme Deity, to whom everything was subject, we can easily believe they opposed the admission of stranger gods. They raised their first *hierons*, or altars without roofs, without idols; zealous against idolatry," &c.

Now all this is a most gratuitous and unwarrantable mode of reasoning, and rests upon the idea that the Pelasgi *were* Celts, and that these Celts, as worshiping in hypæthral temples, had no God but One—all of which is false. To support this monstrous position he cites—whom do you think, gentle reader?—the account of Tacitus *de moribus Germanorum*, when speaking of the Suevi. But allow, for a moment, this incongruous authority to be adduced, it would subvert M. Pouqueville's argument totally. Does not Tacitus, in this very treatise, say these Celts have their Hercules, their Mercury, their Mannus, their Hertha? Had the Celts no Taranis, or *Jupiter Fulgurator*? no Hæsus or Mars? no Teutates (f. Thoth, *Ægypt*;) or Hermes? Did Lucan make out a catalogue of *imaginary* gods? Does his

———— "cæsisque extant informis truncis"

prove that the Celts had "no idols?"

Moreover, M. Pouqueville says "the synchronism of Thesprotus and Proserpine being historically proved,"—How?—for this proof we are referred to Pausanias, lib. i. c. 17, and lib. viii. c. 4, evidently under the idea that the reader would feel too much *ennui* to encounter the research; but we have taken that trouble, as is our bounden duty, being wonderously struck with this marvellous synchronism. The eighth book of Strabo, which is brought to bear on the subject, has also been explored by us, but to no purpose, as we cannot find the slightest suggestion in either of the three passages which could form a foundation to what he assumes. We only discover, in the first citation, that "Theseus came into Thesprotia to seize the king's wife, in company with Pirithous; and that he was put in prison by a king of the Thesproti." We cannot see what this can have to do with the synchronism of *Thesprotus* and *Proserpine*, any more than the reference to the eighth book of Pausanias, *which treats solely of the affairs of Arcadia*, and in which, from strict examination, we believe there is not to be found the slightest collateral mention of Thesprotus, himself a most questionable personage.

The next illustration of M. Pouqueville is nearly incredible. Surely he must have intended to *mystify* his readers.

"Paramythia was the country of darkness, (as Homer, in the *Odyssey*, calls it *μελαίνην γαίαν Θεσπρωτῶν*, the black region of the Thesprotians, lib. vi. 115,) because the Greeks, placed more eastward, saw the sun set daily on this side the land, which made them place their infernal regions there."

Now, in the first place, there is *no such line* in the fifth book of the *Odyssey*; and, in the second, where it does occur *Od. Ζ. 315*, two words out of the three are quoted wrong, it being *μελαίνη γαίη*; and in the third it is not "black, dark *land*," but "dark *night*." The lines run thus:—

“ ἐννῆμαρ φερόμην, δεκάτῃ δέ με νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ
Γαίῃ Θεσπρωτῶν πέλασεν μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδον.”

Decimâ autem me nocte nigrâ terræ, &c. “On the tenth *dark night* I was wafted to the land of the Thesprotians.” The black shore of Ghost-land forsooth! Surely, after this, we have no need of farther proof of the utter want of faith held with the reader. But we must proceed to Dodona.

The site of this remarkable and interesting spot is still, perhaps, destined, in its discovery, to give interest to some future volume of travels. All that sound hypothesis and acute classical learning can do in the cause, has been executed by Dr. Butler, of Shrewsbury, in an Appendix to Mr. Hughes’s Travels. But at all times without a *local* knowledge of the country in question, the scholar labours but in vain. This was decidedly the case (as has been amply proved by the resident, Mr. Rich) with Major Rennel, in the ichnography of Babylon; and with Jacob Bryant, in his discussion on the Troad. M. Pouqueville, however, necessarily had this local knowledge, and he accordingly finds out the spot with the greatest facility—to his own satisfaction—though by no means to ours. Hearing, one day, the prior of a monastery call it the house of “the Virgin Hellopia,” he gained the first intimation of the site of Hellopia, and of the miracles “caused by its holy wood, wherein it was necessary to sleep previously to gaining lucid ideas”—where a doze, by the way, might have been beneficial to him. He was, therefore, *convinced* that “the memory of the wonder-working Oaks is still perpetuated among the modern inhabitants, who yet call the borders of one side the lake of Janina by the name of Dryscos, or Oak-Hill.” Here then is Dodona! and we cannot omit the etymology which M. Pouqueville gives it—“Dodona is derived from *κοδόνα*, i. e. *κάδανα*, or a ring of bells”!!!

Our traveller, from his haste, and the feeling that he must be right in whatever he undertakes, coupled with his very shallow acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, or wilful misrepresentation of them, has given us some most strange and untenable dogmas concerning Dodona. He is decidedly wrong about the Oracle of Themis, which he makes anterior to that of Dodona, which, as we before said, he would place at the monastery of Hellopia in Epirus. Then to establish the priority of claim for

the Oracle of Themis, he cites Herodotus, ii. 52. We are quite at a loss to form an idea how such a mistake, and such a citation could have occurred to him. M. Pouqueville says,—

“ Herodotus informs us, that the Pelasgi, who were more ancient than the gods of Greece, having been solicited to admit the worship of Jupiter, applied to the Oracle of Themis, for its advice. Thus Jupiter Dodonæus had not the first oracle in Pelasgia.”

Now Herodotus says nothing of the sort, but, on the contrary, gives a flat contradiction to the assertion; which may be best proved by quoting the passage:—

“ ἐν Δωδώνῃ—τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νερόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μόνον.”

“ of Dodona, by far the most ancient oracle of Greece, and, at the period of which we speak, the only one.”—Beloe.

Again, M. Pouqueville blunders about the Oracle of Themis, stating it to have been Epirotic. It is rather unfortunate for one who undertakes to treat of Greece generally, not to have remembered, at least in this portion of his work, that the Oracle of Themis was the precursor of the Oracle of Apollo on the crags of Delphi. We need hardly multiply school-boy quotations to establish this fact from Pausanias, from Lucan, in his description of Parnassus, and from sundry other ancient writers.

Homer frequently makes mention of the Oracle of Dodona, by far the most celebrated and early of any in Greece. Dr. Butler concludes his remarks on this subject with the following words, which may tend to whet the appetite of some future explorer.

“ And now what is the result of all our investigation? It may be reduced into a narrow compass. Dodona, by the general consent of writers who must have known the fact, stood on a hill, either at the foot of, or actually forming part of a chain of mountains. It was an angle of Molossia, bordering on Perthæbia, to the west of Pindus, to the east of Thesprotia, to the south of Upper Epirus. A chain of mountains led westward from Dodona through Thesprotia to the sea. About Dodona was a plain, stretching probably to the south-east; and yet more to the east, towards Pindus, was a marsh or lake. These are features which must still remain. And if you find a place in the neighbourhood of Joannina, bearing ruins on a hill, and whose local situation seems to correspond with that I have mentioned, search diligently for inscriptions, in the hope of finding Dodona.”

When M. Pouqueville comes to treat of Ætolia, he tells us of the discoveries made by his brother in that district; of the “land of the Echinades, increased by sea-slime, and that plain where, according to the account of Posidonius, (preserved in Strabo, i. 58,) in consequence of an earthquake, the earth burst, and disgorged

a torrent of ignited mud." As usual, from our memory not suggesting such a passage in Strabo, we applied to the source: and found that so far from such a phenomenon occurring in *Ætolia*, Posidonius did mention its happening at Lelantum, a plain in *Eubœa*; and he says distinctly, in another passage, lib. x. 9.

"ὑπάρκειται δὲ τῆς Χαλκιδέων πόλεως τὸ Λήλαντον καλούμενον πεδῖον."

"The plain named Lelantum lies above the city of Chalcia."

But it is time to have done with Greek misquotations, which might, without exaggeration, have been increased twenty-fold. It is unpleasant to be constantly starting and running down errors; yet while there is so much assumption as we find in M. Pouqueville's book, such becomes the duty of the critic, which he owes to the rising generation, as well as to his contemporaries. We will therefore only advert to a few equal, if not worse, misrepresentations from *Latin* authors, adduced as authorities; and leave the exposure of a multitude of similar falsifications, either to the contempt or the castigation of future readers.

"Acroceraunia, where Pliny indicates a city of the Cimmerians.—Lib. ii. c. 1." There is no mention of a Cimmerian city in the cited chapter or book. But we have found the reference, which is to Pliny, iii. 9, where he says, *Lacus Lucrinus et Aver-nus juxta quem Cimmerium oppidum quondam*. He is talking of the *Lago d'Averno* in *Italy*! These are the same Cimmerians who are mentioned by Homer, *Od. xi.*:—

"ἐνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν, δῆμός τε πόλις τε,"

"There, in a lonely land and gloomy cells,
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells."—*Pope*.

which passage, in the same breath, is, by our author, made to apply to an Acroceraunian Avernus!!!

"The remains [of Amantia] consist of an acropolis of Cyclopean masonry, with the repairs of a later age, in the middle of which one finds the tympana of columns and some inscriptions. Hence the scattered ruins of this city, of which Pliny, Cicero, and Cæsar speak, as of a place of importance, and which existed to the time of the Emperor Basilus, deserve the attention of travellers."—vol. i. p. 338.

Now Cicero and Cæsar merely mention Amantia casually; and Pliny introduces its inhabitants only in a long and dry list of Macedonian people.

"The Argyrians," says M. Pouqueville, "were counted among the people of Epirus, with whom Lucan places them in his third book, v. 152."

This is a bold stroke, and will save us the trouble of wading farther through such a mass of error, and hardy assertion. Not

only does Lucan not mention these people in the book, and verse just cited—but *he never uses their name throughout his poem.*

The last strange mistake, with which we shall wind up our charges against the accuracy of our author, is of so ludicrous a nature, that we cannot resist inserting it, for the benefit of our Horatian readers alone, who will therein find a new version of the effects of the anger of an injured husband. M. Pouqueville is somewhere very sapient about the *initiatory* ceremonies of the Jews; and, as usual, illustrates their earliest rite by classical authority:—

“————— caudamque salacem
Demeteret ferro.”

This is a *ne plus ultra*.

We have said enough, we think, to show the little credit which is to be reposed on this work; and have, we hope, satisfactorily proved, that a reliance on the authorities, which are so profusely spread in the margin, might mislead the young and the inquisitive in no trifling degree. After these exposures, it would be superfluous to allude to faults of style, particularly to the affectation of Frenchifying Greek compound words into what are as unintelligible to M. Pouqueville's own countrymen, as to us. Such is the jargon of *hierons* for temples; *ecnephies* for clouds; *hydragogue*, for aqueduct, &c.; but we will desist. The lithographic illustrations which accompany the work—for instance, the shepherd and shepherdess of Arcadia, which would disgrace the heading of a ballad—are wholly unworthy of it; while it is but just to say that the typographical part, like that of most works which have issued from the press of Firmin Didot, is beautifully executed, and that the accompanying map, in a case, and divided in two sheets into Northern and Southern Greece, is handsomely delineated, and correct, as far as our own observations have been directed to it.

We have now performed our task of noting some among the multifarious references to the *ancients*; and confess we are surprised at the little *modern* information which M. Pouqueville presents. Epirus, in its present state, he has explored with some energy, and delineated satisfactorily in detail; although we are inclined to quarrel with the assumed site of many of the demolished cities. Farther, the whole western coast of Greece, from the Gulph of Lepanto to Illyria, has met in him with a tolerable topographer. But other portions of the land have been deputed to the hands of co-adjutors; and some have been described by extracts garbled, and not always acknowledged, from sundry other European, particularly English, travellers.

In his hatred to Britain, M. Pouqueville is little less ferocious; or sarcastic, than most of the imperial employés of the day. This sickening dose is administered not only covertly, but openly, throughout his work. On the demerits of both M. Pouqueville and his brother in these points, we will refer to the authentic and able little volume lately written by Mr. Green, our consul at Patras; having ourselves no inclination to rake any farther through the pages of these volumes to point out the numerous instances of dirt and misrepresentation. Of individuals, however, in a few instances, M. Pouqueville speaks in terms which are not so disgraceful to him—a sparing deference indeed to those, from whose researches he has borrowed so much, and to whom he stands so largely indebted. In this he may form no dishonourable exception to some of his own nation—even on the same ground—but *the principle*, the bitter hatred he evinces to our country, and its objects, however innocent or *unconnected with politics*, is ever the same.

Upon indifferent topics we might extract some fairly-written passages, especially those which are of a descriptive nature. We shall, however, content ourselves with translating a passage of some length, in which he has given us an account of his first interview with Ali-Pacha, with whose character he became ultimately, and to his cost, well acquainted. We deem it one of the most striking passages in the book.

“Towards noon, the active officer of the Vizir, who had quitted us during the night, returned from his journey. He informed us that his master was at Dzidza, where he was waiting for us. We dined accordingly; and having given presents to all who held out their hands for them, we set out at two o'clock, preceded, accompanied, and followed by the people who composed our party since we left Porto Palermo. In coming down from Monchari, we returned to the path which we had quitted the evening before, and shortly passed by the powder-mills of Crionero. We then ascended a woody hillock, and after travelling a league over an uncultivated country, filled with torrents, arrived at a solitary mountain which seemed to barricade the valley. After having turned round its rocky base, we crossed a marsh at a hundred toises distance, on a solid causeway with eighteen arches: and a hundred toises still farther on, we crossed by a stone bridge the Thyamis or Calamas, which flows to the south in describing a vast circuit, whence it turns northward for the purpose of forming the cascade of Glizani, which I shall mention elsewhere.

“At a mile and a half from the bridge of Calamas, we arrived at a khan in front of the pretty village of Mazaraki, which is situated on an ascent on the right bank of the river. At a short distance we entered the bed of a torrent, which we went up in a north-easterly direction for a quarter of a league. At this spot we saw, nearly in front of us, the

three round peaks which belong to the chain of Dzidza, which we had lost sight of for two miles during our advance up the ravine. As we arrived at its extremity, the night became on a sudden so dark, that our guides lost their way. Our horses fell down under their loads; we tumbled, almost at every step, into quagmires, and were only able to discern each other by the glittering light which beamed from the seraglio of Dzidza. People posted round about by order of the Pacha invited us in his name to ascend to the convent of the Prophet Elias, where lodging was prepared for us; and we set out for that place about eight o'clock in the evening. We were hardly in possession of the cell which was prepared for us, when messengers came requesting us to descend to the palace. We wished in vain to make excuses to defer our visit; they insisted that it must take place, saying, we should be presented just as we were; and to this we consented.

"My curiosity was much raised; I was to see at length a famous man—a new Theseus—an aged warrior covered with wounds—a satrap grown grey in the trade of arms—the modern Pyrrhus of Epirus; all this had been communicated to me by my conductors. We arrived at the doors of the seraglio, which groaned upon their hinges: we traversed a gloomy court; ascended a dark staircase; a trap-door was raised; a curtain was drawn aside: and we found ourselves in the hall of audience of Ali-Pacha, who waited for us in a standing posture. He saluted us, embraced M. Bessieres, and drawing himself back in a tottering attitude, he let himself fall on the corner of a sofa, apparently without having perceived me. A spectre, however, with a white beard, accoutred in black, who was present, honoured me with a slight movement of his head to intimate that I was welcome. This scene, in which also figured a Greek secretary, who lay prostrate on the floor in the attitude of fear, his hands concealed under the long sleeves of his dress, was enlightened by the feeble glimmer of a yellow taper, which permitted us to distinguish surrounding objects.

"After the usual compliments had passed, the Vizir's confidential dragoman was summoned, in order to begin the conversation, which the Pacha opened by asking questions with a volubility very uncommon among the Turks. Through the gloom I distinguished the sparkling of his eyes; I observed his convulsive movements; I listened to his apparently vague discourse, which was nevertheless full of low cunning. He was restless, he laughed, he chattered, and no expression on his part was destitute of meaning, in spite of all his verbosity. He cast scrutinizing eyes on me; and at last commanded the Greek secretary and the black spectre to retire. We remained with the interpreter, who continued to stammer the questions and answers which we exchanged; and after two hours' conversation, we separated, leaving his Highness to calculate between his doubts and apprehensions.

"This interview was sufficient to destroy a part of the illusion by which I had been deceived. Ali-Pacha was neither Theseus—nor Pyrrhus—nor an aged warrior covered with wounds. These new ideas I brought away with me; and I deplored my destiny which compelled me

to reside near such a man, without foreseeing, alas! the sum of sorrows he would cause me.

"We returned at ten o'clock to the monastery of the Prophet Elias. But who was this interpreter who had assisted at the conference? I should have almost feared to confess it, had he not himself authorized me so to do. It was Marco Guarini, a Roman, of the order of St. Dominic, a Father of the Holy Land, and a Maltese Inquisitor. I had known him in Egypt. Being conducted as a prisoner of war in 1798 to Ali-Pacha, he became a Turkish renegade. Peace to his ashes! In the month of April, 1825, this unfortunate person died, at Paris, a Christian."

For many a year of alternate success and disaster the attempt of speculating on the future destinies of Greece has been hazardous. That the unassisted efforts of that enthralled nation, however they might protract a war, would be unable ultimately to conclude it with honour and security, seemed, indeed, self-evident. But then the conduct and intentions of the most powerful nations in Europe appeared inscrutable, and on *their* final determination the great question of liberty or slavery, or rather extermination, must decidedly rest. Since the conclusion of the treaty of July, 1827, the singular complication of neutrality and warfare, the inexplicable vigour and remissness of the combined squadrons in the Levant, may be said to have afforded little clue, up to the present time, to the hopes or the forebodings of the political speculator, so far as naval succour was concerned. The Peloponnesian captives, doomed "to hang up their harps" by the banks of the Nile, are a melancholy token of the indecision which has governed other councils besides our own.

The curtain, however, is at last drawing up. In the North, "Scythia breathes the living cloud of war" over the fairest provinces of Thrace. In the South, the application of the Egyptian freebooter, Ibrahim, for permission to quit the Morea, and the gallant army (attended, we hear, by some enthusiastic young English philhellenes), which, having broken up from its cantonments in the South of France, is at this moment, probably, disembarking at Navarino and Napoli, the ports of Nestor and Agamemnon, will have solved the problem ere these pages issue from the press. With heart-felt satisfaction we chaunt the *l'envoi* to the Greeks in the words of the unfortunate but immortal Riga.

" Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ελλήνων
ὁ καιρὸς τῆς δόξης ἦλθεν
ὡς φανώμεν ἄξιοι ἐκείνων
ποῦ μᾶς δῶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν."

" Sons of the Greeks, arise !
 The glorious hour's gone forth,
 And, worthy of such ties,
 Display *who gave ye birth.*"

BRYAN.

The most partial spectator of the ensuing conflict, in the event of early and signal success, and the most extended line of demarcation, with natural and unassailable barriers of mountain and flood, must not conclude that regeneration can be the work of a moment. This is the conviction of sense ; and, with the desire of moderating an ardour, too easily engendered in the young and classical student, we shall content ourselves with briefly adverting to some of the particularities which characterize the modern Greeks.

The vices of the Greeks and the negative virtues of the Turks are, by some authors, as unfairly contrasted, as the splendid and valorous achievements of those who preceded these Greeks are partially and enthusiastically applied to their descendants by the ultra-Philhellenes. The nation of which we are speaking, is not to be compared with any other which has once reached civilization, and, in the lapse of ages, has gradually sunk back into its former elements. In no part of the world, probably, is there more misery, ignorance, and vain-glory. The inhabitant of Attica or the Morea, while he builds his hovel among the ruined temples of his supposed ancestors, identifies himself with their fame, and with those exploits which he is by no means calculated to imitate. He forgets, too, while he treads the soil of Hellas, that, in all probability, his blood is derived from parents far different from those he assumes to be so. The succession of barbarian invaders of this miserable country ; the constant intermixture of foreigners from the Roman conquest to the capture of Constantinople—nearly two thousand years of degradation—the lingering occupation, protection, and intercourse, in various parts, of the Venetians and Genoese, have all tended to deteriorate the purity of Grecian origin. In universal wretchedness, however, all who speak the Romaic dialect are herded together, and claim to be considered as one race. The vain-glory of the modern Greek is hereditary ; a vice apparently inherent in the soil and climate ; a vice once the theme of classical allusion, no less than that of contemporary observation. In his cottage on the hills, as well as in his town—indigent, while his infidel oppressor flourishes at his side—he is still the same : he is persuaded that he surpasses all men of all nations in intelligence, because his country *once* carried her arts and her arms over the civilized world, and, even when conquered, benefited her conqueror by introducing him to science,

taste, and eventual amelioration. This vain-glory which we are discussing might be pardonable, did it not lead to fatal results as the parent of quarrelsome faction. It mainly prevents different districts and different chieftains from amalgamating together for the good cause. We evidently descry this in the long period during which Ibrahim, though hermetically sealed up by the allied squadrons, has been permitted to ravage the Peninsula. We have observed it from the early squabbles of Odyssæa, Goura, and Colocotroni, to the present dissensions at the court of the President, Capo d'Istria. The same unfortunately pervading spirit at this moment renders the Greek incapable of understanding, appreciating, or cheerfully submitting to regular military service either by land or sea. It does therefore appear, that, without the armed interference of some nation, however that nation may have private purposes to serve, the Greeks, of themselves, can never muster, pay, or keep together sufficient force for more than desultory surprises and attacks, and for enterprises which they must abandon after success—still less is it to be expected from their present indolence, that, if not supported by civilized nations, and for a considerable time garrisoned by them, they could preserve their country, if from any cause they could momentarily liberate it.

Now since this is the case (and that it is so is generally allowed) it must actually exhaust one generation at least, before old prejudices gradually vanish away before better prospects. The modes which have been proposed, and indeed partially adopted, of making Greece one great adult School, as it were, are truly absurd. To offer it, as Stanhope did in his enthusiasm, the benefits of a free press—of learned institutions—of utilitarian schools—and all the trumpery of Jeremy Benthamism—is to talk to this degraded nation a language which it does not and cannot understand. This Lord Byron saw, and combated with feelings truly and honourably liberal. Meantime the vices with which Greece is sullied, are the vices of protracted slavery: and we doubt whether, as we have before hinted, a thorough and complete emancipation, without a protectorate and guarantee more powerful than that of the President, (now placed at the head of affairs, possibly as an out-post of Russia,) would go far to reclaim the vicious habits which have been contracted by long periods of oppression and humiliation.

But would the jealous powers of Europe combine in an arrangement so truly beneficent in its intention? We more than doubt it; and in this doubt is involved our hope of the final and perfect resuscitation of this once-gifted land.

It has been proposed by some writers to colonise Greece; to

convey thither, in the manner in which Russia has been acting on her own territories, industrious companies of Germans, or Swiss, and indeed of scientific and laborious communities of all nations. It is recommended that thousands of persons so circumstanced should disembark on these ill-peopled and devastated coasts, (while, by the bye, it is forgotten that the produce of Greece is scarcely equal to its consumption,) and that the excess of European population should no longer emigrate to the insalubrious prairies of the Mississippi and the Missouri, but steam it to Epirus and Thessaly, and there fix its abode. It is said, with the air of an Arabian tale-reciter, by one French author, whom we have lately read, that "if such a plan were adopted, cities, now prostrate, would be again rebuilt and embellished, and the country recover its tone and fertility: a people numerous, wealthy and happy, would speedily replenish those places, which, for lack of man and of culture, are now desolate and unwholesome." This is very philhellenic, but, in our eyes, very ridiculous. There is, however, we think, a minor benefit, which might accrue from civil or military foreigners being introduced into the heart of Greece, which will not fail to be duly hailed by scholars. We allude to the retrieval of much ancient art, of statues and inscriptions hitherto fortunately concealed from the Turks beneath the ground, to be excavated at their due season, and at a brighter period; as well as to the security from future spoliation which such interference would effect. The French army destined for the Peloponneseus will assuredly carry many *sauvons* with it—the spot and the tools and the labourers are at hand—and the generals and the subaltern officers of the present day would not encourage a Fourmont.

IV. We have speculated beyond our original intention; and must no longer neglect a short examination of the late work of Jacovaky Rizo Néroulos—an historian who has arisen to instruct us in French from the not altogether classical regions of Moldavia and Wallachia. We understand he is called by his middle name of Rizo, which in our brief intercourse with him we the more readily adopt, as it will be easier of pronunciation to the governesses, who, we are convinced, in all well-regulated families, duly read our lucubrations to their young mistresses.

Rizo is a Wallachian sentimentalist. He is prodigiously given to tears and sighs—and lookings-up to Heaven for justice—and down to the ground for traces of the steps of great men—and the like. He commences his labours with a somewhat digested History of the Ottoman Empire, in which we shall not follow him, and in which he gives several hard hits at his precursors, the Byzantine historians. As nobody cared to read the annals of slaves, so nobody indited a tolerable history of them before Rizo's time.

It was destined for him, (by birth a Greek, and who was, by the way, grand-postelnik of two Hospodars,) to supersede the antiquated or prejudiced historical records of Hodza, Néima, Tzelabizudé, Is-si, Subhi, Euvéri, and Vassif, whose works, no doubt, all our readers have long since perused with attention, and may now regret to find superseded by Rizo.

Indeed our author seems to regard his quality of *native* as a sufficient guarantee for the authenticity and impartiality of his performance. He says, that in all previous histories of the wars of which Greece and its islands were the theatre, between the Turks on one side, and the Venetians, Genoese, and Knights of St. John of Jerusalem on the other, the Greek inhabitants are never even mentioned, and that "thus the history of Greece has been the history of the Ottomans, the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Knights of Malta," rather than what it professes to be. He goes on occasionally shedding tears from Moldavia to Constantinople, where, when he arrives, on walking down a particular street, the floodgates of his head are sure to be constantly unlocked. "Often," says he, "as I have passed this spot," (where the last Palæologus died fighting) "*every time have I shed my furtive tears over his cenotaph.*"

It may be asked, how a Greek of a barbarous land should have obtained the mouthful of learning which Rizo possesses. The means of education in Northern Greece, or rather Turkey, are not so defective as might be supposed. In the provinces of Epirus and Acarnania, and in Albania generally, the spirit of commerce early developed itself, on account of the length of coast, the excellence of harbours, and the proximity of the Venetian territory. The impulse given from the shore was soon felt in the more northern and inland provinces. In consequence of this happy and advantageous position, the inhabitants of Western Greece frequented the universities of Italy, and again instructed their fellow-citizens on their return home. The first well-organized schools were at Joannina, Moscopolis, Arta, and, in later times, at Missolonghi, among the swamps and fens of Ætolia. The foundation of this town, which has accidentally found a place in history, and which goes back three centuries, is due to a colony from Parga. The chief of a Parguinote family, one Pezzatas, was the leader of it.

On the subject of the dragomans of the Porte we have the following notice, which we extract as a piece of information new to us.

"To gain the esteem and protection of their masters, the Greeks of Constantinople cultivated with ardour the science which they found in favour at court. Panajotaky, sprung from some one of the emigrant families of Trebisonde, studied, for this purpose, philosophy and medicine

in Italy: on his return to Constantinople in 1630, he soon acquired among the Turks a considerable reputation, and insinuated himself particularly into the good graces of the Grand Vizir Kiuproulou Mehmed Pacha. Secure in this protection, he even dared one day, in presence of the Vizir, and several ulemas, or members of the higher orders of the clergy, to dispute with a Mussulman, a doctor of theology, named Vanli-Effendy, on the truth of the Christian religion. And while the faggot and stake were raised in Europe for those who manifested the slightest differences of opinion on those questions, in the Mahommedan capital a Christian slave, who announced the truth of his faith, met with toleration. Panajotaky was versed in the ancient Greek, Latin, Italian, and the Eastern languages; he possessed extensive and various knowledge, by means of which he obtained the important charge of Grand Interpreter to the Porte. He was the first Greek invested with that dignity; this influenced the fate of that nation, which began, from that period, to intermeddle in the diplomatic affairs of the Ottoman government. Panajotaky accompanied his protector, the Grand Vizir Kiuproulou Mehmed Pacha, in his expedition against the Island of Candia, and it was the intercession of the Interpreter which saved the Candlots from the rage of the Mahometans, who had been inflamed by a long and bloody resistance."

When first the Turks began to find that it was necessary for them to hold some intercourse with the Christian nations around them, by the advice and aid of these interpreters they commenced a barbarous diplomacy. Louis XIV. had the honour of receiving and entertaining their first ambassador. At this time France alone was deemed worthy this condescension from the Porte. In process of time embassies were extended to other European states. But it has been remarked, that all these gentlemen were, in no instance, persons of tact and ability, which might have otherwise compensated for their want of human knowledge. This observation does not apply to envoys from Persia, and even to some who have been sent from the African coast—men of fair talents, and astute enough to have formed a portion of the Pandemonium at Vienna.

In confirmation of what we have said on the character of Turkish ambassadors, we take leave to give the following story on the credit of our author:

"In 1796, Jussuf Aggliah Effendi was the Ambassador from the Porte at the Court of St. James's. On his return to Constantinople, he was asked what were the most remarkable sights he had seen in London.—What he thought, for instance, of the House of Commons? 'The House of Commons,' said he, with sovereign contempt, 'is nothing but a noisy assembly of braggarts and brawlers; I saw nothing *there* which was not truly despicable:—but I *did* see a thing,—a thing really striking and wonderful,—I saw a man, who, holding four oranges in one hand, and two forks in the other, threw up into the air the oranges and the forks

moderately, and stack one on the other with the utmost rapidity!"—
p. 65, note.

We finish our extracts with an account of Lord Byron's exploits at Missolonghi, as a specimen of our Wallachian's exuberant style and *plorative* propensities, and as a very good pendant to M. Pouqueville's picture of the poet given in a preceding page.

"For several years a man, a poet, excited the admiration of civilized people. His sublime genius towered above the atmosphere, and penetrated, with a searching look, even into the deepest abysses of the human heart. Envy, which could not reach the poet, attacked the man, and wounded him cruelly; but, too great to defend, and too generous to revenge himself, he only sought for elevated impressions, and '*vivait de grandes sensations*,' (which we cannot translate,) capable of the most noble devotedness, and, persuaded that excellence is comprised in justice, he embraced the cause of the Greeks. Still young, Byron had traversed Greece, *properly so called*, and described the moral picture of its inhabitants. He quitted these countries, pitying in his verses the misery of the Greeks, blaming their lethargy, and despising their stupid submission; so difficult is it to know a nation by a rapid glance. What was the astonishment of the poet, when some years later he saw these people, whom he had thought unworthy to bear the name of Greeks, rise up with simultaneous eagerness, and declare, in the face of the world, that '*they would again become a nation*.' Byron hesitated at first; ancient prepossessions made him attribute this rapture to a partial convulsion, the ultimate effort of a being ready to breathe the last sigh. Soon new prodigies, brilliant exploits, and heroic constancy, which sustained itself in spite of every opposition, proved to him that he had ill-judged this people, and excited him to repair his error by the sacrifice of his fortune and life; he wished to concur in the work of regeneration. From the shores of the beautiful Etruria he set sail for Greece, in the month of August, 1823. He visited at first the seven Ionian Isles, where he sojourned some time, busied in concluding the first Greek loan. The death of Marco Botzaris redoubled the enthusiasm of Byron, and perhaps determined him to prefer the town of Missolonghi, which already showed for its glory the tombs of Normann, Kyriakoulis, and Botzaris. Alas! that town was destined, four months later, to reckon another mausoleum!

"Towards the month of November a Hydriote brig of war, commanded by the nephew of the brave Criézy, sailed to Cephalonia to take him on board, and bring him to Missolonghi; but the Septinsular government, not permitting ships bearing a Greek flag to come into its harbours, Byron was obliged to pass to Zante in a small vessel, and to join the Greek brig afterwards, which was waiting for him near Zante. Hardly was Byron on board when he kissed the main-mast, calling it '*sacred wood*.' The ship's crew, astonished at this whimsical behaviour, regarded him in silence; suddenly Byron turned towards the captain and the sailors, whom he embraced with tears, and said to them, '*It is by this wood that you will consolidate your independence.*' As

these words the visitors, moved with enthusiasm, regarded him with admiration. Byron soon reached Missolonghi: the members of the Administrative Council received him at the head of two thousand soldiers drawn up in order. The artillery of the place, and the discharge of musquetry, announced the happy arrival of this great man. All the inhabitants ran to the shore, and welcomed him with acclamations. As soon as he had entered the town he went to the hotel of the Administrative Council, where he was complimented by Porphyrios, Archbishop of Asta, Lepanto and Etolia, accompanied by all his clergy. The first words of Byron were, 'Where is the brother of the modern Leonidas?' Constantine Botsaris, a young man, tall and well made, immediately stepped forward, and Byron thus accosted him:—'Happy mortal! Thou art the brother of a hero whose name will never be effaced in the lapse of ages!' Then, perceiving a great crowd assembled under the windows of the hotel, he advanced towards the vestibule and said, 'Hellenes! you see amongst you an Englishman who has never ceased to study Greece in her antiquity, and to think of her in her modern state; an Englishman who has always invoked by his vows that liberty, for which you are now making so many heroic efforts. I am grateful for the sentiments which you testify towards me; in a short time you will see me in the middle of your phalanxes, to conquer or perish with you.' A month afterwards the government sent him a deputation, charged to offer him a sword and the patent of Greek citizenship; at the same time the town of Missolonghi inscribed him in its archives. For this public act they prepared a solemn ceremony for him; they fixed beforehand the day—they invited there by circular letters the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts—and more than twenty thousand persons arrived at Missolonghi. Byron in a Greek costume, preceded and followed by all the military, who loved him, proceeded to the church, where the Archbishop Porphyrios and the Bishop of Rogon, Joseph, that martyr of religion and his country, received him in the vestibule of the church, clothed in their sacerdotal habits; and, after having celebrated mass, they offered him the sword and the patent of citizenship. Byron demanded that the sword should be first dedicated on the tomb of Marco Botzaris; and immediately the whole retinue, and an immense crowd, went out of the church to the tomb of that warrior, which had been ornamented with beautiful marble at the expense of the poet.

"The Archbishop placed the sword upon this tomb, and then Byron, to inspire the Greeks with enthusiasm, advanced with a religious silence, and stopping all on a sudden, he pronounced this discourse in the Greek tongue. 'What man reposes buried under this stone? What hollow voices issue from this tomb? What is this sepulchre, from whence will spring the happiness of Greece? But what am I saying? Is it not the tomb of Marco Botzaris, who has been dead some months, and who, with a handful of brave men, precipitated himself upon the numerous ranks of the most formidable enemies of Greece? How dare I approach the sacred place where he reposes—I, who neither possess his heroism nor his virtues? However, in touching this tomb, I hope that its emanations will always inflame my heart with patriotism.' So saying, and

advancing towards the sepulchre, he kissed it while shedding tears. Every spectator exclaimed, 'Lord Byron for ever!' 'I see,' added his lordship, 'the sword and the letter of citizenship, which the government offers me; from this day I am the fellow-citizen of this hero, and of all the brave people who surround me. Hellenes! I hope to live with you, to fight the enemy with you, and to die with you if it be necessary.' Byron, superior to vulgar prejudice, saw in the manners of the *pallikares* an ingenuous simplicity, a manly frankness and rustic procedure, but full of honour; he observed in the people a docility and constancy capable of the greatest efforts, when it shall be conducted by skilful and virtuous men; he observed amongst the Greek women a natural gaiety, an unstudied gentleness, a religious resignation to misfortunes. Byron did not pretend to bend a whole people to his tastes and European habits. He came not to censure with a stern look their costumes, their dances, and their music; on the contrary, he entered into their national dances, he learned their warlike songs, he dressed himself like them, he spoke their language; in a word, he soon became a true *Roumeliote*. Consequently, he was adored by all Western Greece; every captain acknowledged him with pleasure as his chief; the proud Souliots gloried in being under his immediate command. The funds of the first loan being addressed to him, and submitted to his inspection, gave him influence, not only over continental Greece, but even over the Peloponnesus; so that he was in a situation, if not sufficient to stifle discord, at least to keep it within bounds. Not having yet fathomed the character of all the chief people, as well civil as military, he was sometimes deceived in the beginning of his sojourn, which a little hurt his popularity; but being completely above trifling passions, being able to strengthen by his union with it the party which appeared to him the most patriotic, he might without any doubt, with time and experience, have played a part the most magnificent and salutary to Greece. At first he had constructed, at his own expense, a fort in the little isle of Xéclamisma, the capture of which would have given great facilities to the enemies to attack by sea Missolonghi or Anatoliko. Missolonghi gave to this important fort the name of "Fort Byron." This nobleman conceived afterwards, studied and prepared an expedition against the strong place of Lepanto, the capture of which would have produced consequences singularly favourable. Once in possession of the means of regularly paying the soldiers, he would have been able to form a choice body, and take the town, which did not present any difficulty of attack, either on account of the few troops shut up there, or the weakness of its fortifications. Byron only waited the arrival of the loan, to begin his march.

"Thus he led an agreeable life in the midst of a nation which he aimed at saving. Enchanted with the bravery of the Souliots, and their manners, which recalled to him the simplicity of Homeric times, he assisted at their banquets, extended upon the turf; he learnt their pyrrhic dance, and he sang in unison the airs of Riga, harmonizing his steps to the sound of their national mandolin. Alas! he carried too far his benevolent condescension. Towards the beginning of April he went to hunt in the marshes of Missolonghi. He entered on foot in the shal-

lows; he came out quite wet, and, following the example of the *poll-kars* accustomed to the *malaria*, he would not change his clothes, and persisted in having them dried upon his body. Attacked with an inflammation upon the lungs, he refused to let himself be bled, notwithstanding the intreaties of his physician, of Maurocordato and all his friends. His malady quickly grew worse; on the fourth day Byron became delirious; by means of bleeding he recovered from his drowsiness, but without being able to speak; then, feeling his end approaching, he gave his attendants to understand, that he wished to take leave of the captains and all the Souliots. As each approached, Byron made a sign to them to kiss him. At last he expired in the arms of Maurocordato, whilst pronouncing the names of his daughter and of Greece. His death was fatal to the nation, which it plunged in mourning and tears."

We are anxious, in conclusion, to acquit ourselves of a charge of inconsistency which might be brought against us, in consequence of our warm approbation of Rizo's former work, in the Tenth Article of our First Number. That work was a sober discussion of a literary nature, and was unaccompanied by those bursts of passion and raving which distinguish the present, and have materially lessened the author in our estimation. We could hardly have anticipated that a man, well instructed in comparison of his countrymen, a tragic poet, and one not unacquainted with the *ancient* language of his nation, would have condescended to so much flippancy and puerility as occur in his *Modern History of Greece*. Some palliation, however, it is but fair to offer, when we find that, from the necessity of his immediately joining Capo d'Istrias, (who appointed him his secretary, and has since, we understand, made him provisional governor in the Archipelago,) he left his materials in an unfinished state, and that they have since been furbished up, and completed by some *redacteur*.

- ART. IX. 1.—*Tableau des Pyrénées Françaises; contenant une description complète de cette chaîne de montagnes, et de ses principales vallées, depuis la Méditerranée jusqu'à l'Océan; accompagnée d'observations sur le caractère, les mœurs et les idiomes des peuples des Pyrénées: sur l'origine et les usages des Basques; sur les propriétés particulières des sources minérales; et d'une esquisse des différentes classes d'étrangers qui visitent les établissemens thermaux du pays.* Par M. Arbanère, Chevalier de la légion d'honneur. Paris. 1828. 2 vols. 8vo.
2. *Essai sur la Constitution Géognostique des Pyrénées.* Par J. de Charpentier, directeur des mines du Canton de Vaud, &c. &c. &c. Ouvrage couronné par l'Institut Royal de France, avec une planche, et une carte géognostique des Pyrénées. Paris. 1823. 8vo.

3. *Voyage Pittoresque dans les Pyrénées Françaises, et dans les départemens adjacents: dédié au Roi.* Par M. Meffling, Chevalier de la légion d'honneur, Peintre Paysagiste de la chambre et du cabinet de S. M., &c. &c. Livraison I—VIII. Paris. 1827—1828. Folio oblong, to be completed in 12 livraisons.

OUR readers may recollect an ingenious attempt, in an early number of this work, to depreciate the claims of mountain scenery upon the attention of the philanthropist. A well-maintained paradox is an unexpected intellectual blow: the recipient staggers under its force, and reels before he can put himself into an attitude of defence. A more calm examination of the nature and power of the attack, however, proves that it owed more than half its strength, and all its success, to its suddenness. We know not a better exercise for a juvenile exposé of fallacies, than an investigation of the real force of one half page (p. 445) in our Second Number, from the pen of a collaborateur, whom all men conspire to honour, but who, it must be confessed, sometimes prefers an insulated fancy to a general truth. There is no doubt that mountain tracts are ill adapted to agriculture, that they often afford insufficient pasture to cattle, and rarely promote the pursuit of wealth among the people who dwell in their recesses. But is this the proper test by which to try the value of a country? Is there no contentment without riches,—may not the pleasures of luxury be compensated by the hardy enjoyments of the mountaineers, the breezy height, the frugal fare, the virtuous love, the active chase, and a climate and a life best of all adapted to the preservation of health and the prolongation of existence? It is further true, that ascents are toilsome, and descents dangerous, but to whom?—not to the muscular shepherd of the hills, who skips from crag to crag with the ease and security of the chamois—who slides down declivities, or hangs over precipices with the same freedom that literary men wander from the library to the drawing-room. The evils of the plain might be similarly drawn out in formidable array, and the merits of the question remain pretty much where they were: the truth is, however, that mountain districts do possess remarkable properties, which, in spite of the most dexterous sophistry, must always command the respect and interest of the philanthropist, the philosopher, and the man of taste. The mountaineer may be poor, but he is free: the hills are the home and birth-place of liberty: with fearlessness of danger and habitual frugality dwell the love of independence: “the lord of the lion heart and eagle eye” is cradled among cliffs, and his lullaby is the roar of the torrent and the windgust. *Montes enarrant gloriam Dei*, is a truth which

our sophist would meet by saying, that they impress a "consciousness of the force of nature rather than of the beneficence of Providence;" but are we not to admire the power as well as the benevolence of the Deity? Mountains, however, not only lead to a consciousness of the force, but to a knowledge of the works of nature. The secrets of the creation have been dug from their bowels. The constitution of the earth is felt and ascertained in them as in the bones of a skeleton. The theatre of the geologist is the mountain range. By their aid a light has been shed upon the history of the world, and the awful visitations of Providence by flood and fire that mark its epochs, which not only enlarges the sphere of the reason of man, but must necessarily elevate his piety, and purify his virtue. The feeling of devotion is nearly the first, and certainly the most prevailing sensation, which affects the traveller amidst the stupendous beauties of mountain scenery. While art remains what it is, it is perfectly idle to say that the prejudices of taste should lie against the admiration of mountains: their ever-changing hues, their innumerable forms, their magnificent bulk, their imposing attitudes, can never fail to excite the enthusiastic feelings of the artist and the man of taste. In all such comparisons, short-sighted man too often looks with a partial eye solely to his individual propensities, and would condemn all nature to his own gratification: the mountain and the plain have their respective virtues: if any thing is "barbarous, not to say impious," in loving nature, whether it be the fertility of a flat surface or the grandeur of an unequal one, it is in him who, speaking of mountains, demands, "of what use are they to man?"

A defence of mountains is certainly no inapt introduction to an article which has placed at its head three elaborate works, solely devoted to the illustration of THE PYRENEES, although we allow that the celebrity of this vast chain, the resort of the artist, the invalid, and the admirers of nature, might well have justified the devotion of an article to them without committing ourselves to an argument. But it is the foible of our countrymen, who love to clear the way before them. A Frenchman, given to despise difficulties, and to succeed in onset, would probably have opened in a style more worthy of the subject. M. Dusaulx commences his "Voyage" thus: "Augustes Pyrénées, franchis par Annibal, chantées par Lucain, et dont *je vais tenter la description, je vous salue!*"

Of the three works before us, that of M. Arbanère demands our first notice. The title of it will show that his aim is sufficiently ambitious, and his object almost universal: he unites in his own person the duties of various observers: art as well as science claim his attention; a professor of the picturesque, and

a moral philosopher, he does not, sometimes, disdain the useful office of guide, and favours his reader with sketches not only of scenery, but of character. His design is good, and perhaps his faults are those of his country. It is a great vice in descriptive writers to dwell chiefly upon the feelings excited by the scenes before them: they ought to attempt, by an accurate picture, set off by occasional touches of the imagination, to put it before the eye of the reader, and through the eye affect the emotions of the heart. This is the practice of the best descriptive writers in our language, and we recommend it strongly to our neighbours as an excellent substitute for vague exclamations of delight, horror, and astonishment. Paroxysms, when laid down on paper, are proverbially flat and uninteresting, whereas it is often within the compass of the plainest writer to excite emotions nearly equal to, or at least closely resembling, those which are the true offspring of the presence of the beauties of nature themselves.* We will not deny M. Arbanère the possession of real enthusiasm: we will only say, that on this side of the channel the marks of it are different. The praise of industry he certainly deserves, for he appears to have read all that has been written on the subject, and to have been deterred by no danger from seeing every thing to which he could climb. The order of his work is neither the order of his travels, nor the order of matter; but in so miscellaneous a subject as the description of a mountainous country and its inhabitants, adapted for popular reading, this is far from being chargeable as a fault. All that is to be done in the way of arrangement he has probably effected. The extent of M. Arbanère's undertaking embraces the whole chain of the Pyrenees, and he fairly commences at one end, and by the close of his volumes arrives at the other.

M. Charpentier's treatise on the geognosy of the Pyrenees is strictly scientific: laborious and accurate, he has spared no pains in accumulating information, or in condensing it into its most lucid form. He was invited from the post he occupied in

* The writer of the descriptive tour attached to M. Mellin's works, in allusion to the view he beholds from the summit of the Pic du Midi, makes an observation on this subject which is in point. "We must here be permitted," says he, "to register a remark which has frequently occurred to us in the course of writing this journal; it is, that our sensations vary with the varying spectacles that produce them, but that it is impossible to find for each of them a different expression which shall convey a just and accurate idea. Both pen and tongue must fail in the attempt to communicate all that is felt, or to paint to the mind the infinity of shades, as fitting as they are charming, in the impressions produced upon a spectator, especially one who is gazing from the culminating point of these magnificent observatories of nature."

The error is in attempting to convey the emotions of the spectator: if the writer would look upon the scene with a view of transferring its points to his paper, as a painter does to his pasteboard, he would stand a better chance of catching these nuances.

the co-direction of the mines of Silesia, to superintend the working of the copper mines of Baigorri, which at that time it was intended to resume. Arriving among the Pyrenees in 1808, and finding that the events of the time were likely to prevent the resumption of the works, he occupied the four subsequent years principally in investigating the country in which he found himself placed. The winter he spent latterly at Toulouse, having for occupation the task of reducing to order the collections of the preceding summer, and for pleasure, the intercourse of the celebrated naturalists of that place, who like himself had made the Pyrenees their study. La Petrouse, the companion and friend of Ramond, and the botanist of these mountains: Palassou, their mineralogist, and D'Aubuisson, their geologist. The work before us is only one of three which M. Charpentier designs to publish; a second will treat of the topography of the mountains, their statistics, of the character of the inhabitants, their customs and their language. The third will contain a description of the various methods of treating the iron mineral in the foundries of the Pyrenees—all at present confounded under the term of *methode à la Catalone*; this work is finished, and the second far advanced towards completion.

In the *Essai* the geological reader will find a detailed and methodical account of every species of earth and rock that has been discovered in the Pyrenees: every page bears evidence of an industrious and painful research which nothing but an enthusiastic partiality for his subject could have induced the author to so undertake and pursue. The geognostical traveller in the Pyrenees may limit his scientific library to this one volume.

The work of M. Melling belongs to the department of the fine arts: its literary pretensions are small: the descriptions which accompany the plates are however fully adequate to their purpose, and perhaps surpass in interest such compositions as are usually written for a similar object—the illustration of a picture. The plates are magnificent in size, and laborious in execution. We cannot, however, either admire generally the taste which has selected the points of view, or the talent which has attempted to make the most of them. The merit of M. Melling seems to be accuracy: it certainly is not the picturesque. The bad weather he met with at certain interesting points of his tour hangs over all his designs. We may except, however, three specimens of a marvellous combination of beauty and grandeur, the grotto of Gédro, the cascade of Arreouett., and the onle of Gavarnie. M. Melling utterly fails in expressing vastness; his water is not fluid in the state we have been accustomed to see it; and the blocks of granite dimple it like spots upon the leopard's back.

Such are the three latest works on the subject of the Pyrenees. It is impossible to follow the course of any of them; all we can hope to do within the compass of such an article as the present, is to convey some general notion of the character of these mountains, and of the more remarkable points which distinguish them from other hilly regions, or which render them objects of rational curiosity to the traveller. Perhaps we have derived some assistance from the Chevalier, and at any rate we shall find it desirable to quote him in illustration of the picturesque, occasionally, perhaps, of the ludicrous. Charpentier's work must always be valuable to the naturalist; and it is possible that the designs of M. Melling may in some instances have given precision to our notions of the external form of these countries.

The chain of the Pyrenees, though its general direction runs from the south-east to the north-west, must not be considered as approaching a straight line. It is on the contrary composed of two lines, which have a parallel direction, though they are but the continuations of each other. If the range were divided into two halves, the half towards the west would lie considerably more to the south than the eastern half, while a junction between the two is made by a rectangular bend, by which the crest of the mountains is continued without break or separation.

The Pyrenees on both sides, both to the south and the north, throw out numerous branches, which lose themselves in the plain, running the whole length of these mountains. These branches in general leave the crest at right angles, and may be likened to the ribs as they join upon the spine. Besides these lateral chains or branches, the Pyrenees have also parallel chains, not of great magnitude, and which in position approach nearer to the feet of the mountains than their elevated ridges.

When from the principal crest or ridge two opposite lateral branches take their departure, the point is marked by an elevation of the crest; if the resemblance of ribs be applied to these branches, then the peaks between them may be compared to the knots or condyles of the dorsal ridge in the human body. Similarly, the departure of two vallies from the principal ridge is marked by a depression or sinking of the crest. These depressions form the natural communications between the two sides of the Pyrenees. They are called *cols*; but in the central Pyrenees are more usually denominated *ports*. It is the opinion of the most celebrated naturalists that the inclination of the southern face of the chain is considerably more precipitous than the side of France. It is at all times a difficult question to decide in mountains of so great an extent as the Pyrenees, which side most rapidly descends to the ordinary level of the country; in the case before us, war

has too often interfered with the observations of scientific men, who always attack the Pyrenees on the side of France: (inquiry does not come from Spain;) and the question is yet undecided. The southern face of the central chain is undoubtedly more rugged and precipitous than the other, so that access from the side of Spain is generally more laborious and difficult than on the French side. In addition to this, it may be remarked, in confirmation of the opinion which has been stated, that the French vallies ascend to the crest of the chain by a tolerably easy and gradual rise, or rather by steps more or less lofty, an arrangement which is by no means so marked on the Spanish side. On either extremity the height of chain declines to its termination towards the sea; the declension on the east is, however, considerably more sudden than that of the west. At fifteen leagues from the Mediterranean, on the shores of which these mountains take their rise, they are seen to elevate themselves to a height of 1400 toises,* whereas, on the coast of the Atlantic they do not reach this elevation under a distance of twenty-two leagues from the shore.

The vallies of the Pyrenees are not only numerous, but of a singular conformation: all the great vallies are *transversal*; taking their origin at a *col* in the crest, they run almost directly north and south at right angles with the direction of the chain. The longest of these vallies are found in the *central* Pyrenees. Here is the valley of the Garonne, and that of Lavedan, watered by the Bearnese Gave, which passes Pau, and joins the Adour within six leagues of Bayonne. The length of the first valley is fifteen leagues; of the second, thirteen. There are also *longitudinal* vallies formed by the parallel chains, but they are of small extent, and oftener partake of the character of gorges or ravines than that of vallies. They are about six or seven leagues in length. The vallies of the Pyrenees consist of a series of basins, and contracted necks of communication between them, from their origin to their termination. In these basins, i. e. where the ridges recede from each other, and present a large and vase-like opening, the river rolls gently down, and often assumes a serpentine line. But in the defiles or gorges, i. e. when the two lateral heights approach each other, the inclination is rapid, and the water descends with impetuosity. In the higher part of the vallies these basins are always considerably elevated one above the other; and, as the communication between them generally consists of a very precipitous passage, or perhaps successive ledges of rocks, the river generally becomes in these positions a torrent or a cascade, and bounds from one basin to the other, either in one or more falls of water. The vallies thus approach the crest by successive steps,

* The toise is equal to 6695 feet English.

and the nearer they approach, the more perfect is the preservation of this form. In the lower regions this feature is less distinguishable: the defiles, however, always exist, and these and other marks bear evidence of their ancient state.

The basins of the superior regions of the vallies frequently enclose one or more lakes, the extent of which is always proportionate to the dimension of the basin. When they occur at a great elevation, and within the limits of perpetual snow, and are sheltered from the rays of the sun and the hot winds, they are perpetually covered with ice. Thus, the ice of the lake of the *Port of Oo*, and that of the *Portillon d'Oo*, never thaws: the lake of Mont Perdu, and those of Estom-Soubiran, in the valley of Caunterets, continue frozen to the end of August.

The basins, which, at the present day, are only watered by the river which traverses them, bear certain marks of the existence of ancient lakes, of which they formed the enclosure. The boggy turf of the soil of some of them, the erosion of the rocks by water at a considerable elevation above the soil, and, lastly, the manner in which the river dives out of the vallies, by a deep and narrow split, are incontestable proofs that these basins have, at one time or other, been shut up all round, and that the water has only escaped by the bursting of the embankment that restrained them.

It is remarkable, that the junction of different vallies with another valley never takes place, except at places where the latter forms a basin. It is a rule in the Pyrenees that the extent of a basin is in proportion to the number and extent of the gorges and vallies which it receives. When a valley changes its direction suddenly, this joint or elbow is invariably preceded by a basin. The longest basins of these mountains do not exceed a length of 6000 toises on a breadth of 2000. Such are the magnificent basin of Argelès in the valley of Lavedan, and those of Bagnères in the valley of Luchon, and of Bedous in the valley of Aspe. It is in the lower portions of a valley that the most extensive basins are found, and, indeed, it is ordinarily in the inferior region that it receives many other vallies and gorges of a considerable extent. It necessarily results from this, that towards their lower extremities the vallies are wide and extensive, while, near their origin, they are so small that the torrent occupies their entire soil.

The mountains which form the sides of a valley very rarely rise in an uninterrupted ascent to their tops; they usually form several escarpments, or rather several inclined planes, approaching the perpendicular, each of which is surmounted by a plateau more or less horizontal. The number and extent of these escarpments, as also of the plateaus, is variable, and depends entirely on the elevation of the mountain and the nature of the rock. It is commonly on the first or lowest plateau that the most elevated villages are

found. It often happens that the plateau which runs along the valley on one side, corresponds exactly with another on the opposite side. This would indicate that the plane of the valley has originally been level with the two plateaus, and that as it became deeper and more delved, it left these banks the testimonies of its ancient elevation.

The vallies which present themselves upon one another laterally, descend ordinarily by a precipitous declivity at the point where they form a junction. Many gorges and vallies of no great extent, but at the same time at a great elevation, suddenly terminate even by a precipice, so that the torrent enters the great valley as a cascade. Such, among others, are the vallies of Sem, of Bassies, and of Saleix, all of which enter the valley of Vicdessos. The gorge of Medasoles and that of Esquery terminate by a steep descent at the valley of Larboust; the torrent of the valley of Estaubé, which joins the valley of Héas, and those of the gorges of Sauqué and of Ossonne, both of which enter the valley of Baréges, form cascades at their junction with the principal valley.

Many vallies of the Pyrenees present at their origin—instead of a rapid and narrow defile, or of a suite of little basins of greater or less extent, which rise by degrees to the height of the chain—a single basin, surrounded on three sides by lofty walls of rock, and open on the fourth side, extending from which is a continuation of the valley. These basins are often extremely deep, that is to say, the wall of rock which is built up around them is often extremely high. The top of these walls is commonly formed by a steep shelving, from which there rises another tier of walls which attain the crest of the mountain. This orderly arrangement of the steep rocks gives the basin the appearance of an amphitheatre or circus, by which names they are generally called. These amphitheatres may be considered the grandest and most distinctive feature of the Pyrenees. The inhabitants of the mountains give them the name of *oule* or *haule*, which in their patois means pot or bowl.*

The most beautiful of these amphitheatres is the celebrated *oule* of Gavarnie, at the origin of the valley of Baréges. It is not the largest of the *cirques* of the Pyrenees, but it is the one the walls of which are the loftiest and most perfect. The *cirque* of Troumouse, at the head of the valley of Héas, is larger than the *oule* of Gavarnie, but not so deep. Another *cirque*, at the head of the valley of Estaubé, is smaller and more ruinous.

This general outline, or skeleton, of the Pyrenees, will greatly

* From the Latin *olla*—*ollis conditæ nuces*.—Plin. xv. Spanish, *olla*; *una olla de algo mas vacca que carneso*.—Don Quixote, cap. 1.

assist the comprehension of the reader in forming an idea of the disposition of particular objects, and prevent that confusion which written descriptions of the surface of a country commonly excite in the mind. It will, moreover, enable us to class, without difficulty, such remarkable objects as travellers and naturalists have described as most worthy of observation. Keeping, therefore, this sketch of the great features of these mountains in memory, we shall, in the same order, run through some of the more striking examples of each. And, first, for the most interesting phenomena of the principal chain; the successive elevations and depressions of the crest and their attendant circumstances.

A communication between the chain of the Pyrenees and other mountains may be traced; the Black Mountains and the Cevennes appear to link it with the great chain of the Alps, and on the West, some distance before they terminate in the sea at the point of Figueras, a branch may be seen to strike off into Galicia, which is only terminated by Cape Ortegal. So that, in fact, the heights which reach the ocean near Bayonne, and are usually considered as the western limits of the Pyrenees, are, in fact, but the termination of a lateral branch, which leaves the main chain at the head of the valley of Bastan; in a similar manner the eastern extremity which reaches the Mediterranean is but another lateral branch which leaves the main chain at the head of the valley of Teta; and passes through French Cerdagne. The principal chain is that which we have alluded to as connecting the system of the Pyrenees with the Alps by means of the Black Mountains and the Cevennes. Thus the line of mountains which go popularly under the name of the Pyrenees, are by no means the isolated chain, running from sea to sea, which they are supposed to be, but, in fact, consist of a central line, two of the ramifications from which extend, like arms, on each side to the sea. We shall, however, speak of the Pyrenees in the ordinary sense, and begin with the arm that reaches to the Mediterranean, and proceed from east to west.

The Pyrenees rise abruptly from the Mediterranean, at the Cape of Creus, near the Gulph of Roses. The mountains soon reach an elevation of from 250 to 300 toises above the level of the sea; this height they keep as far as the *col* of Pertus, the great pass into Spain by the route of Perpignan, which is practicable at all seasons, and in all kinds of carriages. It is by this pass that historians conjecture Hannibal led his 50,000 men to the invasion of Italy. The passes of this chain of mountains, which boasts a separate name, that of Albères, undoubtedly presented themselves in the most direct line from Saguntum; and it is most probable that either by Bellegarde, where a fort now com-

mands the Col de Pertus, or nearer the sea by Collioure, the transit of the army of this celebrated captain was effected. After this col, the height of the chain considerably increases, until, at the distance of about 22,000 toises beyond Pertus, at the mountain of Costa-Bonna, it joins the main chain; or, in other words, it throws off a branch to the north-east, at the head of the valley of Tech, which, separating this valley from the valley of Teta, at length swells into the pic of the Canigou. The elevation of this mountain above the level of the sea reaches 1441 toises; a height which is attained by the principal crest itself very soon after the propagation of this noble stem. Up to this point the general features of the mountains are of a soft character; they rise in rounded forms and terminate in broad plateaus. The cols, or ports, instead of rocky and narrow defiles, present ordinarily a kind of plain or shallow valley, which affords very easy communications between Roussillon and Catalonia. At Cambredasy, however, a mountain to the south of Mount Louis, where the chain itself reaches the height of its advanced guard, the Canigou, the Pyrenees suddenly assume their character of rugged magnificence. The swelling hills of the Albères change into craggy and sharp-pointed peaks, and form precipitous masses of rock, difficult to reach and almost impossible to cross.

The Canigou is, as M. Arbanère calls him, the "dominateur de cette region,"—he overrules all the vallies of Roussillon. In a scientific point of view he was long since rendered famous by the operations of Cassini; at present, the ascent of his lofty sides is an adventure both for the savant and the poet. M. Thiers, the author of a slight sketch of these countries, and who really writes of them with more power of transferring his own impressions, than any other author who has lately made the Pyrenees the subject of a descriptive pen, has left a few emphatic lines concerning its picturesque aspect.

"The plain," says the traveller, as he is setting out from Perpignan early on a winter's morning, "had not yet received a ray of the sun, when suddenly the top of Canigou was tinged with a rose-coloured tint, which, blending with the white of the snow, produced a shade inexpressibly soft. This luminous band increasing as the sun gradually rose higher, the upper pic seemed to enlarge in proportion as it was illumined. The whole mountain was speedily covered with light and purple, then all its forms, hitherto concealed by the darkness, became marked at once; all its projections rose, all its hollows seemed to be deeper, and it appeared to acquire a reality which it had not. The cold, the wind, and our rapid motion added to the effect of this fine scene: the motion in particular made the effect almost intoxicating."

M. Thiers and his companions were winding round the base of

Mount Canigou, in a carriage and four horses, driven at the rapid pace for which the Roussillonais post-boy is well-known.

To ascend the Canigou is the most adventurous exploit which presents itself to the traveller in the Eastern Pyrenees. Accordingly, M. Arbanère buckled on his *spartilles* and commenced to climb; not, however, before he had taken counsel with a gentleman in the neighbourhood, whom common fame pointed out as one who had already reached the summit. M. Compaguyo, a physician at Perpignan, the person in question, exhibited to the traveller an interesting collection of the birds and insects of the Pyrenees, which he had collected himself, and communicated all such instructions as were likely to prove useful in the execution of the design of reaching the summit. The way to the foot of the mountain lay through the squalid villages of Arles and Co sari; and the actual mount is only attained by overcoming the bulwarks and buttresses which it pushes out about its base. When they are surmounted, the arrival at the summit appears to be only laborious. The valley, or rather glen, of Prats-Cabrenès, lies at the immediate foot of the mountain. It is a wild plain; and a single cabin, belonging to the shepherds, alone interrupts the stillness and solitude of the desert. At a piece of pasturage, called by the guides the Clos-Stabeil, begin the firs, and the charming carpet of the Pyrenees—its rhododendron, its anemony and gentian—also commences, before the broom and the juniper have ceased to flourish. A wood of red pine succeeds the firs, until at the petty lake of Belach animated nature fails, and the sterility of Siberia reigns among rocks and snow. Mounting from this naked plateau, by a path among gigantic fragments of piled rocks, the summit is suddenly attained. The view it offers is extensive and splendid: the horizon is an immense circle: the Mediterranean stretches its blue waters in front, with its shores lost in fog: on the west the lofty bank of the Pyrenees boldly presents a crest clothed with ice and rock: to the north lay the plains of France. Thus sea, mountains, and plains, combine to form a contrast of the most striking description.

Continuing along the crest to the west of the mountain of Cambreday, which has been already mentioned, the elevation again lowers to the height of 800 toises to form the *Col de la Perche*, the communication between Cerdagne and France, which is protected by the fort of Mount Louis. We could not have a description of the Col de la Perche from a livelier pen than that of Mr. Thiers.

"At Mount Louis," he observes, "the mountains draw closer together and rise: you enter a narrow passage, which is frightful from the dimensions of its forms and the irregularity which distinguishes it. The

road is cut out on the side of the rocks, at one-third of their height, and allows room for one mule at most. Above are inaccessible eminences, below are torrents, and beyond are other mountains, which are connected with those round which you are going. The scene is most diversified. Sometimes you rise, and seem to command the abyss; at others you descend, and seem to have it over your head. Sometimes, following the sinuosities of the defile, you come into an obscure inclosure, apparently without an outlet; then, suddenly doubling a point, you discover an unexpected and immense prospect: vast amphitheatres of dazzling snow, black pines, and a succession of mountains which crowd together and lock into each other. The confusion of cubic and broken masses of limestone, blocks of granite, the schistus detached in slabs or broken into little flakes, added to the loud roaring of the rapid torrents, the disorder of the winds, and of the pressed and rent clouds, afford a perfect picture of chaos. Never did the confusion of the elements appear to me more awful, even in the midst of a storm at sea."

These defiles open at the village of Cabanes, and form a first basin. This bottom is very unequal in its surface: on one of its eminences is erected Mount Louis. Thence you pass the *Col* into the immense basin of Cerdagne, covered with pasturage and fields of corn.

Some lofty pics, which it is not necessary to particularize, intervene between the Col de la Perche and the post of Puymorens: the pass leading out of Cerdagne, by the valley of Carol, across the crest into the valley of the Arriège. It is one of the most dangerous of the ordinary passes. It is closed during a great part of the winter. "On the road," says Mr. Thiers, "you hear only the following question, addressed by the muleteers who are going to those who are returning:—'Is the port good?' that is to say, do the wind and the snow threaten to swallow you up?" It is a maxim in the Pyrenees, that in the *ports* the father should not wait for the son, nor the son for the father. The traveller, whom we have already quoted, penetrated this pass in winter, and we shall avail ourselves of his account of the difficulties he had to encounter. He was approaching from the valley of Carol, that is, from the side of Spain. Mr. Thiers pushed on through the port at a time when the ordinary muleteers had despaired of accomplishing the transit, and therefore his account must not be taken as exactly applicable to the defile in its usual state: but the traveller states, that he had an irresistible curiosity to ascertain what the difficulties really were, and satisfy himself that they were not exaggerated. After arriving at the spot, he found that there was a calm sometimes, and at these intervals he used to look about him; but they were always quickly and abruptly broken off. For "the wind would suddenly burst forth with unexpected fury, roll the crowds, and compel them into the

recesses; then sweeping the sleet, that was still falling, before it, and at the same time drifting that already on the ground, the snow drove along like waves of the sea." The dreariness of these moments, he observes, it is impossible to describe. "The change of forms; the entirely new position of the snow; the unexpected arrangement of the clouds, were such as to make one believe that the end of the world was at hand." This is, however, merely arctic, and in no way peculiar to the Pyrenees: the sight, however, which afterwards struck him is of a picturesque beauty only to be met with in a mountainous region. "On reaching," he says, "the interior summit of the port, I turned round, and beheld before me an immense succession of vallies, which were displayed one behind another. The clouds extended to the farthest line of the horizon; but all at once, while those which were over my head were dark and thick, those in the back ground became light, and I perceived, at a great distance, the country from which I had come perfectly illumined by the sun, and apparently enjoying the most perfect calm. This calm, seen from the midst of a storm, and with the magic effect produced by the distance, was so delightful as to make me forget all the fatigues of the journey." The passage of the port occupied the whole day: the journey terminates at the small but pretty town of Ax, in the valley of Arriège, which opens an easy access to Foix, Pamiers, and thence to Toulouse.

The port of Puymorens, communicating between the valley of Carol and that of Arriège, vallies on opposite sides of the chain, is mainly used by the smugglers, who carry on the contraband trade between France and Spain. The inhabitants of the valley of Carol, Spaniards by nature, Frenchmen by law, are from their cradle brought up to the occupation; and it would be an arduous task to find a Carolan who was not engaged in it. The very priest is not exempt from suspicion. Of this fine and hardy race of men, the contrebandiers, the guide of M. Arbanère, of whom he gives a lively portrait, is a specimen. Joseph Fo was one of the most intrepid asserters of the freedom of trade: his beard black and thick, his open countenance, his daring eye, and his air of fearless frankness, all bespoke a man prepared for danger, activity, and toil. A continual war of posts and skirmishes among the rocks and snows of the mountains, with the "preventive service" of the Pyrenees, had inured him to every kind of hardship, and turned the ignorant peasant of Carol into a heroic smuggler. He had frequently been wounded, and had lost two fingers in the frost; but these were topics of pride, and only gave occasion to the long stories of his adventures, with which he delighted to entertain his companions. Joseph Fo was no cruel or unfeeling pur-

suer of his profession : he boasted of being magnanimously merciful, and has been known, after a severe contest and some slaughter, to dismiss his prisoners, with a dollar a-piece and a recommendation of silence : he is a philanthropist, too, and has risked his life to save individuals who would otherwise have been lost among the snows of the port. In speaking of his "metier," he is far from taking up a defensive position : It is curious to see the force of public opinion : in the valley of Carol it is the custom-house officers who are universally esteemed as the robbers. Joseph Fo never had the slightest scruple on the subject of the legality of his exploits, and condemned, with some appearance of justice and much vehemence of argument, all measures which tended to shackle the reciprocal intercourse of nations, which he stoutly maintained to be one of the fundamental laws of nature. "Honour among thieves," says the proverb ; and Joseph Fo, the most upright of smugglers, is a case in point. The rich merchants of Carol habitually trust him with their wealth, and would commission him with large funds to purchase for them either sheep in Languedoc or mules in Poitou, and, like Dirk Hatteraick, he was not the man to wrong his owners of a stiver.

From the port of Puymorens a succession of pics and intervening cols carry on the ridge of the principal chain to the mountain which heads the valley of Vicdessos : in this part, also, the pic of St. Laurenti and that of St. Barthelemy, reaching the height of 1186 toises, are detached from the principal branch and take their rise in a lateral crest, which separates the vallies of the Aude and the Arriège. At a little distance from the head of the valley of Vicdessos rises the pic d'Estats, to the height of 1660 toises, and not far from it, to the north-west, is the Montcalm, of the height of 1620 toises. From the pic d'Estats, just mentioned, the crest retains a mean elevation of about 1200 toises until it arrives at the *Tuc de Maubermé, (1370 toises,) a pic which heads the lateral bend or elbow which has been mentioned as separating the chain of the Pyrenees into two halves. This lateral bend runs nearly due south as far as the port d'Espot, from which point the western half of the great chain commences. In this elbow rises the Garonne, at the port of Montgarry, and within half a mile of its source is that of the Noguera-Paillaresa : thus this plateau divides the waters of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. M. Arbanère attained the source of the Garonne, and found it issuing from a small cavity "covered over with rude

* Tuc is a synonym of pic in the patois of the Couserans, who dwell in the country about this pic : it is spelt sometimes as in this instance ; sometimes *tuque*, as in *Tuque Rouye*, or Mont Rouge, near Mont Perdu. Ramond remarks the great variety of words signifying pic in the various patois of the Pyrenees.

masonry, doubtless erected to the naiad of the stream by some pious and grateful hand." The water, he says, is as pure as crystal, and murmurs gently: the idea that this immense river, which at its embouchure scatters the ocean before it, should here, in its infancy, scarcely be able to bend the herb which hangs from its bank, gives rise not only to moral reflexions in the mind of the traveller, but rapidly carries his imagination to the scenes of his domestic happiness; he straightway conceives of his little daughters Gabrielle and Anna sporting on its banks and laughing at the stones they toss into its stream; while their tender mother watches their movements, and supports the little Anna, lest the force with which she hurls the pebble should throw her on the ground! Poor M. Arbanère, as he wandered from the scene of these speculations, might have been lost for ever to their reality. His guide missed his way in the forests which cover the country between the valley of the Garonne and that of Artigue-Telline. The fog grew thick, and covering the tops of the mountains, brought on a premature darkness, and the prospect of spending the night hungry, frozen, and without arms, under the dripping firs, was before them, when it was determined to retrace their steps. This guide was Peter Barrau, whose ignorance and presumption M. Arbanère severely blames: he was lost the year after in an attempt to ascend the Maladetta.

After the port d'Espot the steepness of the chain becomes more remarkable, and the crest rises more precipitously into sharp and lofty pics: we are, in fact, now arrived among mountains of the first order, and shall quickly penetrate the famed recesses of the Maladetta, or the still more striking pile of Mont Perdu and his magnificent neighbours, the tower of Marboré, and the mountains of the Port d'Oo. This is the region of the *Central or High Pyrenees*: the loftiest points lie between this spot and the pic du Midi d'Ossau: the *mean* height of the chain has been fixed at about 1900 toises. The principal pics in this line of the crest are: the pic of Pouis, at the head of the gorge of Toro, to the south of the town of Viella, in the valley of the Garonne or Arnan; of Crabioules, at the head of the valley of Luchon; Clarabide, of the valley of Louron; the mountains of Troumouse, at the head of the valley of Héas; the tower of Marboré, which commands the valley of Baréges, and rises to the height of 1636 toises; the Taillon, 1642 toises high; the Vignemale, above Gavarnie, 1722 toises: Fontry, above Cauteretz, and the mountain of Aneou, which descends into the valley of Ossau. These pics are in the direct line of the crest, but are not the highest points of these mountains: a chain appears to detach itself a little to the south of this line, and the mountains which rise out of it in something

approaching the parallel of the principal chain, and lying very near to it, present the highest points of the Pyrenees. Here are the Maladetta and the Pic de las Posets; and the Mont Perdu, which is situate at an extremely small distance from the crest, is separated from it only by a lake. The cols or ports in this region are numerous: the most celebrated are the portillon d' Oo, the port of Oo, and that of the famous *Breche de Roland*.

The researches of M. Ramond have given a celebrity to this portion of the range which the fact of its great elevation alone would not have secured to it. It is true, that in the vallies below them are enclosed the greatest number of those picturesque spots which tourists make a point of visiting, and many of the most celebrated baths and places of resort frequented by the invalid: but the majestic peaks to which we allude are inaccessible, except to the enthusiasm of science, joined to great courage and great experience in the art of climbing. The paths are often those of the izzard only, or perhaps the mountain smuggler, who hews with his axe his footing in the ravine, and guides himself among innumerable crags and torrents by a few signs known only to himself and his comrades. The dæmon vertigo, as M. Arbanère calls him, reigns among the precipices; and how powerful is his sway every one knows who has looked from the edge of a cliff. Poor M. Dusaulx, who, in his love of the picturesque, ventured, rather rashly for a sexagenarian unused to the "dizzy height," upon a bridge over a torrent near Baréges, gives a minute account of his sufferings under the tortures of the dæmon, in his chapter entitled "*De mes perplexités sur le torrent de la montagne de Lienz.*" The bridge was formed of a couple of planks not very steadily fixed and lying eight or ten inches apart: he had followed immediately his companions without caution, and stepped from the jutting rocks upon the bridge almost unwittingly. Before he was quite aware of his position he had advanced into the middle: it was then that he cast his eyes on the foaming waters below. He stopped: and the planks shook: "his sight grew dazzled—his knees trembled and knocked together, and the blood rushed to the heart." He knew not what to do, whether to go on, or to return. One of his friends came to his assistance: he motioned him off: the least distraction would have overwhelmed him: the dæmon now began to seize him, and he saw that he must move or fall: he retreated inch by inch, going backward, and bent nearly double. He describes his efforts in this situation as incredible: he dragged his feet only by a convulsive movement, which communicated itself to his whole body. His friend slowly followed him, face to face, watching his motions, and silently indicating directions, which Dusaulx followed mechanically, until

he arrived at the rock, when making a last clumsy effort, he had nearly tumbled on the wrong side of the bridge into the flood. Streams of perspiration, he says, descended from his chest and back down to his very shoes, and he gives his moral courage great credit for resisting his physical imbecility; a distinction he takes great care to draw; he confirms it by an excellent anecdote of Sancho, King of Navarre, called *le Trembleur*.

"Some of his courtiers perceiving that monarch to turn pale during a severe engagement with the enemy, advised him to withdraw himself out of harm's way. 'You don't know me,' said he to them, 'it is only the flesh; and if this flesh but knew where my courage intends to take it very shortly, it would faint outright.'"

"*La terrible chose que la peur!*" exclaims the poor philosopher, "and yet," says he, "I had never known it before, though I had had a nearer view of death; and the world knows, that since then I have braved it under the poignards of our revolutionary tyrants."

M. Ramond was a traveller after another sort: a poet of the time somewhat absurdly called him the *savant chamois*:—he certainly did combine in himself all the lights of the man of science and the fearless agility of the izzard. His course was in directions before unknown; the reputation of inaccessibility had no terrors for him; he selected for his guides the men who were famed throughout the mountains for their courage and activity; and yet they looked up to him not as their ward but their leader; he would often task the powers of the nimblest and most faithful attendants, and would ascend elevations where the very izzard hunters who might happen to form part of his company dared not follow. With these personal accomplishments were joined profound geological skill, an enthusiasm for science, a taste and feeling for the picturesque, and an imagination which enabled him to delineate it in the most vivid colours. M. Cuvier, in his eulogy of Ramond, read before the academy only the other day, (June 16—for this philosopher lived to an extreme age,) justly designates him as the "painter of mountains." The Pyrenees, however, owe more important obligations to him than in his character of a describer; it was he who first made known their remarkable constitution, and presented a theory of their formation as new as it was important to geology.

The first expedition of Ramond in the Pyrenees took place before the Revolution. His examination of these mountains had only imperfectly satisfied his curiosity. Subsequent to the Revolution, after the 9th Thermidor had released him from the prison of Tarbes, he was appointed professor of natural history in the central school of the Hautes-Pyrenees. This opened a field

of observation to him, which he successfully traversed in every direction. He is said to have ascended the Pic du Midi of Bigorre* thirty-five times, and his *Voyage au Mont Perdu* records his attempts—the third a successful one—to reach the summit of that lofty mountain. The Maladetta had been one of his objects in his former travels, and he attained a height which he considered very near the summit: M. Arbanère, whose failure was, however, much more complete, is of opinion that he was far from reaching the highest point of the interesting mass of mountains which goes under the name of the Maladetta. This is very possible; and if so, the summit remains as yet untrod by human foot. Science has, however, reached that which the physical power of man has not been able to do; and yet it is but very lately that the real elevation of the Maladetta has been ascertained. For twenty-five years Mont Perdu has enjoyed the honour of being esteemed the highest point of the Pyrenees. The world is indebted to the operations of Messrs. Vidal and Reboul for a knowledge of nearly all the principal points of the chain, and their calculations are always quoted as beyond appeal. Lately, however, M. Reboul himself has revised them, and now carried them to the highest pitch of accuracy which the present state of geodesy is capable of. The most curious result of this review of his former work is the discovery that the eastern peak of the Maladetta is the most elevated mountain of the whole range. Its height is 1,787 toises, while that of Mont Perdu is 1,747.

It must not be supposed that the laborious ascents of Ramond were undertaken for the satisfaction of an idle curiosity. The commanding view which these lofty heights present of the general disposition of the various chains which it is so difficult to get anywhere, and so wholly impossible except at a great height, materially assisted him in the discoveries he made in these regions. His visit to the top of Mount Perdu demonstrated the secondary nature of that mountain, and gave a new turn to all speculations on the subject of the geology of the whole system of the Pyrenees. The ambitious climbings of a Ramond and an Auldjo are wholly different things. M. Arbanère follows in the

* This is not a formidable but a laborious ascent. M. Mellings's work relates that two Englishmen, with a foothardiness characteristic of their countrymen abroad, ascended this peak on horseback. Mr. Mellings and his party fell in with these gentlemen as they were reconnoitring. The most experienced guides, and all who heard of the design, beseeched them to desist from their wild and dangerous project. The truly British reply was "nous verrons." M. Mellings learnt afterwards, that as soon as he had left them, they descended, mounted their horses, and absolutely scaled the pic "en cheval." It will be observed in Mr. Auldjo's description of his ascent of Mont Blanc, that the large majority who have performed that exploit consists of Englishmen: not one Frenchman has so distinguished himself.

track of his predecessors for the scientific purpose of the "co-ordination of his ideas:" and it is very true that he has no sooner gained a lofty summit, than his ideas do strike out in a manner, which if not perhaps *co-ordinate*, may claim to be at least *tangential*. It must be allowed, however, that the chevalier is no ordinary climber, and we should scarcely be doing justice to him or his subject if we did not give some particulars of his ascent: first, up part of the Maladetta; and next, to the summit of the Mont Perdu. We confess we would much more willingly have accompanied M. Ramond, but his exploits have been long before the world, and we cannot presume upon our reader's ignorance of the writings of so celebrated a writer—the Saussure of the Alps.

The mass of the Maladetta spreads itself out with an imposing majesty before a spectator placed at any of the ports of the crest in face of it. The vast blocks which adhere to its trunk, the enormous ruins which abound at its roots, and the sterility of its sides, prove its granitic formation. An inexperienced eye, on perceiving successive stages and landing places of rock reaching up to the summit, might be led to suppose that it was accessible by this route. These rocks turn out to be parallelepipeds or pyramids, of a breadth which defies all attempts at scaling. The travellers who have made experiment of this passage, have been compelled to traverse a glacier which lies between this peak and the enormous mass of rock to the west. This glacier is covered with a treacherous snow which only conceals the crevices. In one of these the guide Barrau was lost in August, 1824. This has discouraged the guides of Bagnères. "Barrau is there!" said one of them, pointing out the spot to M. Arbanère, as he was contemplating the ascent from the opposite port of Venasque. On the east and by the side of the Maladetta rises a grand and lofty mass of primitive rock: it is called the pic of Anéthou. A snowy glacier, which climbs from the col to the top of the pic, would appear practicable to an able and experienced climber; while the perpendicular crest which crowns the Maladetta itself must put all hope of the ascent of it out of the question.

M. Arbanère was deterred from attempting to climb this northern face of the mountain, by the impossibility of finding guides who were willing to accompany him, and partly by the apprehension he felt himself. "A young man," says he, "and the danger would have been an attraction—but a husband and a father, few duties and dearer ties prescribed another route." The chevalier, in short, went round the mountain, and attempted its southern flank. At Venasque he engaged a guide, Estéban, a hunter of izzards, who had previously attended him, and fixing

upon a gorge at the bottom of the narrow valley of Balibiermo, which coats the southern sides of the Maladetta, for the scene of his attempt in the morning, the party spent the night round a fire lighted upon the mossy turf of the soil, for the purpose both of keeping the bears and the cold at a distance.

"On the first dawn of the morning we proceeded to the bottom of the *cirque*, and climbed its first steps. From a plateau which surmounts them, the view extends uninterruptedly over a horizontal plane running to the east.—We turned to the north, and descended to cross a gáve, and afterwards to climb the heaps of enormous blocks of granite which were piled in that direction. On our right we left a lake of about 200 toises in diameter, formed by a semicircular inclosure of lofty rocks of granite, which it would seem the Eternal had laid down with the compass and the plummet.—We soon found plains of snow of an extent which far surpassed my expectation. A thousand streams roared past us, dashing among the blocks of granite, which served them for bridges and tunnels. The last stage was without snow, on account of its steepness. We climbed upon its declivity, composed of loose earth and blocks of granite. This is the most dangerous soil that the explorer can meet with. The guides perceived the danger of our position. The earth gave way under our footsteps, and rolling down in a mass, mixed up with the blocks, might have dragged us along in the avalanche! We took the precaution of forming a line from right to left, and ascended at considerable distances from each other, that one individual might not injure another, and that we might not all meet the same current at the same time. A train of cubical blocks, each of two or three feet square, which I had just climbed over, gave way after my passage, and rolled and bounded down the declivity to the plain of snow beneath. The least evil for me, had I encountered them, would have been the fracture of my legs. At length, however, by taking great heed to our footsteps, we arrived at the crest. We then found ourselves on the edge of an immense carpet of snow, which ascends by a gentle inclination to the rocks of the crest, in which we found two breaches. I arrived at the one on the left, by traversing the snow, still very abundant. I saw no projections of ice, no vitreous fractures in the hollows of the snow, and I am ignorant if this snow is the covering of glaciers, or whether it is simply annual and disappears before the heats of August. At this moment, July 29, it was very extensive, although there were indications of its depth not being great. From this breach I saw nothing but a series of other crests interposed between the Maladetta, properly so called, and the aerial line on which I was placed. They intercepted my view of its long summit and the pic of Anéthou. I expected less of the other breach, the direction of which appeared to me to look towards the mountains of the port of Viella. Arrived at its base, I had one more striking proof that it is almost impossible for any extent of experience to correct the illusion of the visual sense in these mountains. This winding, which appeared from the plain where we encamped an easy pass to the opposite side, where there did not appear to be an atom of

above, and which by a calculation of the distance and a comparison of the surrounding peaks I estimated at a few toises, turned out to be a deep funnel thirty toises high, full of snow, lying at an angle of about sixty degrees. The climbing-irons and iron-pointed batons had appeared useless, and been left behind on the spot where we spent the night: without their aid escalade became impossible. I renounced this design without regret, for I did not expect much from a view from the summit.

We must allow that this is but a lame attempt, and demands for its excuse a lively recollection of M. Arbanère's married state. What a contrast is here to the intrepid proceedings of Ramond, who took fresh hope from an obstacle: who never depended for aid upon that which was left behind: but seemed always able to supply by his own spirit and ingenuity both the wants of himself and his troops. Yet, on the other hand, where Ramond was so often repulsed, where he overcame so many obstacles and faced so many dangers—in the attempts upon Mont Perdu—here the chevalier finds the task all but easy. We suppose we must attribute this remarkable contrast to the choice of another route and a season less advanced. We shall endeavour to give some sketch of his more successful attempt in a scene of still greater magnificence. We have, indeed, the testimony of Ramond himself of the superior grandeur and magnificence of the Mont Perdu over his rivals of the Alps—even over the monarch of mountains.

"I have seen," says this writer, "the high Alps: I saw them in my early youth, at an age when we see nature in colours brighter and more beautiful than she is, but that which I have never seen there, is the loftiest summits attired in the costume of mountains of the secondary rank. These forms so simple and grave, these outlines so bold and clear, these rocks so entire and perfect, form the successive courses, which rise perpendicularly into walls, bend into amphitheatres, arrange themselves in flights of steps, start up in towers where the hands of giants seem to have applied the square and suspended the plummet. This is what no one has met with in the recesses of eternal ice: this is what would be sought for in vain among mountains of the primitive order, whose rugged sides terminate in sharp points, and whose base is lost among heaps of ruins. They who are satiated with horrors, will still find among these scenes, aspects new and strange. Even from Mont Blanc let them come to Mont Perdu: when the finest mountain of granite has been visited, there still remains to be seen the first of calcareous mountains. Here it is not a giant among pigmies. Such is the harmony of the forms and the gradation of the heights, that the pre-eminence of the principal pic results less from its relative elevation than from its figure, its volume, and from a certain disposition of all its parts which throws the objects that surround it into an inferior rank."

M. Arbanère having determined upon reaching the top of the Mont Perdu, he and his wife set out for Gavarnie. In passing

Genette engaged Rondo for his guide; the son of that Rondo whom the eulogies of Ramond have made a classical personage! At this time the ancient Rondo was still alive, but no longer, as may be supposed, the Rondo of Ramond. The second guide he fixed upon was Joseph, a smuggler of Gavarnie. The weather had been bad; a gleam of sunshine at length gave M. Arbanère the courage to take leave of his wife, and set out on his adventurous expedition.

"It was then," says he, "that I confided to my old friend Antony Mouré my young wife, in a tone which the old mountaineer deeply felt in spite of his rough outside; for all hearts understand sentiments strong and simple. With all her courage, susceptible as she is of great projects, and warmly participating my wishes, and although the conversation, with which I had taken care she should be primed had attempted to smooth the difficulties and perils of the enterprize, still she was not able at the moment to control her emotion. I pressed her, weeping, to my bosom. 'Ah! said I to her, soften me not: I have need of all my strength. Motives the most cherished impose precedence upon me. I will observe it, religiously, for thy sake, for our children: come, take courage.' At length I crossed the gape; she followed me with her eyes for a long time, immovable. From the pass of the steep pass called the Corniche, by which we scale the western wall of the Cirque, my hand addressed to her a signal which might, alas! be the last."

This tribute paid to domestic affection, after a manner that may be termed truly national, M. Arbanère girds himself up for the adventure. Having gained the interior of the Cirque, or Oule of Gavarnie, the walls of this remarkable spot rise abruptly on every side, and present no trace of a route beyond them. The term route, indeed, is ill applied to a path nearly vertical, used only by the smugglers, by which the western wall may be climbed. By means of it the level of the first ledge of the wall is obtained, about 150 toises above the floor of the circus. It is a grassy surface, at a considerable inclination—from it the circus had the appearance of a deep abyss, down which it was advisable not to look, unless you wished to face the "terrible divinity" of vertigo.

A large flock of sheep, belonging to the Spanish side, was feeding upon it. My guides talked with the shepherd in the mixed language, which is a shade between the patois of the southern provinces of France and Castilian, a language formed for mutual communication along the whole line of the Pyrenees. He was knitting a stocking of coarse brown worsted; days and months passed over his head in this secluded corner of the universe, without bringing him a new thought or a new wish. His soul seemed as cold and immovable as the rocks and ices which encircle this aerial pasturage. The sheep were dispersed upon the hazardous declivities, intent on seeking the few blades of grass that tuft the ledges of the

rolls, which suddenly approach or retreat from each other, the independent animal will sometimes slip, when it rolls and bounds from the height, dead long before it reaches the end of its fall."

After this pasture, called the Sarradels, the next object to be attained is the Breach of Roland, the opening in the lofty walls of the Marboré, which is reached by a series of precipitous basins of snow; a glacier lies in the way, which is skirted until the traveller arrives at the threshold of this magnificent portal.

"Imagine," says Ramond, "a wall of rocks from three to six hundred feet in height, and rising between France and Spain, so as physically to separate the two kingdoms. Let us fancy this wall to be curved like a crescent, with its convexity towards France. Lastly, let us suppose, that in the very middle of this wall a breach of three hundred feet wide has been beaten down by the famous Orlando, and we may have a good idea of what the mountaineers call the Breche de Roland. This wall is not very thick, but is thicker towards the towers of the Marboré, which rise majestically above the breach and all its avenues, like a citadel which Orlando might have placed there to defend the pass. Besides this gate, there are two windows open in the same wall, in the two horns of the crescent, at an equal distance from its centre; opposite the points of these horns two pyramidal peaks, placed at similar distances, serve as the vanguard of the edifice, as if to protect the circus which it encloses; for everything is here symmetrical, and Orlando has wrought upon a plan which does as much honour to the order and method of his ideas as to the strength of his arm."

M. Ramond saw from this grand point of view a splendid sight. From the windows of this circus, and even from the circus itself, the eye overruns the whole of Arragon: the mountains descend, the vallies unfold under the glance of the spectator. At the time, however, that M. Arbanère arrived at the breach in 1820, a thick fog was driving violently through it, intercepted all view, and nearly prevented all passage. He had, however, enjoyed the spectacle fourteen years before, and, with the equanimity that becomes a philosopher, he never regrets that which is out of his power to attain. Passing, therefore, the breach as fast as he could, he directed his course to the east, and, pursuing the arid savannah which skirts the basis of the Marboré, he hastened to the term of the first day's journey, a cabin situated at the foot of Mont Perdu.

"The last rays of the descending sun at last lifted the veil, which had hitherto enveloped the whole of Mont Perdu, which we were now approaching. I saw his majestic head. The aspect of this goal, before which the intrepid Ramond twice yielded, inspired me with a profound emotion, composed of pleasure, of terror, the recollection of a hundred arduous courses, and of the necessity of crowning the work of a general exploration of the Pyrenees: and in the middle of this confused mixture of im-

precautions prevailed the sweet and fortifying idea of hope. The general inclination of its brow appeared to offer an easy access; but the arrangement of its sides in terraces, placed one above the other, might possibly present, as the only passage, the face of precipices accessible only with the aid of wings. Rondo had climbed the mountain twice by some fissures, which were a kind of secret with him; but he considered that the weather was threatening, and the season too far advanced. However, all three of us, inured to the rugged face of mountains, trusted to fortune for the morrow, and gaily entered the wretched hut which was to serve us for shelter during the night. The Spanish shepherd who occupied it gave us a cordial reception; with him we shared our provisions, and he, in return, prepared in a little pot, the sole utensil in his possession, a more than usual quantity of coarse soup, the ingredients of which were water, a morsel of suet, and some bread and salt, of which he in his turn partook with his guests. Stretched along the dry earth, in the thick atmosphere of smoke concentrated in the cabin, we waited for the morning; the guides in a profound sleep, myself in that state of excitement which the near approach of the execution of a bold and grand design never fails to raise in the human frame."

At three in the morning, by the light of the moon, M. Arbanère and his companions set forth. They appear to have ascended from the southern face of the mountain; but we cannot compliment the chevalier on the clearness of his details, and on this point must consequently remain in some little doubt. Climbing along the base of the tower of Gollis, which is on the south of Mont Perdu, M. Arbanère describes himself as turning to the west, and proceeding towards a lofty terrace. On the south this terrace presented a perpendicular face of ten or eleven toises; this face they climbed, and found themselves on a plateau, separated from another by a transversal ravine of rocks and snow. A fissure nearly vertical, and clothed with ice, led to this second plateau, which they ascended by cutting steppings with their axes. The view of the top was here intercepted by a third terrace, and its vertical escarpments. This was to be surmounted by means of a long and precipitous rent in the rock; but here the guides hesitated; and, after they had in vain sought another passage, it required all M. Arbanère's energy to induce them to attempt this perilous ascent.

"In difficult positions," he remarks, "energy has as it were a magical power, which drives irresolution before it, and raises all other spirits to the elevation of that one which has already overcome the danger in its thought, in its look, in its accent, in its attitude!"

After the display of M. Arbanère's energy in all these forms, the party set to work to cut footsteps, and with the aid of axe and pole contrived to proceed: "the slightest giddiness, the least false movement, would have precipitated them to the bottom of the

abyss and shapeless lamp." At last, without farther adventure, they attained "the summit of the rock."

"The summit, on the side of Spain, presents but bare and rugged rocks. The snow, forming a bank of which there are no means of ascertaining the thickness, is heaped up on the side of France on the reverse: afterwards it bends itself into a small hollow, rises again and forms a second crest, parallel and higher than the southern crest by about five yards. It conceals from me the whole chain of the French Pyrenees, and I shall only perceive that I am on the pinnacle of Mont Perdu, when, trampling on this virgin snow, I shall cast a glance upon the proud summits which my memory will immediately recognise.

"At length, the entire mass of the Pyrenees is under my feet, and the heavens shine bright over my head. This victorious position has cost severe efforts, but the aspect of this magnificent spectacle recompenses me for all that has been required to conquer it. My eye wanders with a sovereign glance. How terrible and yet how beautiful the region which surrounds me, which loses itself in the immense circle of its horizon, bristling with pics, sparkling with robes of ice, or else protruding only their huge bones, and furrowed by vallies, all different in their undulations, their junction, and the sky which covers them! Clouds hang over the vallies of France, in the distance dark pics command their vast waves, like so many fearful islands in harmony with the terrible ocean from which they spring. But Spain spreads her plains free from vapour. The colossal barrier of the Marboré appears to divide the sombre regions of the Pole from the brilliant Eden of the Tropics."

Such is the language of M. Arbanère. We should have been glad of less eloquence, and a clearer account of the final steps which led to the accomplishment of his enterprize. Far be it from us to throw a shadow of doubt upon the veracity of an amiable and respectable man; but yet we cannot help observing that it would be no difficult task to write such descriptions from no more elevated a point of view than a garret window.

We must now resume our course along the peaks and cols of the crest; which a more ample development of the peculiarities of the Maladetta and Mont Perdu has somewhat interrupted. We had, however, advanced, not only to the highest point of the Pyrenees, but to that point from which they commence gradually to decline as they approach the Atlantic. Instead of a precipitous crest bordered by deep abysses, the mountains, both in their main and lateral directions assume a milder form; they become a series of circular and undulating summits of easy access, covered with pasturage, and sometimes intersected with torrents.

The pic of Anso which rises to the height of 1896 toises (Deboul and Vidal) is the loftiest summit of the Western Pyrenees; it is at the head of the valley of Loacun, which enters that of Aspe. The mountain of Orhy is 1091 toises high at the head of

Lerran; the mountain of Abadi is 801 toises at the head of the valley of Baygorry; and, lastly, there is the mountain of Haya, (or Quatre-Couronnes), near to Oyarzun, three leagues from the ocean, the height of which is 500 toises. The small elevation of the central chain in all this quarter, and the great number of cols, or even crests, of easy access, afford a multitude of communications between France and Spain. Some of the most frequented are the port of Canfranc, or Sumpport, where the French government is now constructing a road by which carriages will be able to pass from Oleron, in Bearn, to Canfranc in Aragon; the port of Orion, commonly called the passage of Saint Jean Pied-de-port; together with several others which it is here unnecessary to name. The Pyrenees at last end in a long point, or promontory, which strikes into the sea, and closes on the south the bay of Figueras, into which the Bidassoa empties itself.

In the face of the central Pyrenees, and between the crest and the plains of France, there are several pics of great importance, both on the score of height and on other grounds. Their elevation reaches and even surpasses the mean height of the loftiest part of the principal chain. The pic Long is 1668 toises; the inaccessible Neovielle is 1619; the pic du Midi de Bigorre is 1506 toises; the pic d'Arbizon 1480 toises. All these mountains form a part of a great lateral chain, which is detached from the central one in the neighbourhood of Mont Perdu. It separates the valley of Barèges from that of Aure. More to the west there are other isolated pics of eminence; the chief of which is the pic du Midi d'Ossau, which heads the valley of this name. It is 1471 toises high.

In enumerating the most prominent features of the chain of the Pyrenees, it has been impossible to do so without, at the same time, indicating the principal vallies which owe to it their source and conformation. It will not, therefore, be necessary, for the purpose of supplying a general idea of the Pyrenees, to recur to any formal description of them. It will be quite sufficient if we point out, in a general manner, such features as have made them remarkable, or cause them to be considered as objects of curiosity. The principal rivers naturally lead us to the principal vallies, and as their ramifications are pursued, we arrive at those of less magnitude, but which often embrace beauties of a higher order. Proceeding, for instance, from Pau, by Lourdes, we follow the gave* of Pau, through the valley of Lavedan; on the right there branches off the valley of Cauterets, celebrated for its mineral

* Gave is the name universally given to a stream in Bearn and a part of Baygorry; it is said to be the Celtic word for water.

springs, opposite to it, and leaving the gulf near Lur, is the valley of Bastan, which contains the famous baths of Barèges; a sombre plain, which, nevertheless, the celebrity of its waters crowds with visitors. The continuation of the gulf leads us to the elevated torrents at Gavarnis, and also those of Héas and Estaubé: all these, as has been mentioned, remarkable for their extraordinary *oules*, and for the lofty and magnificent scenery in which they abound. The traveller may next traverse, against its stream, the Adour; starting from the pleasant town of Tarbes, the central market of all the Pyrenees, he proceeds by Bagneres de Bigorre—the Bath of France, and remarkable above similar places of resort for the licentious pursuit of pleasure—into the valley of Campan. Again, if from St. Gaudens we take the course of the Garonne, and the numerous torrents of which it is formed, we shall thus ascend the Spanish valley of Aran, that of Luchon, and of Arboust, or those of Louron and Aure. The Arriège carries us by Pamiers into the mountainous territories of the county of Foix. Higher up is Tarrascou, which leads to Ax, a place that has been spoken of as terminating the communication between France and Spain, by the port of Puymorens. The river Aude forms a principal valley in the eastern Pyrenees; their other principal valleys deviate from the *transversal* into the *longitudinal* line, and are formed by the rivers Tet and Tech, which, after flowing through their respective vallies, directly enter the Mediterranean.

Such are the grand geographical outlines of the Pyrenees; outlines being all we can pretend to give within the compass of an article. We might have chosen some other points perhaps quite as worthy of the attention of the reader, but none which, we believe, constitute so small a part of general knowledge, and which will so readily serve as a frame-work for any information to which the future inquiries of the reader may lead him. It is with regret, however, we perceive that the space which it has occupied in our pages precludes us from entering upon several other points which we had marked out for observation. We have not spoken of the natural productions of these regions, and have scarcely touched upon the character of their inhabitants. The singular race of Cagots, which inhabits some quarter of these mountains, and the character and history of the Basques, are also topics of interest; neither are the thermal establishments of the Pyrenees unworthy of some slight investigation. M. Arbanère has discussed, at some length, the various passages of armies and nations across these mountains; the subject is obscure and unprofitable, but not so the internal history of these countries during the feudal and later ages, allusions to which M. Ramond contrives to introduce

into his descriptions with so much grace. All these we must omit, if it were only to make room for a branch of the subject so inseparably connected with the geographical view we have taken of it, as to render us liable to exception for passing it over—and that too at a time when we are able to avail ourselves of the faithful assistance of M. Charpentier in casting a hasty and parting glance at these magnificent monuments of nature. We allude to the geological construction of the Pyrenees, to the more general features of which, however, we must necessarily confine ourselves.

In the Pyrenees we find all the principal descriptions of rock, but they occur in very unequal quantities. The extent of primitive matter is remarkably small, and peculiar in its arrangement; its composition is extremely simple—its principal formations are granite, micaceous schist, and primitive limestone. Transition rocks are these which form the chief bulk of these mountains. They are mainly divided into argillaceous schist, schistous grauwacke, common grauwacke, and limestone. The secondary matter is less abundant on the north *versant* than the transition, whereas the contrary seems to be the case on the southern face, as it is composed of three formations in particular. These are, red sand-stone, alpine limestone, and Jura limestone, besides the secondary trapps. These various kinds of mineral rocks are arranged in the Pyrenees, not in isolated masses, but forming zones or bands, which run in the main direction of the chain, so as in a manner to be parallel; the granitic matter forms but a single band, and may be compared to a suite of mounts or protuberances, touching one another only at their bases, and often connected together by rocks of a more recent formation, which have filled up the gorges or intervals between them; these protuberances follow pretty nearly the same line of direction. Although this granitic chain, as it may be called, extends nearly the whole length of the Pyrenees, it does not form the crest or central chain, and only occasionally falls in with it. In the eastern half of the Pyrenees the granitic band is found invariably at some distance to the north of the chain. In the valley of the Garonne, formed by the elbow, which has been more than once spoken of, where the central chain enters 16,000 toises to the south, the granitic chain makes the same bend, with this difference, that it retreats 19,000 toises: hence the two chains occasionally become mingled, and points of the granitic band become identified with the central chain. The granite band along the western half of the Pyrenees is not by any means so uniform in its direction, as that on the eastern. Its protuberances rise sometimes to the north and sometimes to the south of a line parallel to the central chain.

The line which would come as near as possible to the direction which they follow, is the granitic axis of Ramond. It is this axis which has determined the direction and disposition of the different formations along the whole chain. Of the other bands, that of primitive micaceous schist does not extend the whole length, and its continuity is often interrupted. The thickness of it is small when compared with the breadth of the granite. The transition rocks, on the contrary, are of an extraordinary bulk; one of them lies to the north, and the other to the south of the granitic chain. Both of these bands are in a perfect and almost uninterrupted state. The one to the south constitutes ordinarily the crest of the principal chain. The different kinds of rocks which form the transition matter are themselves disposed in bands. The direction of all these bands, whether primitive or secondary, is governed by the direction of the granitic chain, and not by that of the principal range. This remarkable influence of the oldest, but by no means the highest or the largest band, naturally gives rise to various speculations on the original formation of these mountains, which, when coupled with the fact of the crest being chiefly occupied by transition matter, must be allowed to be sufficiently remarkable. The granitic chain influencing the direction of the other rocks which rest upon it, it becomes interesting to ascertain, whether it also influences the inclination of the strata. We find, in accordance with the hypothesis, that the inclination of the strata follows the inclination of the declivity which supports them; at least in the immediate neighbourhood of the granite; as the rocks become distant from the parent band, its influence in this respect manifestly declines. The great inclination of the strata and beds of the rocks of the Pyrenees is a phenomenon which has also excited conjecture. It is ordinarily above forty-five degrees, and nothing is more common than to find it exceed sixty and eighty degrees. This is general in every part of the Pyrenees, and seems to indicate that the strata have been removed posteriorly to their formation. They are likewise marked by another peculiarity. The strata of the Pyrenees, so far from presenting plane regular surfaces, suffer the most extraordinary inflexions, sometimes in the line of their direction—sometimes of their inclination. A section will show them sometimes making angles in different directions, sometimes zigzag, sometimes the bed twists itself into a spiral form. This remarkable feature cannot be brought to the eye in a more striking manner than by the animated language of M. Ramond. He is speaking of this playful kind of stratification, in the case of primitive limestone alternating with beds of quartz and feldspath,

which occurs in the neighbourhood of Bagatze. His description, however, applies generally.

"Les pils, "cays lus," n'ont rien de symétriques; des angles se suivent, au lieu de se regarder; telle veine sinuose serpente entre deux veines droites et parallèles; tantôt elles sont fléchies en zigzag, tantôt nouées en spirales; toutes les sortes de courbes se succédant dans la même pierre, et chacune suit une loi étrangère à toutes les autres, ondes; souvent même la roche calcaire qui constitue le fond de cette bizarre broderie offre dans sa texture intime les indices d'une continuité indifférente à ces jeux. Qu'on amolisse des masses, qu'on les plie, qu'on les froisse, qu'on les tord, plus on satisfera aux conditions de l'hypothèse et moins la copie ressemblera au modèle."—*Voyages au Mont Perdu*, p. 43.

In the perplexity which this curious conformation causes to the speculator on the origin of mountains, no better or more plausible supposition can be invented than the one conveyed by another sentence of description of the same author. "*C'est une mer qui se fige au moment de la tourmente, et dont l'agitation se peint encore dans ses ondes pétrifiées.*"—(ib. p. 104.) Engravings of these twisted strata will be found among the plates of M. Palassou's *Essai sur la Mineralogie des Monts Pyrénées*. M. Palassou was the first person who detected the parallelism between the direction of the chain of the Pyrenees and the rocks which compose it. This venerable man, who was one of the first to throw light upon the geognosy and mineralogy of the Pyrenees, and whose work is still unrivalled, still complete, yet survives. In his latter days he is arranging and preparing for posthumous publication the various works he has composed on this his favourite subject: the Pyrenees have been that book of nature which he has studied for the whole of a long life. These mountains seem, indeed, to hold out longevity as a reward to all who will devote themselves to the investigation of their properties. Baron Lapeyrouse, the celebrated author of the *Monographie des Saxifragées* and the *Histoire abrégée des Plantes des Pyrénées*, who was the first French naturalist that remarked the distinction between their primitive and secondary limestone, died but a very few years ago, and M. Ramond, who has been so often mentioned, survived till the present day. It was in 1787 that Messrs. Reboül and Vidal, names inseparable from the geodesy of the Pyrenees, and also inseparable from each other,—who like other immortal pairs, the Beumonts and Fletchers of science, whose works are amalgamated and undistinguishable, will go down to posterity as two men but one essence,—established their little hut on the summit of the Pic du Midi de Bigorre, for the purpose of fixing the elevation of the mountains that surrounded them. This was the

wards of forty years ago, yet it is but the other day that M. Humboldt set himself vigorously to revise the work of his youth.

To carry this branch of the subject further, would be either to pursue it into its details, in themselves a worthy subject of an article; or to enlarge the question into a consideration of the formation of mountains, a grand and philosophical inquiry, in the conduct of which the various peculiarities of the Pyrenees form a part, but a curious part, of the data. Humboldt, in his elaborate work on the *Gisement des Roches dans les deux Hemispheres*, has simply opened the question.

ART. X.—1. *Frithiofs Saga*. Af Esaias Tegner. Tredje upplagan. (Frithiofs Saga: By Esaias Tegner. Third Edition.) Stockholm. 1827. 8vo.

2. *Die Frithiofs Sage*, von Esaias Tegner. Aus dem Schwedischen, von Gottl. Christ. Friedr. Mohnike. Stralsund. 1826. 8vo.

A LAUDABLE curiosity respecting those from whom we are ourselves descended, their virtues and their vices, their intellectual powers, energies, and cultivation, has of late years, through a large portion of Europe, happily superseded the mesurable disdain for what were superciliously termed the Dark Ages, which characterized the revival of classical literature. Gladly we hail the change, even whilst we confess that a disdain so unfilial was, at its birth at least, entitled to indulgence, as originating in the exclusively profound admiration not unreasonably felt by the first discoverers of the long-buried treasures of antiquity, for their newly-acquired masters in philosophy, letters, and the fine arts. The more natural spirit which has succeeded to it, essentially national wheresoever it exists, has in England arisen nearly within our own memory. But brief as its reign has yet been, already are we indebted to it for various collections of old plays, ballads, and poetical romances, for the reprint of many of our early chroniclers, and for the historical character it has breathed into our recent works of imagination. Even in classical France such a spirit is not wanting, whether generated by similar circumstances similarly influencing throughout civilized Europe the condition and feelings of men, or copied, with other fashions, from England, when an occasional fit of *Anglomania* supplants the habitual scorn so properly and patriotically cherished by *la grande nation* for a presumptuous rival. However produced, the national spirit has there brought to light many strains of poets long forgotten, but far more truly poetical than any of their boasted successors; and this not only in the old northern French of the *langue*

d'oïl, but likewise in the *Provençale langue d'oc*, or *Langue Romanz*; having instigated M. Raynouard's laborious researches into the remains and language of the Troubadours.

But if thus much have been wrought in France, with a sway how absolute must not such a spirit reign in Germany!—Germany, where opinion, thought, feeling, and passion, are ever carried to excess by a depth and ardour of imagination wholly unrestrained by the “preventive check” of taste—Germany, where a proportionate re-action had been prepared by the long period of mental subjugation, during which the studious portion of the community had been divided into the servilely admiring imitators of the ancients and of the French; whilst the unlearned majority, engrossed by neighbourly quarrels and hatreds, and by a narrow provincial species of patriotism, in the character of Prussians, Austrians, Saxons, &c. forgot—or remembered only with a sense of degradation and inferiority—that all were alike Germans—Germany, in fine, goaded to madness in the very moment of re-action, by the insulting tyranny of her French conquerors. In Germany, such as we have sketched her, when shackles so long constraining and oppressing mind and body were broken, the emancipation of the national genius from this double slavery was complete, and attested by an actual deluge of re-published *Nibelungen-lids*, *Helden-buchs*, *Minnesingers*,—more than we have leisure to enumerate,—of investigations into national antiquities, and of tales, plays, and poems, founded upon Saxon and Scandinavian mythological traditions. This ebullition of Germanicism had commenced, in a gentle kind of simmer, independently of the irritation excited by political events. For prior to the first eruption of revolutionary France, many learned men were already distinguished as Teutonic antiquaries, and many poets and novelists, following the example of the celebrated Goethe in his *Faust* and *Goetz von Berlichingen*, had resorted to early German story for the matter of their fictions. But that a prodigious, an immeasurable *momentum* was given to the previously existing tendency by the exasperating yoke of Napoleon; it is impossible to doubt. To the intensity thus acquired by the growing spirit of Teutonicism is, probably, to be ascribed the invention of the word *Teut*, to express whatever is German in the most comprehensive and radical form;—our readers need hardly be told that *Deutsch* is the vernacular denomination of Germans, and that German, generically used, includes Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians. To the same cause is attributable the rise of the association, established in the hour of bitterest humiliation and suffering, under the far-famed title of the *Tugend-bund*; which, acting in a circle, as cause and effect so commonly do, gave a

sort of hot-bed forcing to the sentiments whence it springs. One of the most zealous members of this society, the Baron de la Motte Fouqué, was the first, we believe, who, rejecting times and manners so modern as those of the feudal ages and the *Vehm Gericht*—the Secret Tribunal—recurred to heathenism and Scandinavia for the ground-work of several dramas and romances, better worth the “doing into English” than many that have been preferred to them.

From Germany this spirit, or fashion—whichever, in sympathy or in scorn, it be termed—has journeyed northward. In Denmark, Oehlenschlaeger writes national plays, which he himself translates from Danish into German, as a more general language. In Sweden, the country with which we are at present most concerned, a revolution has been effected, similar in kind, if not in magnitude, to that we have just been describing. Sweden, although long considered as the natural ally of France, and from consciousness of poverty, rudeness, and consequent inferiority to the more favoured climes of the South, peculiarly earnest in emulating the professed *arbitrè elegantiarum*, never, we believe, was so completely enthralled by France as was Germany; and the re-action has therefore, of course, been less violent. Her natives are zealous patriots, as the natives of rugged and mountainous regions invariably are. Her learned men have long been devoted to the study of national antiquities; and during the last two centuries Scandinavian *Saga*—legends—have been diligently collected, and published in the old Norse or Icelandic tongue, with Latin translations. But in matters of taste, all this while, especially in Belles Lettres, the despotic laws of France were implicitly obeyed in the northern Peninsula. Some fifty years ago Swedish poetry was duly fashioned after the canons of Boileau and the manner of Voltaire. In opposition to this Gallic school there has latterly arisen the German, or let us rather say the national, school of the nineteenth century, whose disciples take the subjects of their plays and poems from Scandinavian traditions. At their head stands the right reverend author, whose work is now before us, Esaias Tegner, Bishop of Wexio.

Tegner already enjoyed considerable renown as a poet in his own country, prior to the publication of his *FRITHIOFS SAGA*, or Legend of Frithiof. That poem has not only prodigiously enhanced his fame in Sweden, but has procured for him equal celebrity in Germany, where several translations of it have been made. We have given the title of one of these, a version by Gottlieb Christian Friedrich Mohnike, a writer of high and well-merited reputation amongst Teutonic antiquaries; who has subjoined to the metrical portion of his labours, a body of notes elucidatory

of Scandinavian mythology, without which even the German general reader might be perplexed, and from which we shall select such information as may seem necessary to the clear comprehension of the story.

The mere novelty of the appearance of Swedish authors amongst the candidates for literary honours, might suffice to entitle the *FERRISOR'S SAGA* to a large share of our attention. So might the strange anomaly of the British public having hitherto remained almost unacquainted with a whole class of works of imagination—if we may regard the exclusive derivation from indigenous or cognate mythological traditions as constituting a class—for many years amongst the most popular in Germany, and so congenial in character to our own prevailing national taste. When to these circumstances we add, that of this novel class the Swedish prelate's poem is decidedly the boldest, in many respects the best, and in every way the most remarkable we have yet met with, that it frequently catches the tone and spirit of the times it imitates with a degree of life and truth rarely paralleled amongst ~~potable~~ ancient poems; and that it affords so vivid a picture of the Scandinavian branch of the great Gothic family to which we all belong, as must render it highly interesting, even independently of its originality and of its poetical beauties; we hold any apology for devoting to it more space than its length might seem to warrant; and treating it in a somewhat unusual manner, to be wholly superfluous. We propose to give, together with many extracts, the matter of each canto separately, more or less in detail according to their relative importance. The versification will also claim much notice, inasmuch as our poetical bishop has adopted a system of metrical arrangement so whimsical, so absolutely unprecedented upon Parnassus, that we feel it our duty to point out some of its peculiarities with a minuteness for which only the poetical student will, we suspect, heartily thank us.

Our account of the poem itself must be prefaced by the mention of some novelties regarding its appearance. The *last* nine cantos were published at Stockholm in the years 1820 and 1822. They excited great admiration, and were followed in 1825 by their fifteen predecessors. These were accompanied from the press by the music to which B. Cruseff, a Stockholm composer, has set several of the cantos; and which occasionally startles us by its heterodox aspect, as the lady-like, black-lined, sheets open out upon the table of a grave reviewer, from both the little volumes

* We have introduced the modifying word "almost" out of respect to Dr. Sayers and Mr. Hole; though we hardly believe their attempts are sufficiently known to require it.

now occupying that altar of criticism; for Mohnike's translation is similarly *illustrated*. The Swedish book further distinguishes itself from the common herd of books of our acquaintance by its title-page; upon which is substituted for the usual dull information touching printers, publishers, and localities, a vignette representing the heroine, and an explanation of its subject by the appendage of a stanza from the poem. The more common-place matters thus ousted, as well as the notification of this being the third edition, are removed to the last page. Of the twenty-four cantos into which the *Saga* is divided none are long, and some are excessively short, as every change of scene produces a corresponding change of canto, and, *mirabile dictu*, of metre! each canto boasting a distinct and appropriate measure. Amongst the twenty-four are found classical, Scandinavian, and modern metres, with the early ones of most European nations. These various metres we shall describe as they occur, though without emulating *Herr Mohnike's* accuracy, inasmuch as he has taken the opportunity thus offered of displaying the stores of his rhythmical learning, overwhelming us with bacchius, antibacchius, akatalektic tetrameter, hyperkatalektic di-iambus, and other words of equally portentous sound, until the nonsense verses and their birchen accompaniments of our school-days played in bewildering visions around our labouring brains. In our translations we shall employ the metres adopted by our author, as far as the genius of our less flexible language will allow, and shall present our readers with various specimens. We must, of course, likewise imitate the very simple forms of the original, which, as we have said, strongly resembles the true poetry of Olden Times, and we fear its profuse imagery may not always save it from an apparent baldness to the highly polished taste of this era of intellectual refinement.

The fable of the poem is of the days of heathenism, and founded upon two *Sagas*, in the collections of which we have spoken, *Thorsten Wikingson's Saga* and *Frithiof's Saga*. Of the first of these but little use seems to have been made upon the present occasion, some of the details in the third canto being the principal matters it has supplied. The second-named *Saga*, in Icelandic *Sagan af Frithiofe Fraekna*, (the Legend of bold Frithiof), is of more importance. Previous to its republication the adventures of Frithiof had been extracted thence, and introduced into their graver annals by Scandinavian historians, by the Swede Olaus Verelius, in his *HISTORIA SUEO-GOTHICA*, and the Ice-lander Thormo Torfaeus, in his *HISTORIA REBUM NORVEGICARUM*. The latter expresses great admiration of the songs composed and sung by Frithiof during the storm he encountered

upon his voyage to the Orkneys. The *Saga* itself is in prose; but, like most of the Norse prose *Sagas* that we have seen, abounds in songs. It begins, like the Swedish poem, with the education of the hero and heroine, and has for the most part been pretty faithfully followed by our modern bard, who has, however, (out of respect probably to the delicacy of modern feelings,) deviated from his original in the catastrophe. The Icelandic Frithiof kills Helgè in battle, and thus obtains possession of his kingdom as well as of his sister's hand.

The first canto, entitled "Frithiof and Ingeborg," depicts the youth, education, and early loves of the hero and heroine. We give some of the most characteristic parts in the proper measure.

"On Hilding's lands grew fresh and fair
Two plants beneath the fosterer's care;
None lovelier the north e'er nourished,
In green luxuriance they flourished.

Upshot the one, a stately oak,
With stem, like spear for hand of Loke,*
With head, that, whilst by breezes shaken,
Seemed form of helmet to have taken.

The other blossomed sweet, a rose
That winter's sudden thaws disclose,
But in whose bud, with beauty teeming,
The tardy spring lies hid and dreaming.

But storms shall desolate the land,
The oak their brant shall firmly stand;
And vernal suns, with genial power,
Shall tint the rose's opening flower.

Alike they grew in sport and glee,
Young Frithiof was the stately tree;
The rose-bud, the green vale perfuming,
Fair Ingeborg, in beauty blooming.

Saw you them in the sun's bright beam,
The scene you'd Freia's† palace deem,
Where tiny bridal pairs are whirling
On rosy wings with gold locks curling.

Saw you them in the moon's pale ray,
Amidst the forest shadows play,
You'd deem 'neath dew-gemmed garlands glancing,
You saw the elfin sovereigns dancing.

* * * * *

Frithiof, a stripling, seeks the chase,
Many had trembled in his place,
For neither sword nor spear he carries,
Whilst for the bear's advance he tarries.

* Loke is the Scandinavian Satan.

† The Scandinavian Venus.

With Bruin breast to breast he tails,
And wounded, conquers—the rough spoils
Bearing to her whose look requited,
All risks—the maiden smiles delighted.

Woman man's hardihood reveres,
Worthy of beauty strength appears;
Like head and helm agreeing ever,
Such union nothing may dissever.

* * * * *

When day rules heaven, earth, and air,
World's monarch with his golden hair,
When life is active, men are moving,
Neither can think of aught save loving.

When night rules heaven, earth, and air,
World's mother with her dusky hair,
When life is hushed, stars only moving,
Neither can dream of aught save loving."

Old Hilding admonishes his foster-son of the madness of his aspiring to Ingeborg, the daughter of a king descended from Odin, he being himself the son of Thorsten Wikingson, a *bondè*. This word in modern Swedish means simply peasant. Joined to *odal*, allodial, or hereditary, *odalbondè*, it becomes allodial proprietor or freeholder. At the period when our personages are supposed to have lived, the eighth or ninth century, the first word seems to have borne the sense of the second, and to have designated a class of persons analogous to our ancient franklins and our yeomanry combined. Thorsten Wikingson's estate, mansion, and establishment, though not his mode of life, and court favour, remind us of Cerdic, in *Ivanhoe*. To resume the thread of our story, Frithiof laughs, and replies to his foster-father's representations, that the freeborn man may aspire to anything; that Thor, the war-god, prefers deeds to progenitors; that the sword is the best wooer, and that he will earn Ingeborg.

In the second canto, "King Belè* and Thorsten Wikingson," we find one of those long measures, so frequent in most early European minstrelsy. The lines consist of five feet, usually iambic, an additional syllable being inserted between the third and fourth, where the pause uniformly falls. Or it might be said, that the third foot is an *amphibrachys*; but we must not fall into Mohnike's error; pedantically attempting to introduce classical accuracy into measures regulated, perhaps, chiefly by the air to which they were sung. The aged monarch observes "to the

* Belè is a dissyllable. We may state once for all, that in these Scandinavian names the final *e* is to be sounded, and the *g* is hard.

worthy bondè," his *frere d'armes*;* that he is losing his powers and enjoyments, and about to depart for Walhalla, the warrior's heaven; wherefore he has summoned their three sons, "who belong together like their fathers," to give them his last instructions. The two princes and Frithiof appear, when the old king exhorts his sons jointly to be united, to respect the laws, and to protect their subjects. He next warns the dark and bigoted Helgè against superstition, pride of birth, and harsh obstinacy, reminding him that without friends no man can be really powerful; and bids the light-haired, frolicksome Halfdan recollect that kings have other business than amusement; that to produce mead hops must be mingled with the honey; that talents claim respect, and that one friend is preferable to many flatterers. Thorsten Wikingson then announces that as he has shared with King Belè through life, so he will share with him in death, and addresses an excellent though rather general moral discourse to Frithiof. It is principally remarkable for a caution against the levity of women, hardly to have been expected from a Scandinavian warrior. After a few more similar speeches, the king sends a greeting to "his rose-bud Ingeborg," towards whom he charges Helgè to be kind and indulgent; and concludes the canto by directing his and Thorsten's separate *barrows* to be raised by the sea-side, where the murmur of the waves will soothe their departed spirits, sounding like a *drapa*—which may be rendered dirge. The nature of this kind of funereal and poetical panegyric will be seen by and by.

"Frithiof takes possession of his patrimony," is the rather *lengthy* title of the third canto, written in regular classical hexameters, which, though we confess their rhythm tells better upon our ear in Swedish than in any other modern language we are acquainted with, we cannot but deem somewhat misplaced in a northern lay. This objection to their introduction ought not, however, to prevent our imitating the measure of the original, were such imitation feasible; but it must be superfluous to remind the readers of our best modern poets, that our mother-tongue has been proved unfit for this, and we apprehend for almost every other classical metre. We shall, following at humble distance the examples of Pope and Dryden, translate the Swedish author's hexameters into our own heroic couplet. Without further explanation as to the manner of death of the two old friends, we are simply told that they "were seated in their barrows" by the sea-side; that Helgè and Halfdan, by the people's will, suc-

* We are loth to introduce a French expression into a Scandinavian Saga, but know no corresponding English term. The German translator's foster-brother bears a different signification in both languages.

ceded jointly to the throne; and that Frithiof, as an only son, took his inheritance undivided. A description of this Scandinavian inheritance nearly fills the canto. The estate, named Framnaes, was bounded on one side by the sea, and varied with hill and dale, with forest, lake, and river, abounding in game and fish, with corn-fields and pastures, rich in golden harvests, flocks, herds, and fiery coursers. The well-built house contained a banquetting hall, which "500 men, reckoning six score to the hundred," did not crowd at Yule time, the mid-winter festival, from which it will be remembered our forefathers' Christmas revels are supposed to be derived. The mansion was stored with the valuable booty collected by the family in their *Wiking* cruises:—but three things were prized above all the other treasures.

"Chiefest of all was prized the sword, far-famed,
His sire's bequest, and Angurwadel named,
The lightning's brother; forged in eastern lands,
The legend tells, by dwarfs with skilful hands.
By blue-tooth'd Biorn 'twas first possessed, who found,
Fighting far south in the Groeninger Sound,
His master in Wifell, with whom in strife
He forfeited his weapon and his life."

From Wifell the sword came through Wiking and Thorsten to Frithiof. Some of the feats achieved with it by his predecessors are recorded, especially the slaughter of a giant, from whom Wiking, at fifteen, rescued a princess and her kingdom. The sword is thus described:—

"Seemed, when in festive hall the sword flashed bright,
As meteors flared, or shone the northern light.
The hilt was beaten gold, the tempered blade
Strange, glittering, Runic characters displayed,
Unknown to the cold North; at the sun's-gates,
First home of Asa-gods,* ere thence the Fates
To Europe led them, known. Languidly shine
The *runes*,† when o'er the land reigns peace divine;
But when her game war's goddess, Hildur, plays,
Red as the comb of angry cock they blaze,
And in the battle's darkness he were lost
The glowing Runic weapon's path who crossed.
In song and story was the sword renowned,
Esteemed the first of swords on northern ground."

The next treasure was a gold bracelet wrought by the lame Vaulundur, the great artist of northern legends. Its description

* Asa is the family name of the Scandinavian gods.

† Runic is the name of the Scandinavian letters, whether written or graven. Thence the adjective, *runic*.

introduces much Scandinavian mythology, inasmuch as "the twelve immortal heavenly castles" were embossed or engraved upon it. A robber, we know not whether man or demon, once stole it from Thorsten, who, with King Belè, pursued him. When found, the friends drew lots to see which should singly encounter the terrible foe: the luck was Thorsten's. He never would relate the combat, but when questioned, said :

" ' It costs me dear!

Once, when I this recovered, I knew fear.'

In song and story was the gem renowned,

Of bracelets deemed the first on northern ground."

Ship Ellida, the third family treasure, was a present from Ægir, the northern Neptune, to Wiking, as a reward for saving from shipwreck a stranger who proved to be the sea-god in proper person. Ellida was not only an excellent and splendid *Dragon-ship*,* whose timbers grew together, but possessed, as will appear in the sequel, more intelligence and courage than can be reasonably expected from human built vessels. The history of the ship Ellida concludes with another repetition of the *formula* which wound up the preceding descriptions. Frithiof further inherited a dozen able-bodied veterans; and to this stout band his accession added his own foster-brother and *frere d'armes*, the young, gay, wise, and valiant Biorn. With these warriors, the heir, according to the custom of the country, solemnly drinks to the memory of his father, and then assumes the seat of honour upon an ornamented bearskin, between the statues of Odin, the King of Heaven, and of Frei, the God of Fecundity.

The measure of the fourth canto, "Frithiof's Wooing," is of that ballad-anapæstic kind, which admits the intermixture of the iambics; and the stanzas differ in form from those of the first canto, only by the shortness of the third line. The two young kings and their sister Ingeborg visit Frithiof, at Framnaes, where some love-making occurs. After their departure, the lover pines awhile, and then, hastening to court, declares his passion to the royal brothers, asks Ingeborg in marriage, and asserts that King Belè—upon whose barrow he finds the young co-kings administering justice—had always intended their union. Helgè haughtily refuses to bestow his sister, a daughter of Walhalla, upon the son of a *bondè*, and rejects Frithiof's proffered aid in defending his kingdom, which, he says, he is himself well able to defend,

* A poetical name for ships of war—

"Kings of the main, their leaders brave,
Their ships the *dragons* of the wave."

Lay of the Last Minstrel.

but offers him a place amongst his men. This proposal, Frithiof, in his turn, scornfully rejects, and, as a lesson to Helgè, drawing Angurwadel, cuts the king's golden shield through, as it hangs upon the branch of a tree.

The measure of the 5th canto resembles that of the 4th, the chief difference being, that these stanzas consist of five lines, a second short one being inserted between the first two long ones. It is entitled "King Ring," another Norwegian potentate, whose most unharmoniously jingling name, being of course historical, we must not change, and cannot even improve to the eye by adopting the Scandinavian orthography Hringr without disrespect to our author, who, however, had less temptation so to do, as the Swedish *Kung Ring* sounds not half so ludicrous as King Ring. This unfortunately named monarch,

"As Mimer* wise, and as pious as Balder."†

had for thirty years, by the help of these qualities, maintained his dominions in peace, freedom, and happiness. He is now a widower, and informs his assembled warriors and scalds (*anglicé* bards,) that although he can never love another like his deceased wife, yet as his subjects and children require a mother, he has selected for that office the daughter of his old friend King Belè. —He observes

"I know that she's young, and young maidens delight
In gathering roses,
That I've shot up to seed, and the winter's night
With silver has dight.
My thin locks where his snow now reposes ;"

but resolves nevertheless to send an embassy, bearing bridal gifts, to solicit Ingeborg's hand. The ambassadors are hospitably entertained for three days by the brother kings. Upon their asking, on the fourth, for their answer, Helgè consults the Gods by a sacrifice. The omens are unpropitious, and he refuses to give his sister to her ancient suitor, whom Halfdan, with boyish petulance, insults as King Greybeard. The monarch, upon receiving the report of his ambassadors, coldly says that King Greybeard will speedily vindicate his honour. He then assembles a large army, and declares war. Helgè, alarmed at the king's power, places Ingeborg for security in Balder's temple under the God's protection.

"Frithiof at Chess," the next, is a peculiarly interesting canto, illustrating both the independence of the *bondès*, and the stub-

* Mimer was the lord of the Fountain of Wisdom.

† The God of the Sun, to whom are ascribed all the milder virtues.

born temper of the times. . The metre is trochaic, and the eight-lined stanza somewhat complicated. Frithiof is playing at chess with Biorn, when Hilding visits him, with a request from the joint kings for his assistance against Ring. Frithiof desires his foster-father to sit down and drink till the game is over, and contrives to answer his urgent entreaties and representations whilst apparently speaking of his game. The stanzas of refusal are untranslatable, turning upon the names of pieces which differ in the two languages, but one touching Ingeborg we give as a specimen. We should state, however, that we have slightly deviated from our original, where the metre is principally akatalektic. The intermixture of double and single rhymes is a favourite form of our author, and certainly more agreeable in Swedish, in which the latter are almost as common as the former, than in English, in which frequent double rhymes suit only particular measures. Hilding says,

“ ‘Ing’borg sits in Balder’s fane
Weeping, must she weep in vain?
Shall not tears from eyes so blue
To the impending flight allure?’
‘Biorn, wouldst thou my queen annoy?
Loved since childhood’s days of joy,
Noblest piece of all the crew?
Chance what may, *her* I secure!’ ”

Hilding now complains of being slighted for puppets. Frithiof replies that his foster-father has received, and well understood his answer; and the old man departs, saying he expected nothing else after Helge’s conduct to Frithiof.

The seventh canto is in eight-lined stanzas, formed by the union of two four-lined octosyllabic alternately rhyming stanzas. It is named “Frithiof’s Happiness,” and relates with great poetical beauty and energy of feeling a nocturnal visit to Ingeborg in Balder’s temple. The glowing strain in which Frithiof descants upon his bride, and the recompense of his love, awoke in us a fear that his *happiness* might have been of a description to profane the sanctity of the place. Upon this point the author is not explicit; but Ingeborg’s subsequent remarks upon the purity of her love and the injustice of the god’s anger, convince us that our hero’s Scandinavian reverence both for the divinity and for female delicacy, restrained his passions, and even wishes, within the bounds of decorous propriety.

The eighth canto, “The Farewell,” is a dramatic scene in blank verse, to us one of the most pleasing specimens of our poet’s genius. As its love-making is likewise more characteristic

than that in the last canto, we shall indulge ourselves in making a rather long extract:—Ingeborg, when alone in the temple, says,

“ ’Tis almost day, and still my Frithiof comes not ! ”

She then expresses, first, her anxiety to know her fate, which was to be decided at the *Ting*, or general assembly of the preceding day, dwelling very poetically upon the difficulty she had found in persuading her lover to take any steps towards a reconciliation with her brothers; and secondly, her apprehensions that the gods may be unfavourable, and Balder especially offended at his temple having been made a scene for human tenderness. She finally resolves to prove herself a worthy daughter of Walhalla, by resigning, not her love, but her happiness, and submitting to her destiny. Frithiof now arrives, and informs her, that before the assembled people he had demanded her hand of her brothers, as the pledge of reconciliation and price of his assistance;—that thousand swords had clashed, and thousand voices shouted approbation of the alliance; when Helgè, again taunting him with inferior birth, had refused to give the daughter of Walhalla to the sacrilegious violator of a temple:—that upon his confessing their nocturnal interview, the whole assembly, horror-stricken, had turned against him, and that Helgè, with an ostentation of clemency, had commanded him, in expiation of his crime, to sail for the Orkneys, and recover from *Jarl* Angantyr the tribute withheld since King Belè's death. Frithiof then says he will recover and send Angantyr's tribute, but never return, and requires Ingeborg to fly with him to Greece, which, from his father's descriptions of his southern voyages, he poetically depicts, as well as the connubial bliss they may there enjoy. He ends with the impatient question,

“ Why loiter'st thou ?

Ingeborg. I cannot follow thee.

Frithiof. Not follow me !

Ing. Oh Frithiof, thou art happy !

Thou follow'st no one, lead'st the way thyself,
Ev'n like thy dragon ship, the rudder held
By thine own will, guiding with steady hand
Thy course o'er wrathful billows.”

She goes on to pourtray feelingly the contrasted duties and destinies of man and woman; and, notwithstanding Frithiof's angry remonstrances, firmly asserts her resolution to do her duty and submit to fate. She concludes with the words,

“ Frithiof, we needs must part.

Frithiof. Why must we part ?

Because a sleepless night untunes thy spirit ?

Ingeborg. My dignity and thine must be preserved.

Frith. On man's love rests the dignity of woman.

Inge. Esteem is still the measure of man's love.

Frith. A changeful humour gains not his esteem.

Inge. The sense of right is an exalted feeling.

Frith. Which yesterday warred not against our love.

Inge. Nor does it now—so much the more 'gainst flight.

* * * *

Frith. Consider well.—Is that thy last resolve?

Inge. I have considered all—it is my last.

Frith. Then fare thee well—farewell King Helge's sister!

Inge. Oh Frithiof, Frithiof, and is't thus we part?

 Hast thou not ev'n a kindly look to give

 Thy childhood's friend?—Nor ev'n a hand to clasp

 The sad one's, hitherto beloved? Dost think

 I stand on roses, and cast from me, laughing,

 My life's whole bliss? Without deep anguish rend

 From out my breast the hope that with existence

 Has grown? Thou wast my heart's sole morning dream,

 Each joy I knew bore Frithiof's name. In life

 Whate'er was great and noble to mine eyes

 Thy form presented. Darken not the image,

 Entreat not harshly her who sacrifices,

 Weak though she be, all she best loves on earth,

 Best in Walhalla. But too arduous

 The sacrifice, and, Frithiof, merits sure

 A word of consolation. Me thou lovest;

 I know it; I have known it since life's dawn;

 And thoughts of thine own Ingeborg will follow

 Where'er thou goest. But the clash of arms

 At length stuns sorrow; over the wild waves

 'Tis blown away; nor on the warrior's bench

 Dares press, when vict'ry's wine-cup blithely circles.

 Only when 'midst the silence of the night

 Thou bygone days review'st, a faded form

 Shalt sit before thee; well thou know'st it—greetings

 It brings from cherished regions. 'Tis the image

 Of the pale virgin left in Balder's fane.

 Repel it not, though it look mournfully.

 No! Whisper in its ear one friendly word;—

 The night-wind's faithful wings to me will bear it;

 One solace—I none other have. My grief

 There's nothing to divert—all fosters it.

 The temple's dome speaks but of thee; the image

 Of Balder, that should threaten, in the moonlight

 Assumes thy count'nance. Look I on the sea?

 Thy keel upon its foam erst cut thy path

 To me, pining on shore. Seek I the grove?

 How many a tree bears graven Ing'borg's runcs!

The bark expands, effacing now my name,
 And that betokens death—'tis said. The Day
 I question where he saw thee; Night I question—
 They're silent.—Ev'n the sea on which thou sailest
 Answers but with a sigh upon the beach.
 Each evening crimson, bathing in thy waves,
 Bears thee from me a greeting; and heav'n's ships,
 Blue clouds, are freighted with laments from me.
 So in my maiden bower will I sit,
 A widow, from life's joys shrouded in black,
 And in my tap'stry broken lilies weave,
 Till Spring her tapestry of fairer lilies
 Weaves o'er my grave. But when I take my harp
 To sing mine endless griefs in solemn accents,
 And bursting into tears, as now——."

This affecting appeal subdues the lover's wrath. He promises to return in the spring with Angantyr's tribute, and claim her hand as his reward; and giving her the celebrated bracelet as a pledge of love, he departs. Ingeborg remarks upon Frithiof's confident hopes, as though Angurwadel could controul the Nornæ. The *Nornir* are three sisters, who closely resemble our old classical acquaintance, the *Parcæ*. Ingeborg thus proceeds:—

"Alas, poor Frithiof! ne'er did Norna yield;
 She holds her way, and laughs at Angurwadel.

* * * * *

Look where I will, for me no hope appears;
 Yet I rejoice that in thy heart it lives."

She then reckons upon his bracelet the months of his probable absence, and observes that she shall be dead, sacrificed to Odin, or to Ring, before his return.

Canto nine, "Ingeborg's Lament," is pathetic and beautiful, but little more than a lyrical dilation of the feelings expressed in her last soliloquy. The stanzas are unlike anything with which we are acquainted, every one of the four lines composing them differing in length from its associates. The metre is dactylic, with occasional trochees.

The 10th Canto, "Frithiof's Voyage," is extraordinary alike in form and matter. It paints, in a regular series of three dissimilar trochaic stanzas, a supernatural and tremendous storm, raised by Helgè's incantations. We translate one series, the second, as the easiest way of conveying an adequate idea of this singular un-English arrangement.

: "Now a Troll*-pair wage
 War 'gainst Ellid's pride,
 Ham of whirlwind rage,
 And the snowy Heid.

* The troll are evil spirits.

" Burst their bonds the tempest's pinions
 Diving now i' th' drear abyss,
 Soaring now in proud dominion
 Tow'rd the Asa seats of bliss.
 Spirits formed but for destroying
 From their erst unfathomed grave
 Rise, and horror's reign enjoying
 Ride upon the mountain wave..

" Sweeter was my voyage
 In the silvery moonlight,
 Over glassy waters,
 Towards Balder's fane.
 Warmer than it here is
 Was't on Ing'borg's bosom;
 Whiter than the sea foam
 Heaved her swelling breast."

The first short stanza throughout the canto usually depicts the progress of the storm itself, and the second longer one, the state of the ship, crew, and commander; whilst the third unrhymed stanza is always, as here, a song of Frithiof's, defying the storm, encouraging his men, or celebrating Ingeborg's charms and love. These songs are imitated from those praised by Torfaeus. The storm and Frithiof's recklessness of its terrors increase *pari passu*. At length, Frithiof, thinking the tempest too horrid to be sent from Walhalla, suspects sorcery. Thereupon he transfers the helm to Biorn, and ascends the mast-head to look out. He discovers Ham and Heid riding upon a whale, which he exhorts Ellida to attack, whilst he flings two spears at the troll-pair. The spears fly true to their aim; the docile Ellida strikes her finny adversary, and the storm is over. Frithiof ascribes his escape to Ingeborg's prayers. They make the Orkney residence of *Jarl* Angantyr, where Frithiof and Biorn carry their exhausted comrades ashore. The latter finds four a sufficient load, while the hero transports eight, comforting and encouraging all.

The metre of the 11th Canto, "Frithiof's visit to Angantyr," though strange to our ears, in narrative poetry, is rendered so only by the shortness of the lines. The matter is highly characteristic. *Jarl* Angantyr is drinking with his warriors, when the sentry posted outside the window, Halwar, renowned for emptying his horn of mead, and returning it to be replenished in profound silence, sings out that two giants are landing the crew from a tempest-beaten vessel. Angantyr presently recognizes the good ship Ellida, and concludes that one of the giants must be Frithiof, the son of his old friend Thorsten. Hereupon upstarts from table the fierce and sanguinary black-bearded *Berserker* Atle. The potent necromancer, whose wizard-wand has in many illusive

scenes placed the mighty dead before us, has, in "The Pirate," introduced the British public to that combination of transient insanity with super-human strength, which the old Northmen denominated *Berserker-fury*. It were needless, therefore, to offer further explanation, though we may add, that Mohnike, in his notes, represents persons subject to such attacks as having probably formed a distinct class of warriors, small bodies of whom, under a chief of their own order, might be valuable appendages to the state and power of northern sovereigns. Atle, *Jarl* Angantyr's *Berserker*-captain, declaring that he will make trial of Frithiof's prowess, rushes down to the shore, followed by his own band of twelve warriors. As he advances, Atle shouts,

" 'The Fates such vantage offer,
Now lifeless might'st thou lie;
But choice I freely proffer,
Say, wilt thou fight or fly?
In peace if thou surrender,
Brave warrior, to my brand,
My friendship here I tender
And take thee by the hand.'

" 'Though tired by storms on ocean,'
Frithiof in wrath replied,
'I'll make tow'rd's peace no motion,—
First be our weapons tried!
Each sword impetuous clashes,
Dealing incessant blows;
As Angurwadel flashes
Each *runc* like furnace glows.

" 'Death-wounds are thickly hailing,
And fiercely strike the swords,
Both shields together failing,
Uncovered leave their lords.
The champions nothing sunder,
Neither his ground forsakes;
But Angurwadel thunders—
So Atle's weapon breaks.

" 'My sword,' said Frithiof, 'never
A swordless warrior harms!
Let wrestling, ere we sever,
Succeed to feat of arms.'
Like tempest-driven surges,
Each on the other springs;
Each breast impatience urges,
And clanging armour rings.

* * * * *

" But vict'ry Frithiof graces,
And low stout Atle lies;
His knee the conqueror places
Upon his breast, and cries,—
' Had courtesy not parted
My weapon from my hand,
Berserker, savage-hearted,
Thy life-blood dyed my brand!"

" Fierce Atle answers, ' Stranger,
Such hindrance matters not;
Fetch thou thy sword,—no danger
Lest I desert this spot.
Walhalla's mansions either,
Shall, in his turn, receive;
To day I wander thither,
Thou may'st ere morrow's eve.'

" Frithiof, with heart unyielding,
Now every muscle strains,
Sharp Angurwadel wielding—
Atle unmoved remains.
The hero's soul this touches;
Bloodless he drops his brand
As kindlier feeling gushes,
And grasps his foeman's hand."

Frithiof is now ushered by Atle into the presence of the *Jarl*, who receives him with a magnificence unparalleled in the eyes of the young Norwegian, the banquetting hall being actually adorned with a fire-place, and with silver chandeliers, and the banquet itself cheered with Sicilian wines. He is amply feasted, whilst a Scald, from " hilly Morven," sings a Celtic lay, and another afterwards chaunts in Norse the praises of hero Thorsten. The *Jarl* then inquires after his Norwegian acquaintance: whereupon Frithiof faithfully relates his own history, " even to the moment when he bade *him* tell it." The whole company sympathise warmly with different parts of the narrative, according to their own respective characters. Angantyr, smiling, says that he was King Belé's friend, not his vassal, and if Belé's sons want tribute, they may come for it themselves; but that he will gladly show his pleasure in the visit of Thorsten's son by a welcome present. Herewith he gives Frithiof a splendidly embroidered, well-filled purse, of which he allows him to make what use he chuses, inviting him, at the same time, to remain his guest for the winter—an invitation gladly accepted by the visitor.

The twelfth Canto, named " Frithiof's Return," is in iambic couplets, varied by one anapæst in each four-footed line. Frithiof, upon reaching Norway, finds Framnaes in ashes, which

introduces one of the most pleasing touches of pathos in the poem. His favourite horse, as well as the more established friend of man, his dog, greet his return with rapturous joy, when the hitherto unmoved warrior laments that he has no bread to give them. He is immediately joined by Hilding, from whom he learns that Ingeborg is the queen of old Ring. Both calamities are the work of Helgè; but the first, the utter devastation of his property, was an act of wantonness; the second, of necessity, King Ring having conquered him, and demanded his sister's hand as the ransom of his crown and kingdom. Frithiof breaks into invectives against female levity, but is reproved by Hilding, who affectionately praises Ingeborg, describing her conduct and language, such as might have been anticipated from the lofty resignation she had previously expressed. During the marriage ceremony Helgè had snatched Frithiof's bracelet from her arm, and transferred it to Balder's statue; a piece of violence which had overpowered Hilding's forbearance; but Ingeborg had checked his interference, saying, that judgment and punishment were in the hands of heaven. Frithiof indignantly replies to this statement, that he will take some small share in both offices to himself.

The thirteenth Canto, "Balder's Pyre," is more characteristic than pleasing or poetical. Frithiof, in pursuance of his professed intention of taking the law, partly, at least, into his own hands, surprises King Helgè with his priesthood, celebrating Balder's Midsummer Festival. He accosts them somewhat roughly, knocks down the monarch, accidentally we trust, with the tribute purse, scares the priests from interposing, and, observing his bracelet upon Balder's arm, proceeds to resume his property. But the god, who betrays a suspicious taste for stolen goods, so obstinately retains possession of the jewel, that Frithiof, in his pertinacious struggle to recover it, pulls down the image. It falls upon the pyre, the burning of which constituted part of the solemnities of the day, and is consumed. The fire instantly spreads, and notwithstanding Frithiof's most strenuous exertions to check the progress of the mischief he has occasioned, both temple and consecrated grove are burnt down. The metre is trochaic, intermixed with dactyls, and the stanzas are of four lines.

The measure of Canto fourteenth, "Frithiof's Exile," is principally distinguished by the marvellous brevity of the lines, each of which consists of a di-iambus. We here find Frithiof on board ship Ellida; he is banished for sacrilege by Helgè, and regrets, in a sort of arrogant despair, the destruction of the temple, and consequent wrath of Balder, but still bitterly resents the devastation of his property and Ingeborg's marriage. He and Ellida

are assailed by Helgè with ten vessels : but Biorn had, unperceived, scuttled them all; the fleet suddenly sinks, and Helgè, with difficulty, swims ashore. Frithiof now invokes the sea, "the exclusive domain of heroes," to afford him wealth and fame, and sails far away from the north, to which he sings a farewell.

The fifteenth Canto is, perhaps, the most remarkable we have yet noticed. It is entitled, "The *Wiking* Code," and contains the *Laws* drawn up by Frithiof for the government of his adventurous crew: these *laws* being, as we are informed, scrupulously extracted from the old Saga. The lines in which they are enacted are awfully long, containing no less than seven feet apiece; and our readers will probably wonder alike at the taste of the poet, who selected tripping anapæsts for this gravest portion of his work, at that of the musician, who considered it as amongst the fittest for a song, and at that of the translator, who, out of many such songs, chose this as one of the two he has annexed to his volume. We shall give two or three *laws* to illustrate both the jurisprudence and the versification:—

"No tent in the vessel, in house no repose, there never are foes far aloof;

On thy shield, *Wiking*, sleep thou, thy sword ready drawn, and the Heaven's blue vault be thy roof!

* * * * *

Safe on land be the Maid, but she comes not on board, were she Freia she surely deceives;

For the falsest of dimples is that on her cheek, and a net of her ringlets she weaves.

* * * * *

When the merchant approaches, his vessel protect, but a tribute the weak one must pay;

Ye are kings of the waves, he's of profit the slave, and your iron his gold shall outweigh.

The booty with dice upon deck strait divide, nor howe'er fall the portions complain;

The sea-king himself for no portion shall throw, for him shall the honour remain.

* * * * *

Wounds are *Wiking* prizes, the man they adorn, who displays them on forehead or breast;

And he who our fellowship hopes lets them bleed, and remain till the morrow undressed."

These may suffice. The other regulations relate chiefly to the shortness of the weapons to be used by brave men; to the desperate temerity with which storms as well as hostile ships must be en-

countered, the former by carrying crowd of sail; to the duty of sparing the vanquished; and to that of moderation in drinking, because a tumble overboard might prove more disastrous than a fall on land. The rest of the canto tells us, that for three years Frithiof "swam from victory to victory upon the foaming abyss," daily acquiring new wealth and fame, but ever, except when animated by battle, gloomy, and depressed with the idea of Balder's enmity. At length he reaches the Grecian seas, where the sight of those scenes, amongst which he had hoped to be blessed with Ingeborg, so irresistibly recalls his lost love and their common home to his mind, that he immediately sets sail for the still cherished north.

Canto Sixteen, "Frithiof and Biorn," is a dialogue between the friends, who alternately speak an eight-lined stanza in dactyls, occasionally relieved by other feet. Frithiof declares himself weary of his *Wiking* life, and home-sick; a frame of mind which provokes from Biorn a stanza of remonstrance. Frithiof next says that he will take the opportunity of the ship's being ice-bound, to visit King Ring, once more behold the golden tresses of his stolen bride, and listen to the beloved tones of her voice. Biorn, concluding that Ring is to be slain and Ingeborg carried off, cheerfully proffers his assistance; but Frithiof's heart had been effectually softened; he pronounces Ring and Ingeborg guiltless, and ascribes his sorrows to the revenge of the offended gods. With a promise to return in spring, he departs.

Frithiof's arrival at "King Ring's Court" is the title and subject of the Seventeenth Canto, which differs in measure from Canto II, only inasuch as it is wholly without double rhymes, and its lines contain six, instead of five feet—the *Nibelungen Lied* measure, if we remember aright. Frithiof makes his first appearance after a very favorite fashion of our own old poets, which was, we apprehend, originally set by Ulysses, i. e. in the garb of an old beggar. He is jeered *comme de raison* by the courtiers, and, in return, handles one of them so roughly as to attract the monarch's notice. Questioned by Ring, he gives an allegorical or enigmatical account of himself, which so pleases his Majesty that he invites the stranger to sit at his own table, requesting him further to throw off his disguise. He complies, and appears splendid in attire, more splendid in youthful beauty and vigor. The pale cheeks of the queen are suffused with blushes.

It is the *Yule* festival, and a decorated boar is, as usual, served up.

"The aged monarch rises, all silv'ry white his brow,
Upon the boar he places his hand and speaks his vow:
'Proud Frithiof I will conquer, howe'er renowned in war;
So help me Frei, and Odin, and thou, tremendous Thor!'

" With scornful laugh the stranger his stately form high raised,
A hero's lightning anger upon his count'nance blaz'd ;
With sword he struck the table, the hall re-echoed round,
Whilst from their oaken benches the startled warriors bound.

" ' The vow that I shall utter, Sir King, I pray you hear,
' This Frithiof is my kinsman, to me well known and dear,
Frithiof will I deliver from hosts in arms arrayed,
So help me thou my *Norna*, and thou my trusty blade ! ' "

The old king laughs, bidding Ingeborg fill wine to the stranger, whom he invites to spend the winter with him. Ingeborg spills some purple wine on her lily hand as she tremblingly obeys; and Frithiof drains to her health such a horn as two " such men as live in our degenerate days could not have emptied."

" The Ice Party " is the Eighteenth, and shortest, Canto in the poem. It is in ballad-anapaestic couplets, and its whole business is, as the name imports, an excursion upon the ice. The king, notwithstanding Frithiof's warnings of danger, chuses to cross an arm of the frozen sea in his sledge, instead of driving round it. He is accompanied by Ingeborg. The ice breaks, and the royal pair, together with their horse and sledge, are rescued from drowning solely by the exertions of him whose prudent caution had just before been taunted as cowardice by the rash old monarch, and who is now complimented by him, as equal in strength to the far-famed Frithiof.

The Nineteenth Canto, " Frithiof's Temptation," is of considerable length and considerable importance to the story, and to the character as well of the hero as of the times painted, and of the style of Scandinavian poetry imitated. We must needs translate parts of it, but hardly know how to make the attempt, our energies being actually appalled by the aspect of *eight-footed* lines, and of the proportionate quantity of learning which they have enabled *Herr* Gottl. Christ. Friedr. Mohnike to cram into one portentous note. We will nerve ourselves, however, to the task, and having already inflicted enough of long lines upon the modern English eyes of our readers, we shall follow the example afforded us both by Spanish and English editors of old national ballads, and take the liberty of dividing each line into two, thus forming more Christian-like stanzas. The winter has passed away, spring is come, and King, Queen, and Frithiof ride a hunting, attended by the whole court. The animation of the chase and the beauty of Ingeborg are spiritedly given, and the poet warns Frithiof against the danger of gazing upon her charms. The lover seems fully aware of the perils which beset him, for when the infirm old husband is unable to keep up with his youthful consort, it is to the former that he attaches himself, riding gloomily by his side, whilst thus inwardly lamenting.

Tegner's *Legend of Frithiof*.

"Why did I forsake the ocean,
 To mine own misfortune blind!
 Sorrow dwells not on the billows,
 Puffed away by every wind.
 Is the *Wiking* warrior moody?
 Danger summons to her dance,
 Quickly flit his darkling fancies
 As the clashing weapons glance.

"Here on land 'tis different. Ever
 Melancholy, passionate, deep,
 O'er my temples flaps her pinions;
 Dreamily around I creep.
 Balder's grove is unforgotten,
 Unforgotten too the vow
 Ing'borg plighted. She ne'er broke it!
 Thou, stern Balder, brok'st it, thou!"

The old king interrupts his meditations by declaring himself tired, and expressing his wish for a nap. Frithiof urgently advises him to return home, whither he offers to conduct him, but Ring insists upon sleeping under the greenwood tree. Frithiof accordingly spreads his own mantle for him to lie upon, and sitting down beside him, takes his rival's grey head upon his knees.

"Whilst he slumbers, hark! what warbles
 Coal-black bird from branches low?
 'Hasten Frithiof, slay the Grey-beard,
 End your quarrel with a blow.
 Take the queen, thy consort is she,
 Since her kiss your contract sealed;—
 Human eye beholds not; coffins
 Never mystery revealed."

"Frithiof listens;—hark! what warbles
 Snow-white bird from branches low?
 'If no human eye behold thee,
 Odin's eye beholds the blow.
 Villain! wouldst thou slumber murder?
 Undefined Grey-beard lies;
 Whate'er trophies thou may'st gather,
 Hero's fame is not thy prize!"

"Warbled thus the feathered rivals;
 Angurwadel Frithiof drew,
 And away in horror flung it,
 Far amidst the wood it flew.
 Down plunged coal-black bird to Nastrand;*
 On etherial pinion rose,
 Breathing harp-like sounds, the victor
 Tow'rd the sun in heav'n that glows."

* Nastrand is the Scandinavian hell.

The king suddenly awaking asks his companion what has become of his sword, of the lightning's brother.

" ' Little matters it,' quoth Frithiof,
 ' In the Northland swords abound.
 Sharp, oh Monarch, is the sword's tongue,
 Speaks no word of peaceful sound.
 Dwell in steel malicious spirits,
 In th' abyss of Nifheim* bred;
 Holy slumber they respect not,
 Tempts their spite the hoary head.' "

King Ring now says that he has not been asleep, but trying Frithiof, whom he has known from the first; that he is satisfied with his virtue, and will, therefore, ere long bequeath him his queen and crown. Meanwhile he invites him to continue to reside with him as his adopted son. But Frithiof prudently refuses, saying that he has already staid too long, as the sight of Ingeborg has rekindled a half-smothered fire.

In the Twentieth Canto, " King Ring's Death," Frithiof, in execution of his virtuous resolution, comes to take an eternal leave of the king and queen, for man, he says, is a slave who must obey his Norna, and he shall behold the smoke rising in the North no more. He requests Ingeborg to receive back the bracelet as his last pledge; but Ring prevents his departure by the information that he is himself at the point of death. The old king delivers over to his young friend his kingdom, queen and son; cuts deep *runes* for *Odin* in his breast and arms; solemnly drinks his farewell to life and to the glorious North, and, as he had foretold, presently expires. This rune-cutting was a device to lessen the infamy of dying peaceably in bed, an end branded with the vituperative appellation of a " straw-death," by enabling the unlucky victims of old age or malady to appear somewhat blood-stained at the gates of Walhalla. The stanzas in this singular canto are of six lines, some of which contain about a dactyl and three-quarters, and the others three dactyls and a half.

" Ring's *Drapa*," (or *Dirge*) the Twenty-first Canto, is assuredly the most peculiar in the poem, though to the general reader not the most interesting. The modern scald has here adopted the Icelandic form of poetry, substituting alliteration for rhyme. His lines, moreover, consist only of a dactyl and a trochee, whilst in every short distich three words at least begin with the same letter. We shall endeavour to translate one stanza as a specimen. The whole matter of the canto is the king's entrance into Walhalla, and his reception by the different gods. Braga, the God of Poetry,

* A sort of Scandinavian chaos.

welcomes him with a panegyrical song, which, after eulogizing his martial prowess, wisdom, justice, liberality and pacific disposition, thus concludes:

“ Welcome, thou wary
Heir of Walhalla,
Far through the North shall
Flourish thy fame.
God Braga greets thee,
Gracious with wine-cup,
Nornir's peace-nuncio
New from the North.”

“ The Election” is the title and subject-matter of the highly poetical and interesting Twenty-second Canto, written in iambic metre, and stanzas of four lines, two octosyllabic, and two half that length. The martial temper and habits of the *Bondès*, who appear to constitute the whole of the popular elective assembly, are touched with a spirit that makes us regret having but little room for further extracts. The *Ting* is summoned to assemble, and the *Bondès* are described as taking down their arms from the walls of their houses preparatory to attending it.

“ Last down he takes his ample shield,
A sun of blood.
Hail, iron lord of thine own field,
Thou yeoman good!

“ With thee thy country's honors all
In freedom sprung.
In battle thou'rt that country's wall,
In peace her tongue.”

These armed electors begin by declaring the infant son of Ring too young to administer justice or lead armies. But Frithiof, lifting up the royal boy upon his shield, claims the crown for the child, as his right, and promises to govern for him during his minority.

“ The urchin sat, like king on throne,
On shield high raised;
Like eaglet that from craggy stone
On the sun gazed.

“ But manly councils his young blood
O'er-tedious found;
With sudden spring on earth he stood;
A kinglike bound!

“ Loud shouted then the assembled *Ting*,
‘ Northmen with joy
Elect thee. Be thou like old Ring,
Thou shield-borne boy!’ ”

The child being thus chosen king, his protector is invited by the title of *Jarl* to marry Ingeborg, and assume the regency. Frithiof gloomily answers, that the business of the day is to elect a king, not to make marriages; that he must visit Balder's sanctuary, where the Nornir await him; and that the offended deity who robbed him of his heart's bride can alone restore her.

The Twenty-third Canto, "Frithiof at his Father's Barrow," is in the *ottava rima* of Italy. Frithiof, after visiting and apostrophizing with equal feeling and poetry the various scenes of childish sport and of youthful passion, repairs to his father's grave, and there implores the paternal spirit to instruct him how to propitiate the pious blue-eyed god, whose wrath he can no longer endure. He obtains no answer, but during the night which he there passes, beholds, in a sort of vision, a new and more magnificent temple upon the site of that which he had unfortunately destroyed. He understands the hint, and joyfully executes this very natural compensation for his involuntary sacrilege.

For the Twenty-fourth and last Canto, "The Atonement," the poetical descendant of the Scandinavian Scalds has selected the iambic trimeter. "Thus," observes his German translator, "most worthily closing his beautiful whole, with the majestic tragical *Senarius* of classical antiquity." This metre, like that of the third canto, we disclaim, as unsuited to the genius of our mother-tongue; and as we propose giving the conclusion of the poem, have hesitated what to substitute for the object of such profound admiration. But our doubts ceased, when we reflected that our assent to, or dissent from, Mohnike's opinion of a dramatic metre being the best adapted loftily to close a narrative poem, was immaterial; and that our business was to give a just idea of our original, faults as well as beauties, for which purpose we must adhere to it as strictly as the different characters of the languages will allow. We resolved, therefore, to adopt our ordinary blank verse, as most analagous to the *Senarius*; and if we cannot, like Esaias Tegner, effect so marked a distinction between the measure of this canto and of the eighth, as the addition of a foot, to introduce what variety we might, by avoiding the ease and the irregularity in the final foot, which we deem essentially dramatic, and endeavouring to assume a little more stateliness of diction, according to epic practice. Whether the end may not still appear tame, after so much poetry, if not of a higher, yet of a more musical strain, after such lyrical richness of rhyme and metre, is no concern of ours, except as it touches the reputation of a poet in whom we feel sincerely interested.

Our author first describes the splendour of Frithiof's new-built temple, then its solemn consecration, and the hymn sung upon the occasion by twelve beautiful virgins in honour of Balder, cele-

brating the virtues of this most amiable and most beloved of Asa's Gods, and relating how, to the unspeakable grief of the universe, he was slain, through the artifices of Loke, by the dart of his blind brother Hoeder, the god of darkness. The human, it will be observed, is yet more strangely blended with the divine in Scandinavian than in classical mythology. This hymn powerfully affects Frithiof. Early days rise vividly upon his soul, his adventurous *Wiking*-life fades like a bloody dream from his memory, and earthly hatred and revenge melt in his bosom. Balder's high priest, a venerable old man, now addresses a sermon to Frithiof, the length of which formed, we suspect, part of the sacrilegious criminal's punishment. Our unoffending readers shall have its pith with all practicable brevity. In the first ninety lines, the holy man dilates upon the inadequacy of wisdom and strength to effect aught of importance if not united to piety, illustrating this position from the history of the gods. In the next fifty, he proves, in the same way, that death is the only atonement. We were really alarmed for our friend Frithiof; but luckily his monitor now softens, and says,

" One sacrifice I know—to the high gods
 Dearer than victims' smoke—the sacrifice
 Of the fierce hatred of thy human heart,
 Of vengeful thoughts. Canst thou not blunt their swords,
 Youth, canst thou not forgive, what would'st thou here?
 Or wherefore build this sacred edifice?
 Wrought stones can ne'er propitiate Balder. Here,
 On earth, ev'n as in heav'n, atonement dwells
 Only where peace abides. When with thy foe,
 When with thyself thou'rt reconciled, the god
 Whose tresses are of sun-beams is atoned!"

Then follow some obscure praises of Christianity, to English taste rather inappropriately placed in the mouth of the priest of Balder, but which these modern revivers of heathen legendary lore seem to think indispensable, to prove that they are not themselves Pagans. How far professions of faith, thus brought in by the head and shoulders, may be requisite in Sweden, we cannot take upon ourselves to decide. In Germany we are aware that such precautions are not altogether as supererogatory as they might seem to those who know not what German enthusiasm is. The laborious and acute Professor Dahlmann tells us, in his *Historical Investigations*, that some of the more ardent devotees of Teutonicism have ascribed the modern degeneracy of the north of Europe to its unfortunate conversion to Christianity! But to return to our Asa-Sermon. The priest now explicitly commands Frithiof to abjure his hatred for the sons of Belé, and offer them friendship; which, he adds, Frithiof may the more easily do, as

Helge is dead, having, in his bigot zeal, pulled a monstrous idol, worshipped by the Finns, down upon his own head.

" Now Halldan o'er the brazen threshold strode,
And with uncertain glance stood silently,
Far from the dreaded one. Then from his loins
The armor-hater* Frithiof took, reclined
His golden shield against the altar's foot,
And to his enemy unarmed advanced.
' In strife like this,' with kindly voice he said,
' He triumphs, who in peace his hand first gives.'
King Halldan colored, off his gauntlet drew,
And each in friendly hand, dissevered long,
Firmly struck his, pledge of fidelity
Immovable as rock. The grey-haired priest
Then excommunication's curse, so long
Weighing upon the outlawed sacrilege,
Took off. Whilst yet he spoke, fair Ingeborg,
In ermine clad and bridal ornaments,
Entered the temple, followed, as by stars
The moon in heav'n, by a fair virgin train;
With eyes tearfully beautiful, she sank
Upon her brother's heart. He, deeply moved,
His cherished sister on the faithful breast
Of Frithiof placed. Over the altar stone
Of Balder, now propitiated, her hand
Fair Ingeborg presented joyfully
To him, her childhood's friend, her heart's beloved."†

* His sword. Much Scandinavian poetry consists in the substitution of such descriptive names for ordinary substantives.

† Our space preventing us from giving more than one specimen from the original Swedish, we select the passage above translated:—

" Nu steg Halldan in
utöfver koppartröskeln, och med oviss blick
han stod på afstånd från den fruktade, och teg.
Då knäppte Frithiof brynjohataren från länd,
mot altaret han stödde sköldens gyllne rund
och trädde obeväpnad till sin ovän fram.
' I denna strid, så talte han med vänlig röst,
är ädlast den, som bjuder först sin hand till frid.'
Då rodnade kung Halldan, drog stålhandsken af,
och länge skilda händer slogo nu ihop,
ett kraftigt handslag, trofast såsom själlens grund.
Förbannelsen upplöste gubben då, som låg
utöfver Varg i Veum, öfver biltog man.
Och som den löstes, insteg plötsligt Ingeborg
brudsmyckad, hermlinsmantlad, utaf tårnor följd,
som månen följs af stjernorna på himlens hvalf.
Med tårar i de sköna ögonen hon föll
intill sin broders hjerta, men han lade rörd
den kära systern intill Frithiofs trogna bröst.
Och öfver Gudens altar räckte hon sin hand
åt barndomsvännen, åt sitt hjertas älskade."—p. 167.

We have left ourselves no space for additional remarks upon this poem, nor are they wanted; our opinion of it is already known to our readers, and we have only to add, that we look impatiently for the new work upon which we understand the Bishop of Wexio is at present employed. Of Mohnike's translation, it is enough to state that we have seldom seen one so faithful. To say that it does not equal the original in spirit or in sweetness, is only to say that it is a translation. The shackles of rhyme and of metre press far more heavily on him who must follow, than on him who leads freely as genius prompts.

ART. XI.—*La Dernière Heure des Turcs, ou Rétablissement de l'Equilibre en Europe. Traduit de l'Allemand du Baron de B. ci-devant Général-Major au service de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie. Par M. L. de Sévelinges. 8vo. Paris. 1828.*

THE great contest now raging in the east of Europe, and the consequences which it may produce, form a subject too fearfully important to be regarded with any other than the deepest anxiety by every European state, and by none more than England. It is a subject on which much has been said and written, both on the continent and in our own country, and yet of that much, little—to us at least—has proved satisfactory. Totally unacquainted with the character and means of the two contending nations, with the condition of the various fortresses, and with the nature of the country invaded, most of the writers in question have not merely indulged in bold, unfounded conjectures, but have presumed on the course and termination of events with as much confidence as if they had caught the prophet's mantle, or outstripped the march of time. Others, again, whose means of information were respectable, and from whom, in consequence, something better might have been expected, have suffered their judgment to be misled by *feeling*, rather than guided by just views or sound policy.

In the present conflicting state of public opinion, and in the general absence of anything like settled or even definite notions as to the issue of the war, and the policy that ought to be pursued by powers which, though at present neutral, may not, and probably cannot, long remain so, speculation will be busily at work, and the expediency of certain measures discussed, often without much regard either to the principles of international law, or even those of a well-understood national interest. Yet from the collision of so many opinions something good may be elicited; what is untenable must be compelled to give way; the figures to

which undue prominence has been assigned, must be thrown back into the shade, and those brought forward, which, though hitherto scarcely observed, must be acknowledged to possess traits strong enough to fix the attention. Hence may result a greater uniformity of public opinion than might have been expected from the heterogeneous elements of which it is composed.

From some personal acquaintance with European Turkey, with the character of the Moslems, and their prevailing feeling as to the present war, we are induced to cast our mite of information into the political treasury. In so doing we are actuated by the wish, rather than the hope, of promoting—in some degree, however humble—the interests of justice and truth. We purpose to consider the subject under three distinct heads: the probable issue of the war—the consequences which may result from it—and the policy which the other European states, especially France and England, would be warranted in adopting.

I. On contemplating the stupendous military establishment of Russia, and her vast preparations for the present campaign, a general, and, to a certain degree, a just impression has arisen, that Turkey can offer no long, or at least no effectual opposition to the invading army. But as no impression, however general, is of much weight when unsupported by certain data, we will advert to the comparative means of aggression and of defence possessed by the hostile powers.

The military strength of Russia has been vaguely estimated, sometimes at a million, at other times 800,000 men. Both are exaggerations, if the estimate be restricted to the regular *permanent* force of the empire. Such an exaggeration the Russians themselves, for obvious reasons, are willing enough to encourage; but we are informed by a gentleman who has served many years in the armies of the Autocrat, and on whose authority we can rely, that about 600,000 is the full amount. The materials indeed for a much larger force exist among the peasantry, and in the system of military colonization* instituted by the ambitious policy of the Tsars. The serfs of the empire, who constitute its chief population, are liable to conscription at any moment; and those immediately dependant on the imperial family (amounting to some millions) are formed into military communities, are constantly exercised, and ready for the field. Nor are the *free* inhabitants less anxious to be inscribed on the military roll; although their active services may never be required, their nominal military

* The transferring of multitudes of the poor peasantry from their native homes to remote frontiers, or to districts but partially inhabited, is often conducted with so much cruelty, that many of them fall a sacrifice to the rigour of the journey, and the privations which await them after its termination.

character ensures them peculiar privileges. Hence elements, too fearful to be contemplated without alarm, slumber throughout all European Russia. It is improbable, however, that these elements will for some time be roused into action on any occasion below that of necessity; the nation is as much agricultural—and it wishes to be as commercial—as it is military; and a long period must elapse before the cultivation of the soil will permit the abstraction of very numerous hands. Even as it is, a sufficient number do not remain for the purpose.

Of these 606,000, so many are necessary for the defence of a widely extended line of frontier, that certainly not two-thirds are at one time available for foreign service. They may, indeed, be reinforced from the military colonies spread throughout the empire, but for the reason just assigned, this would not be done to any great extent, in any case short of absolute necessity, such as that of the empire itself being invaded; and such conscripts could not be compared with the regular veteran troops. At present, between 200,000 and 300,000 are said to be on the theatre of war,—a force, after all, truly formidable. What has Turkey to oppose to it?

It has for some time been the *fashion* (we can use no other term) to undervalue the military strength of the Ottomans; but such depreciatory statements generally issue from the partizans of Greece—and of Russia, as the supposed most active champions of Greek independence—and are, therefore, to be received with caution; some of them are manifestly quite absurd. Before the breaking out of the present contest, it was confidently asserted, that, after leaving sufficient garrisons in Syria, Asia Minor, and the capital, the Sultan would not have a disposable force of 30,000 men to oppose to the Russians. The fact, however, is, that nearly four times that number now occupy the fortresses north of the Balkan mountains; and from personal observation we know that at Adrianople and in the capital about 200,000 are now training after the European discipline. Besides, numbers are now on their way from Syria and Asia Minor to Constantinople. On the whole, then, we are justified, we think, in estimating the military force of Turkey, at 350,000—a force too which unquestionably admits of increase. Should the Russians succeed in penetrating to the capital, they will there have to oppose a countless multitude, headed by the sultan in person, and under the sacred standard of Mahomet.*

* The population of European Turkey exceeds ten millions, of whom four profess the Mohammedan faith. That of Asiatic Turkey is considerably more, of whom nine-tenths are of that faith. The whole population of the empire is thought by the Turkish ministers to exceed thirty millions. This may be true if we include Egypt.

But while the two belligerent parties may be considered so nearly balanced in numerical strength, the superiority in point of discipline, and of the necessary *matériel* of an army possessed by the Russians, must yield them innumerable advantages; while, on the other hand, the Ottomans are not only as brave as any people on earth, but are animated by all the motives which usually give the victory to the invaded—by patriotism—by religious fervour—by an invincible belief in predestination—by the promised paradise, the delicious streams, the beautiful houris, that are the Moslem's reward who dies in defence of his faith. Yet, with all this enthusiasm of spirit—this more than mortal ardour for the battle field, they are—as contrasted with the cold, passive, and disciplined Russian soldiers—but raw levies, mere school-boy learners of the Christian's mode of fighting.

It is assuredly a great misfortune to Mahmud, that circumstances have compelled him to draw the sword against the most formidable of his enemies, before he has had time sufficient to mature his magnificent plans. Had he been allowed (and if he had, well Russia knew the danger to her long-cherished views) to remain at peace a few years longer—to discipline his troops, improve his gunnery, augment the *heavy* train of his artillery, and construct or purchase another fleet, in lieu of the one so “un-*towardly*” lost at Navarino; not all the power of Russia would have been able to make any considerable impression on the right of the Danube, much less to shake the stability of his throne.

But what are the obstacles presented to an invading army by the natural and artificial defences of the country?

Of these, the chief is, doubtless, the famous range of mountains which divide Bulgaria from Rumelia—the third line, (as the Danube was the second, and the principalities the first,) which has hitherto proved an impassable barrier to the Russian legions. The breadth of the Balkan varies from thirty to ninety miles, intersected with defiles, but through which there are only three passes at all calculated for the passage of an army, and of these not one that does not present the greatest difficulties to the transit of artillery and commissariat supplies.* Of these, the only one

* There is indeed a fourth road, which may be passed by carriages, but it lies considerably to the west,—far beyond the intended line of march. It runs from Orsova and Belgrade, through Nissa, Sophia, Tatar-Bazarjik, and Philippopolis, and thence follows the course of the Maritza to Adrianople.

The path through Shumla to Adrianople is the central one. The one to the right from Bachtuk, or Sistova, passes through Ternova, Kastrova, Kezanlik, Esky-Sagra, Jezzaz-Mustapha to the Maritza and Adrianople. The other on the left sets out from Hajji-Ogluo-Bazarjik, and passes through Kazlijy, Pravady, Aidos, Omur-Fakih, and Kirk-Kilissia, to the same point of destination.

we have traversed—is that which leads from Rudschuck, or Silistria, through Razgrad, Shumla (or Esky-Juma), Carnabat, and Papasly to Adrianople. Though this is considered the most practicable route, the distance from Shumla to Carnabat (about seventy-five miles) is one series of obstacles, which, though not in themselves insuperable, a handful of men may make of incalculable annoyance to an invading enemy. And we may also add, that from Carnabat to Adrianople (about seventy miles) the country presents, though divested of its grander features, many points of defence. Bad as are the roads through these long mountain defiles, they are not impracticable to the transit of light artillery, since the Porte has recently transmitted through them 200 additional pieces of ordnance for the defence of Shumla and Silistria. But these were transported by the government of the country in time of peace; how different *may* it be for the invaders, should their every step be disputed; when the lengthened lines of cannon, of munition, and of provender—for the cattle, as well as men, must have their food carried along with them—will be checked at every rocky turn, every precipice, every narrow pass, by the fierce defenders of the Moslem throne! In such a struggle, where *natural* obstacles give their aid, neither numbers nor discipline gain the day—for neither numbers nor discipline can be brought into action. Still even these cannon that the Porte has sent by land are only light artillery, the heavy ordnance required for the fortresses north of the Balkan being always transmitted by sea to Varna, and from thence to their destination. So that Russia must transport by sea, and land in Rumelia her heavy artillery, or the Tsar will only have muskets and six-pounders with which to batter the Seraglio.

A Turkish fortress is not a Flemish one—Shumla is not a Bergen-op-Zoom—but the natural defences of rocky positions, though only surmounted with thick brick walls, flanked with bastions, at which Vauban and Cohorn would have sneered with the uttermost disdain, have often been, to the Turks, barriers of strength, over which the utmost courage and gigantic numbers of the enemy could not triumph. In nothing is this most remarkable of warlike nations, the Turks, more distinguished than by the indomitable energy, skill, and success, with which they defend their rude, unscientific fortresses and fortified camps. On the Danube, Brailow, after vast slaughter of the besiegers, surrendered—the garrison, with all the honours of war, being allowed to march to Silistria, a still more important fortress, which occupies the *attention* of a large division of the Russian army; while another division cries aloud for succours, apprehensive of

some rear movement of the Pasha who commands in Widdin. All this, and more, is *behind* the Autocrat, and *before* him the Balkan, and Shumla, and Varna.

Shumla is the land, Varna the sea—key of Rumelia. When the Russians, after six or seven years occupation of Bulgaria, attacked Shumla, in 1810, the Pasha, after they had retired in dismay, and precipitately retreated beyond the Danube, wrote to the Sublime Porte, that he had cut off as many Russian heads as would form a bridge to the moon—an oriental hyperbole, but significant enough of the loss sustained by the assailants before this rude but admirably situated fortress. Varna, though less indebted to natural position, is artificially stronger, and can only fall by a combined powerful and ably conducted attack by sea as well as by land. While this third line presents obstacles so considerable, hitherto indeed invincible, the invaders have only passed their army over the second line, the Danube, without having made themselves masters of some of its most important fortresses, which are said to be well supplied and numerous garrisoned. In the event of retreat, these must present alarming obstacles to a discomfited army, while their capture at an earlier period cannot be effected without great loss to the invaders.

Should the Russians gain possession of the strong places north of the Balkan, they will probably penetrate in three divisions, of unequal force and character, by the passes we have mentioned, into Rumelia. This movement from Varna, Shumla, and Terno-va, on Adrianople, could not, from the character of the country, and the overwhelming incumbrance of ordnance and stores, be accomplished in less than a fortnight. But when to these natural difficulties come to be superadded the resistance of numerous warlike and determined foes, a still longer period of arduous struggle may be before them; yet, like the British amidst the Pyrenees, they may carry every well-contested height, and eventually rush down into Rumelia.

From these considerations, we think that unless the Tsar speedily obtain possession of the northern keys of the Balkan, he will not attempt to penetrate the mountains this campaign; since he would, with an exhausted inferior army, find himself in front of a strongly intrenched and numerous defended camp at Adrianople, commanded by the Vizier, perhaps by the Sultan in person. Prudence would seem to dictate that the Emperor should content himself with the possession of the keys during the winter: he would thus be enabled to augment his forces and supplies, and prepare for a new campaign, for which the mountains, Adrianople and Constantinople, with many intermediate difficulties, would furnish him with ample employment. But in this view every

thing depends on the *time* when the Emperor shall be master of Shumla and Varna. His object would clearly be, if practicable, to winter on the south rather than the north of the Balkan. We certainly do not think his present force in Bulgaria, great as it unquestionably is, at all superior to the magnitude of the undertaking—that of at once entering Rumelia. Of this Nicholas seems to have become sensible; hence his command of vast reinforcements from the bosom of his empire, part of which have, it is said, already crossed the Danube. Of his ultimate success, unless signally defeated in Bulgaria, should he persist in bringing his immense means to bear on this contest, no reasonable doubt can be entertained. But even when he shall have passed the Balkan, and gained a decisive victory at Adrianople, that victory will not decide the fate of the Ottoman; many and desperate struggles will be made before Constantinople acknowledges his sway. Indeed, if we do not greatly mistake the character and influence of the present Sultan, before such an event happens, that imperial city will become a heap of smoking ruins, and serve as a tomb for the descendants of Othman.

Mahmud is beyond contradiction one of the most extraordinary men that ever swayed the Turkish sceptre. We fully concur in the following just eulogium passed on him by Count Andreossy, the *ci-devant* French Ambassador to the Porte in 1813 and 1814.* After alluding to the distracted condition of the empire, which was in a state of revolt during the reign of Selim III. he proceeds:—

“But resolved to recover his rights, the present Grand Seigneur, Mahmud II. (born in 1785, elected in 1808,) a prince of the greatest character, has in the space of two years, and by vigorous acts, entirely suppressed the Janizaries, and detached from them the whole body of the Ulemas, which in the revolutions of the Seraglio always acted with them. By extirpating the Wehabites, he has re-established the pilgrimage to Mecca, and reinstated himself in the exercise of the Caliphate. He has retaken Widdin, before which the famous Capitan Pasha, Hussein, had failed; re-conquered Servia, which five years of commotions had rendered independent of his sway; and subdued, or put to death, all the rebellious pachas, agas, and ayans, who had the audacity to dispute his authority. He has done away with *hereditary* pashalics; both pachas and agas are now removeable; many of them *were* removed, and their places supplied by his own creatures in the Seraglio. The corruption of the ministers of Selim III. having occasioned the deposition, and, in the sequel, the destruction of that prince, Mahmud has chosen a vizier without talents, and of a very feeble understanding. He watches over his Divan with extreme vigilance, and leaves it only the shadow of power: he himself directs and regulates every thing; in a word, he alone consti-

* In his work just published, entitled *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace, pendant les années 1812, 1813, et 1814, et pendant l'année 1826, par M. le Comte Andreossy, &c.*

tutes the government. Better and sooner informed than his ministers, of whatever happens, by means of his secret and ever-active spies, his measures are often taken before the reports of the vizier have time to reach him. Active, laborious, impenetrable in his designs, a zealous observer of his religion, faithful to his promises, sober, and an encourager of morality, Sultan Mahmud may be justly regarded as a phenomenon for Turkey.

"Such was the opinion," continues Andreossi, "we expressed in 1818, respecting this sovereign. But since that time, Sultan Mahmud, by suppressing the Janizaries, has not only annihilated that endless source of troubles and disorders; destroyed the obstacle which was ever opposed to improvements, however slight, and broken in pieces an instrument often useful to the foreign enemy alone: he has even changed one of the fundamental constitutions of the Othmanic empire;—a thing not sufficiently understood by Europeans. Whatever be the result of such a step, as bold in the conception, as it was difficult and even dangerous in the execution, it cannot but impart lustre to a reign in which Mahmud has exhibited all the qualities of a ruler jealous of his power, with the talents and character necessary to make that power respected."—*Disc. Préf.* pp. xxiv—xxviii.

To this unexceptionable testimony of Mahmud's ability and laborious attention to the duties of his station, we may add, that he is the first sultan, for many ages, who openly takes his seat among his ministers in the Divan: he is no longer concealed from them by a screen, but converses familiarly with all. And in his weekly processions to the great mosque, innumerable are the memorials which we have seen presented to him by Greeks as well as Turks, both of whom appeared confident that their complaints would be heard, and their grievances redressed, if possible. All these memorials are read to him, and his decisions are immediately communicated to the memorialists.

Mahmud has been represented as a sanguinary monster; yet the truth is, that he has exhibited more instances of clemency and generosity than any monarch we could name. Besides, it is a mistake to suppose that over any but his immediate servants, he governs in an arbitrary manner. The meanest Turk has rights which are sanctioned by law and established usage, and of which the sultan has no power to deprive him; the very attempt to do so would raise up a storm of opposition which not even the "vicar of the Prophet of God" could allay. But over all who fill any office in the state—all who receive wages at his hands, his sway is boundless: from his decision, whether of corporal punishment, of partial confiscation, or of life or death, there lies no appeal. Nor is this any other than a matter of satisfaction to the Turks generally, with whom the agents of government are no favourites.

The personal character of the present sultan must have great

influence on the events of the war. He is inflexible in his purposes; careless alike of the threats and promises of the Christian powers, he obstinately perseveres in his designs. Conscious that his empire is at this moment stronger than it has been for a century past, and that from the sanctity of his vicarial dignity (he is accounted the lawful successor of the Prophet by a great portion of the Mohammedan world, many of whose princes, in other respects independent, receive investiture at his hands) he can at any time, by unfurling the sacred standard, rouse to dreadful energy all "true believers," he appears undismayed at the approach of the crisis, and his people evidently share in his confidence, and repose the fullest reliance on the wisdom of his superintending government.

We dismiss this part of the subject with expressing our decided conviction, that although Russia *may*, and probably *will* triumph, if all her immense resources are brought forward, and if her career be unchecked by foreign interposition, that triumph will neither be speedy nor easy. Rivers of Muscovite blood must flow, and the strength of the empire be greatly diminished before the imperial eagles spread their sanguinary wings over the ruins of Constantinople.

II. The policy of Russia, since the accession of Catherine II., has evidently been to extend as far as possible the bounds of the empire to the south and west. No treaties, however solemn—no considerations of justice, however powerful, have been able to prevent her from seizing every opportunity of increasing her dominions. To her all-grasping ambition, not merely enemies, but neutrals, allies and friends have been alternately the victims. The partition of Poland—a deed which will be stamped with the execrations of all posterity—originated with her. During the aggressions of Buonaparte, Alexander, whether as an enemy or an ally of France, had always the address to obtain a share of the spoils of his less powerful neighbours; and the recent events, both in Persia and Turkey, will not tend to exculpate the reigning emperor from the ruling vice of his predecessors. *Conquest* on the highest scale, and without regard to the principles which regulate more honourable, but probably more feeble states, is evidently the aim of Russia—an aim which, however, she may sometimes appear to diverge from, she never ceases to pursue, with a perseverance that scorns to relax, and a craft that would have done honour to the feeblest petty sovereign of Italy.

In the present case Nicholas disclaims all design of territorial aggrandizement; yet in the same manifesto he incautiously allows the characteristic policy of the Tsars to appear. From what we can gather of his demands, he appears to insist—

On the independence of Greece, and of the two principalities on the left bank of the Danube.

A free passage of the Bosphorus for the vessels of *all nations*.

A new demarcation of boundaries on his Caucasian frontier.

An *adequate indemnity* for the expenses of the war.

To each of these points we will briefly advert.

1. The Greek revolution unquestionably owes its origin to the intrigues and influence of Russia. With a view to distract the councils of the Divan, and to weaken the Ottoman power, Alexander had his emissaries at work throughout Greece and the two principalities, to initiate the people into a sort of political freemasonry, and thereby render them, at a moment's notice, ready to rise against the sultan's authority. The present emperor, with equal craft and success, has trodden in the steps of his predecessor. His agents have been despatched, not only to keep alive the flame of opposition, but, it is strongly credited, to buy over to his interest the leading actors in that political drama—men infamous for their venality and corruption; and by means of his money and his promises—of future reward and powerful protection—he has doubtless gained a considerable number of partizans;—we may ask, for what purpose? Is the autocrat of Russia become so suddenly attached to liberty, such a zealous champion for popular rights, as to lavish money which he can ill spare, and make such strenuous exertions, merely from an anxiety to defend *free institutions*? or is all this but in accordance with the principles of a policy systematically artful and grasping?

Let it not be supposed by these observations, that we are enemies to the establishment of Grecian independence. Let Greece be really emancipated—let her be dependent neither on the Russian nor the Turk—and the wishes of all good men will be accomplished. But this is a “consummation” which, however “devoutly to be wished,” is not so easy to be effected. The autocrat has already placed one of his own creatures at the head of the republic, but such is her weakness to resist external aggression, and what is worse, such are her internal disorders, that she must have powerful protectors, in other words, *masters*. By whom is that protectorship to be exercised? If by the three powers conjointly, who have recently so much interested themselves in her cause, what guarantee have two of them that Russian influence will not preponderate in her councils? Not only are many of the leading Greeks averse to a republican form of government, from the continued and almost fatal disorders which it is the nature of such a government to foster, but they do not even attempt to disguise their wish that the country should be for ever incorporated with the already

overgrown power of the north. From similarity of religion, and other causes, the bulk of the nation entertains the same wish.

If Greece is to be erected into an independent state, we repeat, let it be so in reality; but that independence will be no more than a mockery, if Russia be permitted to have any share in protecting her. That high trust must rest in two of the most powerful and most honourable Christian states—England and France. But would the autocrat submit to be excluded from the advantages that must necessarily accrue from such protection?

As to the two principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia, they are at present little better than Russian provinces. To talk of their independence is idle: their geographical position, which cuts them off from Turkey and Greece, renders their complete subjection to their northern neighbour inevitable. That they will soon form an integral part of that empire is among the least doubtful of human things; nor can all the power of combined Europe prevent such a result—a result for which the inhabitants themselves have long prayed, and to oppose which would be sheer folly.

2. The free passage of the Bosphorus is a claim which Russia has brought forward on former occasions; but this is the first time that it has been required for the vessels of *all nations*. Fearful lest a too sudden disclosure of her views would alarm all Europe, and excite a determined opposition to them, she has the cunning to conceal them for a season, and the art to stand forth as the champion of universal unshackled commerce! But may not much of what we have unwillingly foreboded concerning Greece apply also to the subject before us? Is it at all improbable, that if the defence of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were exercised by the three powers conjunctly, (and we suppose that to preserve the freedom of the passage some such arrangement will be proposed,) Russia, from her proximity and her superior naval resources in that quarter, would *ultimately*—probably on the breaking out of the first war with France and England—gain possession of every fort from the *Ægean* to the *Euxine*? that Constantinople itself would, in consequence, fall an easy prey?

It has also been proposed to give the guardianship of the two canals to some subordinate naval power; but then that power should also be uncontroled by Russia. Where is such a one to be found? The proximity of Denmark and Sweden subjects both in some degree to the influence of their too formidable neighbour; and to the Netherlands applies an objection too obvious to require naming. In fact, if we look throughout Europe, not one naval

power could probably be found to which the three governments most interested would agree in committing so important a trust. Nor is there a less founded objection to another precious expedient just proposed in France—that *after the Turks are driven from Europe*, the Greek empire shall be revived, and the defence of the Straits committed to the successor of Paleologus. Without adverting at present to the remarkable assumption on which that expedient rests, who does not perceive that the Greek monarch would be no more than a vassal of the Tsar, by whose sufferance alone he would be permitted, *for a time*, to wield his feeble sceptre? that in every case a *recommendation* from the latter would to the former have all the weight of a positive command? Of all the measures yet proposed this is by far the most senseless. A more obvious one—and we wonder it has not struck some of our political speculators—would be, to destroy at once all the forts and batteries on the two Straits, not even excepting those of Constantinople itself, and thereby to render those Straits *free* in the widest sense of the word. The injury to the Sublime Porte of leaving her capital open to any attack, even from a common piratical schooner, would at any rate be inferior to that which she would sustain by being altogether deprived of that magnificent city.

After all, this “free passage of the Bosphorus” would be of no great advantage to any other country than Russia herself, as it would open a way to ready markets for her immense produce in the regions spread round the shores of the Black Sea. Her policy is too uniformly and systematically selfish to permit any other nation to derive much profit from trading in her ports. The Euxine may be said to be entirely in her power, and it will soon be as much the theatre of her exclusive monopoly as the Gulf of Finland is likely to become. Granting that the interests of her commerce give her an unquestionable right to exact the concession in question from the Moslems, let France and England beware, that not a fort, not a single gun, be permitted to be planted by her. If she gain a footing there, she will rule lord paramount over the whole; the vessels of other nations may, indeed, *for a season*, be permitted to pass the Straits, but, on the first favourable occasion, that privilege will be withdrawn, or subjected to an onerous imposition. Let those Straits continue to be guarded by the Porte, which will be easily induced to make the concession required, and will not recal it when once made. Whatever may have been the other vices of the Ottoman government, a disregard to treaties cannot justly be included amongst the number.

3. “A new demarcation of boundary on the Caucasian frontier,” is, in other words, possession by Russia of all the strong

places which lie on the confines of the two empires, and which may serve as so many positions for extending her conquests in Asia.

She has just gained possession of Erzerum, the most important city in that quarter.

"It is the centre of several great communications, namely, those of Erivan, Tiflis, Teheran, Ispahan, Bagdad, Constantinople, Smyrna and Aleppo. From thence to Moossul (Mussul) on the site of Nineveh, the first navigable point of the Tigris, is 250 miles; and on the other side, to Trebisond, about 150. Here the wants of a large army may be supplied for a considerable time; the means of transport being also particularly available, horses, camels, oxen and mules being a chief produce, and of a remarkably fine description."*

From this position we do not think it improbable that Russia may *ere long* extend her domination to the shores of the Persian gulf; the tribes of Kurdistan, however fierce and warlike, will be unable to offer much resistance to her veteran and better disciplined cossacks. And here arises a question to us of the highest importance:—Are our Indian possessions in any danger from the gradual approach towards them of the Russian frontiers in Asia? Such an impression is at this moment very general throughout the continent of Europe. The author whose work we have placed at the head of our article (of whom more hereafter) says—

"Since, thank heaven, the good understanding existing between the Courts of London and St. Petersburg will not be disturbed, this is not the place to examine what advantage Russia might derive from her present position, to attack with effect *the Colossus with feet of clay* which Europe admires at a distance, but the extreme fragility of which is better known in London than any where else. We may take it for granted that an expedition into these countries is by no means in the category of impossible things—a fact which several English officers, possessed of the best local information, have candidly acknowledged."—p. 56.

To this we may add, that in Russia itself, more than in any other country, this impression is diffused: the boyards and superior officers make no scruple, even in the presence of Englishmen, of alluding, not only to the possible, but speedy, accomplishment of a design which they acknowledge to have been long formed.

If, however, Russia seriously intends to gain ultimate possession of our Indian empire, we think she will not commence her operations from the side of Armenia. Were Bagdad already in her power, her armies would either have to traverse the deep, or the vast deserts which lie from the Persian gulf to the Indies. So

* "On the Designs of Russia, by Lieutenant-Colonel De Lacy Evans"—a work which, though in every way unjust to the Turks, contains a very fair exposure of the all-grasping policy of the Russian court.

long as England maintains her maritime superiority, the former will probably be too perilous an attempt to be risked. As to the latter, not only would Russia have to encounter the whole force of Persia, and in a situation widely different from the scene of her recent triumphs over Abbas Mirza, but also with the natural obstacles of the country,—deserts, rivers, mountainous passes, through which neither artillery nor other carriages could penetrate, and in which provisions could not be obtained. It is idle to suppose that because Alexander the Great overcame those obstacles, they may be again overcome—and if not by a second Alexander, by a Nicholas the First! Has the present Tsar at his command all the resources of Persia? or was the Macedonian hero encumbered with the heavy *materiel* of a modern army? Are the troops of the latter as inured as the former to the climate, and as well acquainted with the country? All fear on this side is too manifestly absurd to require further exposure.

The same reasons would, we think, apply with equal, if not greater force, to an invasion of India from Tartary. The district of Bokhara, indeed, is more like a paradise than a desert; but the greater part of the route, from the Aral to the Indus, is such as no Russian army could venture to take. Not only does it exhibit natural obstacles equally great with those alluded to in the preceding paragraph; but vast armies of Tartars, descendants of the great Asiatic conquerors, alike remarkable for bravery and a fierce spirit of independence, and all jealous of the Russian power, would have to be annihilated before the invaders could reach Attock. But is the annihilation of such armies *possible*?—of men who would incessantly harass the enemy on every side, and who would advance, or retreat—to advance again—with the rapidity of the winds of their own deserts. Let not Timur be adduced as an instance of the practicability of the undertaking. That great conqueror had even greater advantages for the enterprise than Alexander; for not only was Persia at his feet and her resources at his command, but his sway had long before extended to the very confines of Hindostan. Besides, could the Russian autocrat spare for a distant war an army like that of Timur, whose empire embraced all the warlike nations from China to the Euphrates, and whose devoted followers, according to Sherefeddin Ali and Arabshah, equalled “the sands of the desert in number?” And would not an immense native army, disciplined after the best manner, commanded by British officers, and aided by a formidable British army, give the Tsar a warmer reception than the Tartars experienced from the petty independent and unwarlike powers which were then spread over the Peninsula,—powers too

so jealous of each other, and so divided among themselves, that no simultaneous plan of defence was to be expected from them?

We fully agree with one of our ablest Indian governors, that our amazing empire in the East has little to fear from *external* aggression. It may one day be wrenched from us,—not by the Tsar of Muscovy, any more than by the Emperor of Morocco, but—by some bold, ambitious, talented native, by one who may have the address to rouse against us the dormant religious prejudices of the Hindoos, and who would avail himself of the very improvements of the Europeans,—their discipline, their arms, and their tactics,—to drive them from the sacred soil of Brahma.

4. The last condition on which Nicholas distinctly insists, is by far the most portentous. Where is such an indemnity as a conqueror may require to be found, and for the expenses of so gigantic an army? The treasury of the Ottoman is almost exhausted, and will be wholly so before the end of the contest; nor will the nation itself be able to contribute any thing considerable to satisfy his rapacious demands. Money then being out of the question, what will remain but the taking permanent possession of so much of the empire as his legions can subdue? To this last condition the Tsar has wisely left a decent latitude of interpretation. Who the *interpreter* will be we need not ask. If unchecked in his career, will he be satisfied with a less indemnity than all European Turkey? does his anxiety to gain possession of the Asiatic bank of the Bosphorus, spring from no other motive but to secure the navigation of the canal to the vessels of *all* nations? This is a problem which his success and time must solve; in what manner it will be solved, however, may perhaps be conjectured, if we reflect on the incessantly encroaching policy of Russia since the accession of Catherine II. What neighbour has not suffered from the unprincipled aggressions of that empire? Let China, Tartary, Persia, Turkey, Austria, Poland (alas! where is she?), Sweden, and Denmark, answer the question.

Should Russia gain possession of European Turkey, or even should she obtain no more than the concession of the four conditions we have examined, what would be the consequences, political and commercial, to other European states? This is a *fearful* subject of consideration. However willing we may be to shut our eyes to those consequences, they force themselves upon us. Masters of Greece (for masters the Russians would assuredly be, if allowed, as before observed, to have any share in the protectorship), prudence itself would teach them *for a time* to conceal as much as possible their superiority; but that, assisted by the Greeks themselves, they would nullify the in-

fluence of the two confederate powers, and ultimately drive them from the Peninsula, is about one of the most probable of human events. The Ionian Islands would be soon wrested from the grasp of England; those of the Archipelago and the Egean would speedily follow the fate of the continent; Egypt itself would not be safe, any more than the ports to the east of the Mediterranean; perhaps even Asia Minor would pass under Russian domination.

But if advantages much inferior to these be obtained by Russia—if she be allowed to extend her sovereignty over continental Greece and the islands only, and if the Bosphorus be hers—farewell to English, and we may add to French, influence in the Mediterranean. The regions surrounding the Euxine are so abundant in produce, and in the materials necessary for the construction of vessels both for commerce and for war, that the ports of the Mediterranean would be filled with Russian merchandise, and the commercial preponderance in those parts would be supported by a formidable navy. All other nations—at least all other European nations—would be virtually excluded from any commercial advantages in that sea. We think it probable, indeed; that to strengthen himself against the indignant opposition of the Old World, the autocrat might call in the alliance of the New. The United States especially, of whose rancorous hostility to England we have had sufficient proofs, would be ready to form a coalition with any power that injured our commerce, and at the same time secured to themselves some share in the advantages arising from the infliction of the injury.

To all this it may be objected, that so long as England retains her maritime superiority, she must effectually controul the commerce of the Mediterranean. But are we quite sure that she *will* always retain it? Is what we daily read in the continental journals true,—that while other nations—Russia, France, and the United States especially—are making immense additions to their naval establishments, our own remains stationary, or, perhaps, is retrograding? We have neither the means nor the inclination to answer the question.

The increased resources which Russia would derive from her new possessions would bring with them not mercantile advantages merely, but a great augmentation of her armies, and a greater facility of supporting them. Although so long as peace continued, she might pursue a very moderate line of conduct, and be anxious to conceal rather than to display her force, it is not to be imagined that she would have the moderation to restrain herself for any length of time. The lion will spare his

prey no longer than while his appetite is satisfied. This brings us to the last part of our subject,—

III. What policy would the other European powers, especially France and England, be warranted in adopting in the present posture of affairs?

There is, we hope, no need for us to prove that a combination of nations for the protection of their common interests, when these interests are assailed, either secretly or openly, by some one more preponderating than the rest, is not only justified by international law,* but is a duty rendered obligatory by the fundamental principle of society—that of self-preservation. Without such a combination, the weak must inevitably become the victim of the strong. Hence a confederacy of nations is as necessary to their interest—to their independence, and even to their existence, as is an association of individuals in any community against all who should attempt to infringe their natural rights. If law be necessary to restrain the encroachments of the crafty and the violent in the latter, it is no less so in the former. The only thing is to determine *when* their interests are really assailed, and the precise period when the principles of federative policy should be brought into action. Let the aggression be but proved—no matter whether it be open or secret,—and the *right*—or at least the *necessity*—of adopting precautionary measures at least, becomes imperative. Does such *right* or *necessity* exist at this moment?

We have more than once alluded to the invariable policy of the Tsars, which has urged them, in despite of justice, humanity, or the faith of treaties, to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their weaker neighbours—whenever they could do so with impunity. We are then justified in concluding, that if their aggressions have not been greater, they have been restrained by fear of opposition from other states, and that the present emperor is not likely to pause in his ambitious career, unless those states make some imposing demonstration of their resolution to confine it within reasonable bounds.

Unfortunately for Europe generally, no combination yet exists for restraining the monstrous pretensions of Russia, though every state has reason to be tremblingly alive to them. Sweden and Denmark are not without alarm at their proximity to so tremendous a power: Austria and Prussia may at any time be brought—or rather forced—into collision with her. France and the Netherlands might find the country between the Polish fron-

* Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis.

vier and the Rhine but a feeble obstacle to the advance of her legions; and England may ere long find that she must struggle, not only for her monarch's German crown, and the maintenance of her influence in the Mediterranean, but for the empire of the seas.

When we look back to the history of Europe during the last fifty years, we are surprised that no effectual resistance has been hitherto made to the visible progress of Russia towards universal monarchy. To her unprincipled occupation of Poland; to the gradual extension of her frontier in the east of Europe; to her spoliation of Turkey and Persia; to the establishment of her influence in Greece; and to the all-grasping designs so conspicuous in the origin of the present contest, no bounds have been seriously attempted to be placed: yet all these were so many fatal blows at the balance of power in Europe, and consequently at the interests if not the independence—nay, the very existence of nations. How are we to account for this apathy? Does it arise from a belief in the *moderation* of the autocrat—from the mutual jealousy of states that ought to confederate,—or from the consciousness they entertain of their united strength being sufficient at any time to check him in his ambitious progress, if he violated the line of forbearance he has himself ostensibly drawn?

From what we have already stated, a belief in the moderation of the Tsar can be entertained by those only who are too feeble, or too blind, to be any other than his dupes. It must then be jealousy of each other which prevents the European states from uniting to arrest his progress; for, admitting the justice of the confidence they may entertain in their collective strength, what policy is that which would wait until the eagle has secured his prey, instead of interposing between him and his victim? To pluck it from his talons may not be quite so easy a task as is imagined.

Whatever be the motives which occasion the present alarming inactivity, we cannot avoid reproaching them. Turkey is acknowledged by ancient treaties to form a member of the great European family of nations, and she has often assumed an imposing attitude in the general federative policy. Does not justice then to an old ally, as well as the most pressing considerations of interest, demand the general interference? To such an interference the Porte has another claim, not at all inferior to the one we have just mentioned. When for reasons, which, as Christians, we cannot but approve, the three great powers resolved to restore the independence of Greece, they ought to have directed their united efforts to the attainment of that object *alone*: two of them should not have allowed, much less have recognized, the right of

the third to undertake a war on other grounds, until that object was fully attained. By embroiling the sultan, or—what is nearly the same thing—permitting him to be embroiled, in two ruinous contests, they have inflicted a serious injury on a power, which, whatever be the difference of faith, these two have been forward to recognize as “an ancient ally.” Yet, of the dominions of that ally they have not hesitated to sanction the dismemberment: they have, indeed, proposed, by way of indemnification, an annual tribute from the restored Grecian republic; but the Turks do not consider that indemnification as at all commensurate with the loss of Greece. We think, however, that *no* subjects are better than rebellious ones—that Turkey will be strengthened, rather than weakened, by the loss of a country which never was, and, we fear, never will be, at peace either with itself or with its neighbours. Still, in wresting it from the Porte, the powers in question committed an injury on the Turks, which nothing less than their interference on the present occasion can satisfactorily repair.

Austria, we believe, would be willing to join in an armed neutrality, were she assured of the co-operation of England and France. On these three powers the future destinies of Europe may be said to depend. If they suffer the ambitious progress of Russia to remain unchecked—if they allow her to extend her domination over Greece and European Turkey, then, do we say, that the ministers who now wield their resources will incur a load of responsibility which may hereafter press heavily upon their memories.

Nothing could be easier than to assume an attitude, before which the Russian eagles would droop their wings. Let France send to the Morea, not 20,000, but 50,000 of her troops; let Austria move an equal, if not a greater, number towards her eastern frontiers, and let England send twenty sail of the line into the Propontis and the Bosphorus: then would the overbearing tone of the autocrat be changed into one of moderation indeed. For such an armed neutrality a sufficient pretext would surely be found in the projected independence of Greece, and in the maintenance of the Ottoman independence, which is necessary to the peace and interests of all Europe. The cost of so imposing a demonstration on the part of the allies ought not to be considered, especially when the expenditure of a few hundred thousands might save that of many millions.

The present inactivity of England is, above all, surprising to the continental politicians, who have hitherto seen her the most forward to maintain something like a balance of power among nations, and resentful of the least apparent encroachment on her

maritime superiority. They impute it to her internal weakness, and to the incapacity of her ministers; we are *sure* the former is not the case, we *hope* the latter is not. Like them, we await in anxious suspense the rapid course of events, satisfied, at the same time, that the system of non-interference cannot much longer be persisted in.

Before we conclude, we must say something of the book which stands at the head of our article. It is evidently the production of a zealous partizan of Russia, and of as zealous an enemy of England. It considers the immediate subjugation of Turkey by the former as inevitable, and the destruction of the naval preponderance of the latter as more than probable. Our influence is to be for ever annihilated on the continent, and our Indian possessions, as we have already seen, are to be added to the empire of the "magnanimous and Christian prince, Nicholas." In short, we are about to sink into the lowest grade of nations, to rank in future with Spain and Portugal, and to be henceforth dependant for our very existence on the will of the said magnanimous Tsar. Amidst much that is absurd, however, one thing touches us—the freedom with which the most impertinent, stupid, and coxcombical of their race venture *now* to speak of England. In every respect the book is as contemptible as its author. As a composition it is utterly worthless.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In the concluding remarks of our review of M. Von Hammer's *History of the Assassins* in the Second Number of this Journal, we took occasion to express a supposition, that the author, as "a subject of the sworn foe of secret institutions, was in part stimulated to trace thus minutely the history of the great eastern society, as in its destructive career he conceived he saw an exemplification of the evils to be dreaded from secret associations, and a justification of the measures of the cabinet of Vienna." This observation was not meant invidiously, or with an intention of imputing any other motive to M. Von Hammer than a patriotic feeling which is pleased with finding a fair opportunity of vindicating the policy of the government under which one lives. We have since learned, however, from the very best authority, that this supposition of ours, innocent as it was, was altogether unfounded; that no person whatever connected with the Austrian government was privy to the composition of the work; that the prime-minister himself knew not of its existence for more than a year after its publication; and what is most remarkable of all, that the book is one of those which is only allowed to be read *ex schedis*, in other words *prohibited*. Justice to the author, and fairness to the reader who may have drawn erroneous conclusions from our remark, equally demand this acknowledgment.

Our review of M. Von Hammer's great work, the *History of the Ottoman Empire*, (of which the *third* volume has just appeared,) has been delayed from unforeseen circumstances; but we hope will appear in our next.

CRITICAL SKETCHES.

ART. XII.—1. *Statistique des Eglises Reformées de France, suivie des Loix, Arrêts, Ordonnances, Circulaires, et Instructions qui les concernent; de l'Indication des Sociétés Religieuses et des Ecoles; avec un Tableau Général.* Par A. Soullér, Ancien Pasteur. Paris. 1828. 8vo.

2. *Liturgie en Usage dans les Eglises Reformées de la France, revue et augmentée de Services Religieux, et des Prières pour les Solennités, et pour tous les cas, toutes les circonstances extraordinaires qui peuvent se présenter pour l'Eglise.* Par J. M. F. Roux, Pasteur-Président du Consistoire de l'Eglise d'Uzès. Uzès. 1826. 4to.

THE Reformation, which in the year 1517 had commenced in Germany, in 1519 was propagated in France, where, for some years, the opinions of those who had embraced it seem to have been various; but, after the publication of the celebrated Institutes of Calvin, the reformed having adopted his theological views, were designated by the appellation of Calvinists, and subsequently by that of Hugonots—a term of uncertain derivation. During the reign of Francis I., from the temporizing policy which he found it necessary to observe towards the Protestants, the reformed doctrines continued to spread, notwithstanding the various attempts made to quash them, by severe censures of Protestant books, by penal laws, and by cruel persecutions. Under his successor, Henry II., the progress of the Reformation was rapid; but during the feeble reign of Francis II., the Protestants suffered greatly from the intolerant bigotry of the Dukes of Guise, who usurped the government of France. Charles IX., who succeeded Francis, surpassed in atrocity the Neros and Domitians of former ages, whose memories have been consigned to perpetual and deserved infamy; and the massacre of the Protestants, which commenced at Paris, on St. Bartholomew's Day, (Aug. 24) 1572, and spread through the provinces by the secret orders of the king and of his mother Catherine de Medicis, deprived France of more than 50,000 inhabitants. So overjoyed was the pontiff, Gregory XIII., on receiving intelligence of this slaughter, that he commanded a discharge of artillery to be made, ordered the cardinals to return solemn thanks to Almighty God, and caused a medal to be struck in honour of the unprincipled transaction. Henry III., the brother and successor of Charles IX., by the circumstances in which he was placed, was compelled to grant very favourable terms to the Protestants: and in 1598 Henry IV., who by abjuring the Reformed faith had put an end to the religious disturbances which had so long agitated France, granted to the Protestants the undisturbed exercise of their religion, and perfect liberty of conscience, by the celebrated edict of Nantes, which was declared to be perpetual and inviolable. Its perpetuity and inviolability, however, were of short duration. On the assassination of Henry IV., by the fanatic Ravallac, in 1610, Louis XIII. ascended the throne of France, during whose feeble minority and subsequent reign, the Romish party gained the ascendancy; and under the corrupt administrations of the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine, in this and the following reign, the unhappy Protestants were uniformly oppressed. They were gradually deprived of all the strong places which they had held for their security; one privilege after another was taken from them. Their colleges were suppressed, their churches shut up, and many

were martyred, or sent to the galleys, for their adherence to the faith of the Gospel. The soldiers (dragoons) were sent into those provinces where the Protestants were most numerous, upon whom they inflicted unheard of cruelties; and, finally, by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, all the privileges which had been granted to them were annulled. After the loss of innumerable lives during these long-continued persecutions, 500,000 were fortunate enough to find asylums in the neighbouring countries of Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and England, which they enriched by their industry; many, however, who had not the means or the power to quit France, were obliged to change their religion.

But tranquillity was not completely re-established in France. Notwithstanding the emigration, and the *conversions*, (as they were called,) the Protestants were numerous in the provinces situated between the Rhone and the Garonne. The mountains of the Cevennes offered them an intrenchment, behind which they for a long time maintained a brave struggle, which is perpetuated in history by the "War of the Camisards." After twenty years' conflict, they were obliged, in 1706, to enter into negotiations, which, however, did not restore entire tranquillity. In some provinces, especially at Nismes, the spirit of Protestantism, "cast down but not destroyed," found protectors; sentiments of compassion were kindled in the hearts of many Romanists, who, from being the persecutors, became the friends of the Protestants, and, thenceforward, many of their faithful ministers secretly endeavoured to collect together again the scattered members of the oppressed church.

The death of Louis XIV. and the known disposition of the regent, appeared to the French Protestants to afford them a favourable opportunity of recovering their lost rights.

"The regent himself wished to restore the Protestants to their civil rights, but was dissuaded by his council. Still he seldom permitted the edicts against them to be executed; and, speaking generally, the Protestants seem to have suffered no active persecution in any part of the reign of Louis XV. One intolerable grievance, however, they unquestionably suffered in every part of it; their religious principles did not permit them to be married by a Roman Catholic priest, in the manner prescribed by the law of the state, and that law did not recognize the legal validity of a marriage celebrated in any other form. The consequence was, that, in the eye of the law, the marriage of Protestants was a mere concubinage, and the offspring of it illegitimate. To his immortal honour, Louis XVI., by his edict of the 17th of November, 1787, accorded to all his Non-Catholic subjects the full and complete rights of his Roman-Catholic subjects. On a division in the parliament, this edict was registered by a majority of ninety-six votes against sixteen."

The French Revolution confirmed to the Protestants all their civil rights. In 1814 and 1815, after the Restoration, some fanatical Romanists in the south of France gave them reason to apprehend a return of their former persecutions. In some places the blind populace were excited against them, under the pretext that they were too much attached to the Imperial government; many Protestants were assassinated, while numbers were plundered. These excesses were at length terminated by the firmness with which Louis XVIII. maintained the rights conferred upon the Protestants by the Charter. Occasionally, indeed, the French journals have recorded instances of petty annoyance or oppression; but application to the superior tribunals never fails to procure to the Protestants satisfactory redress; and the reigning sovereign, Charles X., has recently given them a new proof of his confidence, by nominating Baron Cuvier, a Protestant, to the important office of director-general of the affairs of the Protestant churches.

The French Protestants are divided into two communions, viz: 1. The *Lutherans*, who adhere to the Confession of Augsberg; and 2. the *Reformed*, or *Calvinists*. To the latter of these communions the publication of M. Soulier relates; and the official situation, which he has held for several years, of director of the ecclésiastical agency of the Reformed Churches, has furnished him with various documents, which no other person perhaps could collect together. As, however, these were not sufficient for his purpose, he addressed a circular letter to all the pastors in France soliciting further information; and from the communications thus made to him he has compiled the present work, which comprises, 1. The Statistical Account of the Reformed Churches of France, strictly so called; 2. The Organic Law of the 18th Germinal, in the tenth year of the Republic; 3. The Discipline of the Reformed Churches; 4. The different Laws and Decrees now in force concerning them, which form, collectively, a kind of Protestant Code; and 5. Several Documents relating to the Protestant Academies at Montauban and Strasburg, Lists of Professors and Pupils, &c.

In the statistical account, M. Soulier follows the order of the departments, which are classed alphabetically, and divided into consistorial churches, and these again subdivided into sections. Under every church the author indicates the names of the pastors, their residence, and the post-office which is nearest to it, when there is none at the place of their abode—a list of the temples or edifices consecrated to divine worship, the number of services performed at each place—the different Protestant societies and schools—and the date of the year when the several churches were organized. We shall partly transcribe and partly abridge his account of the Protestant churches at Paris, as being most interesting to our English readers.

"DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE.

REFORMED CONSISTORIAL CHURCH OF PARIS.

Organized the 2d of Frimaire, in the year XL (November 23d, 1802.)

Pastors.	Residences.
Messa. Marrou	Paris.
Monod, the father	Paris.
Juillerat-Chaseur	Paris.
Monod (Frederick) Pastor-adjunct	Paris.

"*Edifices consecrated to Divine Worship.*—The decree of the 18th Brimaire in the year XI. (December 3, 1802), which organized this church, granted to it three edifices churches which had formerly been appropriated to the Roman Catholic worship, for the celebration of divine service, viz. the Church of Saint Louis, rue St. Thomas du Louvre, the Church of Pantheon, rue de Grenelle, St. Germain, and the Church of St. Marie, rue St. Antoine. As the government of France had occasion for the Church of Pantheon for a military magazine, no divine service has hitherto been celebrated there. A few years after the date of the above decree, the works connected with the *Boulev* having rendered it necessary to demolish the Church of Saint Louis, the Church of the *ci-devant* Fathers of the Oratory, rue St. Honoré, was given to the Consistory. The government has further caused a chapel to be erected in the college of Louis-le-Grand, for pupils of the Protestant communion.

"*Divine Service.*—At Paris, there is divine service every Sunday in each of these temples, viz.—in that of the rue St. Antoine, at half-past eleven, and in that of the Oratoire at half-past twelve. Divine service is also celebrated, by authority of the Consistory, in the Sunday school room at half-past seven in the evening; every Thursday at two o'clock in the temple of the Oratoire: in the last prayer of which service the Consistory has caused a petition to be inserted in behalf of all the religious societies. On the morning following the celebration of the communion, there is a thanksgiving service in the temple of the Oratoire. Monthly prayer meetings, which are very well attended, are held in behalf of missions for propagating the Gospel.

"The service for the reformed, in the temple of the Oratoire, is preceded and followed by several other services. Under the authority of the Consistory, the English residents in Paris celebrate divine service every Sunday, viz.—Prayers in the morning at nine o'clock, and in the afternoon at three o'clock, when a sermon is delivered by the English Bishop (Dr. Luscombe), or some other clergyman. At two o'clock, divine service is performed for the Americans by their chaplain in the Sunday school room.

"In the College of Louis-le-Grand, divine service is celebrated every Sunday and Thursday, and also every day during passion week, by M. Boissard, one of the clergy of the Lutheran Church at Paris, who has been appointed Protestant chaplain to that college with a salary."

PROTESTANT SOCIETIES.

The *Bible Society* at Paris is the parent of all the Bible societies in France, with the exception of that at Strasburg; and new societies are daily forming in the same departments. There is also a *Ladies' Bible Society*, with numerous associations and collectors at Paris, which has several auxiliary and branch societies in the departments, besides an association of Protestant manufacturers and workpeople.

A *Missionary Society* was established in 1822 at Paris, (where there is also a ladies' society,) which has given birth to numerous auxiliary and other associations. In the seminary for training missionaries, the pupils are taught geography, the use of the globes, history, both profane and ecclesiastical, the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and English languages, and particularly the language of the people among whom they are destined to labour, exegesis or biblical interpretation, mathematics, physics, and astronomy. These last-mentioned sciences are taught, as affording so many opportunities of fixing the attention of idolatrous people, and disposing them to listen to the doctrines of Christianity. Above all, the committee of this society exert every effort that the pupils do not quit the seminary, without being animated by the most expansive love and unfeigned piety, nor until they are fully instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel which they are to preach to heathen nations.

A *Religious Tract Society*, founded in 1820, has circulated, with great effect, nearly a million of plain and popular tracts, in which the religious and moral precepts of the Bible are rendered intelligible to the meanest capacity.

Provident Societies, and Societies for Mutual Assurance. In 1825, a few individuals founded a mutual benefit society, for the humble monthly payments of two francs (twenty-pence), and six francs (or five shillings) entrance. Scarcely however were its principles known, when multitudes of subscribers offered themselves. Numerous donations have been made, among which the annual presents of Charles X. and the members of the royal family of France hold a distinguished place.

Schools.—There are three Sunday schools, or rather schools for religious instruction; since no children are admitted who have not previously learned to read and write at the weekly or elementary day schools, of which there are six in the different arrondissemens of Paris; three for boys, and as many for girls, the masters and mistresses of which are chosen by the Consistory. One of these is a charity school, in which, however, young persons, who have no fortune, are admissible as boarders, on certain terms, at the expense of benevolent individuals.

The Consistory has also established a gratuitous course of instruction in psalmody; the lessons are given during three months in the year, every Thursday, in the temple of the Oratoire. Since the establishment of these instructions, the psalmody of the Protestant churches is stated (and we can well credit the statement) to have been greatly improved. We could wish that more attention were paid to the psalmody of our national English Church. It is

truly mortifying to witness the inattention which prevails in many congregations during that most delightful part of divine service. Where the clergy are attentive to our church psalmody, directing both the *words* and the *tunes* that are to be used, (which the highest ecclesiastical law authority* hath pronounced that they have the sole right of doing, subject of course to their ordinary,) nothing can surpass the beautiful harmony which we have witnessed in some churches. By selecting a few of the children of the parochial schools, and causing them to be carefully taught a few simple and delightful tunes, the congregations will easily acquire these by the ear; and when they see that their ministers are deeply interested in this part of the service, they will also take an interest in it.

To return from this digression—in a general table at the end of his work, M. Soulier presents a summary of the various information which is dispersed through it; from this we collect, that for the Reformed Churches in France, there are ninety-six consistories or oratories; three hundred and five pastors or ministers; four hundred and thirty-eight edifices consecrated to divine worship; four hundred and fifty-one Bible societies or associations; one hundred and twenty-four missionary societies or associations; fifty-nine societies or depositories of religious tracts; eight provident societies; seventy-nine Sunday schools, and three hundred and ninety-two elementary and boarding schools.

Prosperous as these data represent the state of the Reformed Churches to be, the number of churches and ministers is by no means equal to the wants of the Protestant population. In many places they are obliged to assemble for divine service in sheep-folds, barns, or even in the open air. In the single department of the Gard, there are upwards of fifty places where this is the case: in the commune of Monoblet, in particular, there is no church, although out of a population of 1040 persons there are *nine hundred and fifty* Protestants. In many places also, *one* minister has the charge of several churches, which are frequently at a considerable distance from one another, so that divine service can only be performed in each at distant intervals. In some places, they have a sermon only once a month, or even once in three months. A member of one of these scattered congregations reads a discourse in the building appropriated to divine worship, on those Sundays when the minister is called to officiate elsewhere. Surely the opulent Protestants in France will not refuse their pecuniary aid to the poorer congregations of their fellow-worshippers, in furnishing them with the means of erecting churches as well as of maintaining pastors.

The government of the French Reformed Churches is Presbyterian, like that of the church at Geneva, the liturgy of which they use in the celebration of divine service: as, however, in the process of time, various occasions have arisen for which that simple, and, in many respects, affecting liturgy does not supply suitable formularies of prayer, M. Roux, pastor and president of the Consistory of the Church at Uzès, in 1826 published a new edition of the liturgy in use among the Reformed Churches in France, revised and augmented, with entire services and prayers, adapted to every solemnity and extraordinary case which may present themselves to the church. Some of these are taken from the Liturgy of Neufchatel, others are translated from the German prayers of Dr. Zollikofer, but most of the additional prayers are original. They comprise prayers for the consecration of a pastor, for the installation of elders and

* Lord Stowell, in the case of *Hutchins v. Denziloe and Loveland*, in the Consistory Court of the diocese of London. See Dr. Haggard's Consistory Reports, vol. i. pp. 170—180.

deacons, services for funerals, the 21st of January, (the anniversary of the murder of Louis XVI.,) for the coronation of a king, the birth of a prince, on occasion of the sickness, recovery, or death of the sovereign, for St. Charles's day, considered as a national festival, and other occasions. It appears from the dedication, that M. Roux undertook this liturgy at the request of some of his brethren in the ministry, to whom he offers it as an *essay* rather than as a complete work. What degree of approbation may have been conferred upon his labours, we have no means of ascertaining. The task confided to him was an arduous one, and if he has failed sometimes, his failure must be ascribed to the extreme difficulty of the undertaking. There is an energy blended with pathos in the liturgies framed shortly after the Reformation, which no modern prayers can equal, much less surpass.

ART. XIII.—*Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme, et de son influence sur les Sectes Religieuses et Philosophiques des six premières Siècles de l'ère Chrétienne. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.* Par M. Jacques Matter, Professeur à l'Académie Royale de Strasbourg. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1828.

THE present is the second production of the learned author which has gained the French Academy prize. His former work, *Essai Historique sur l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, to which the one before us may be regarded as a sequel, appeared in 1820. The subject is, we believe, one almost entirely new in France; in Germany it has, for the last thirty years, occupied a great portion of learned attention, and given birth to a number of ingenious treatises, of which those of Muntz, Neander, Fuldner, Bellerman, &c., are the most conspicuous. In our own country, forty years ago, Dr. Priestley, in his *History of the Early Opinions respecting Jesus Christ*, (4 vols. 8vo. 1782,) devoted nearly a whole volume to the subject, in which he entered into a very full examination of the tenets of the Gnostics, and the influence of Plato, the Alexandrian School, and Philo. Several other writers have subsequently, unless our memory deceives us, employed their pens upon it, but neither in the work before us, nor in any of the German writers, have we found a single reference to any English author. Professor Matter, from his position at Strasburgh, which may be regarded as the confluent point of German and French ideas, has had the whole of the German authorities at his command, and has very freely availed himself of their lights, if we may judge from the thickly studded references at the bottom of his pages. With the assistance of these and his own researches, he has produced a book which may safely be pronounced much more complete than any which has yet appeared on the subject. He has given an additional interest to it, by bringing together in his third volume (or Atlas) a collection of engravings (with explanations) of what may be called the *Monuments of Gnosticism*, namely, the gems and amulets which contain figures and inscriptions symbolical of the creeds and opinions of the various schools of these extraordinary sectarians.

Nearly simultaneous with the publication of this book at Paris, there appeared in London a *second and greatly enlarged edition* of a very ingenious and modest little treatise by the Rev. Dr. Walsh, (author of a Journey from Constantinople to England,) entitled "*An Essay on Ancient Coins, Medals, and Gems, as illustrating the Progress of Christianity in the Early Ages.*" A considerable portion of the work is occupied by a neat and concise sketch of the history of the Gnostics, and their principal leaders, illustrated by eighteen

engraved fac-similes of subjects similar to what are given by Professor Matter.* Dr. Walsh's introductory observations afford such a distinct view of the subject, that we prefer making use of them to any we could ourselves supply.

"At the time that Christianity was promulgated to mankind, the nations under the dominion of the Romans, that is, the larger part of the civilized world, were greatly addicted to mysterious practices; supposing that there existed in nature certain influences which they could control and manage by occult signs expressed in different ways and on different materials, and among the nations most notorious for these opinions were the Jews and the Egyptians. As Christianity originated with one, and many of its earliest professors were found among the other, it is not surprising that they should have brought with them, and engrafted on the new religion, such opinions and practices as they had entertained in the old. Accordingly, we read, that very early the Apostles found it necessary to guard the disciples against such persons, cautioning them to avoid 'profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called,' (1 Timothy, vi. 20,) and in several passages of the epistle are evident allusions to similar errors among the first professors of Christianity, even in the Apostolic ages. Nor did the evil cease as the doctrines of the Gospel expanded themselves beyond the local prepossessions of its early converts; a number of persons in succession, for two centuries afterwards, are recorded as distinguished leaders of these wild opinions, which mixed up the sacred truths of the Gospel with the fantastic imaginations of a visionary science, and a vast multitude of disciples all over the then known world were found to adopt them."

Professor Matter has divided his work into three sections; the first, containing the Origin of Gnosticism, is divided into three chapters, in which he examines successively the traces of its doctrines anterior and posterior to the establishment of Christianity, and gives an account of its principal leaders after the time of the Apostles, namely, Euphrates, Simon Magus, Menander, Cerinthus, and Nicholas. In the second section, divided into four chapters, he gives the history of the principal Gnostic schools and sects, comprising, 1. those of Syria; 2. of Lesser Asia and Italy; and 3. of Egypt; the last

* Of these remarkable monuments it is impossible to give a better account than Dr. Walsh has done; we venture to extract its principal details. "This science, they thought, principally consisted in the efficacy of numbers, and certain mysterious hieroglyphics adopted from the Egyptians. Hence they made systems of monads, triads, and decads; and formed figures of Anubis, Serapis, and other idols. This composition of certain abstruse words and mysterious figures was engraved on gems and stones of different kinds and qualities; and they affirmed, that whoever bore one of these on his person was secured by it from the particular evil it was made to guard against. These images and figures of different materials were called *amulets*, from their supposed efficacy in allaying evil. (*Amuletum, quod malum amovetur.*) The immense number and variety of these talismans that have been and are still found in many places very remote from each other, at once attest the accuracy of the ecclesiastical historians who have described these sects and their opinions, and the great encouragement and reception these opinions met with in different parts of the world. They are found not only in the East, where travellers procure them without much difficulty; but in the West they are continually dug up on the banks of the Rhine and Garonne, and in different parts of Spain, Italy, and other western countries, where Marcian and the founders and followers of the Gnostic sects distributed them; proving, as Montfaucon justly observes, that no superstition was more widely spread or universally adopted, and affording a hope that by their means the more secret mysteries of these sectarians may be elucidated." Montfaucon has given three hundred fac-similes of such gems; Professor Matter, above one hundred, and Dr. Walsh, eighteen. Of those given by the latter is a very remarkable one—a ruby blood-stone, set in silver, attached to a ring—which was found among the baggage of Prince Charles-Edward, taken after the battle of Culloden, and which it is supposed the superstitious prince carried as a protection in the hazardous enterprise in which he was engaged.

including a much greater variety than all the others. The third section comprises seven chapters, in which the author examines the influence of the Gnostic doctrines on the other religious and philosophical sects which were contemporary with them; including, 1. the Judaizing Christians; 2. the Ascetics, particularly the Encratites and Montanists; 3. the Manicheans and Priscillianists; 4. the Eastern Anti-Christians; 5. the Christian Anti-Trinitarians; 6. several authors of the Orthodox Church; 7. the Greek philosophical sects. The work is closed by a remarkable chapter of *General Conclusions*, in which the whole system of Gnosticism is brought before the reader at one view; and we regret that our want of space prevents us from giving any extracts from this.

The work sins from a want of precision in the details—an excess of borrowed erudition and superfluous exposition—a careless and confused terminology—a deviation from historical and chronological order—and, finally, a vague and indistinct style, which frequently leaves the reader in doubt about the author's meaning. With all these drawbacks, the novelty and interest of the subject will, we have no doubt, conspire to give the book a conspicuous place on the shelves of modern theological literature. We observe a *General History of the Christian Church*, from the same pen, announced for speedy publication.

ART. XIV.—*Canons de Logarithmes de H [OENE] W [RONSKI]. Instructions et Théorie. Avec un Supplément donnant la Résolution générale de l'Equation du cinquième Degré.* Paris. 1827. 4to.

THIS is a singular work of a very extraordinary man. Little is known of the author, Wronski, in this country, and as the explanatory pamphlet which accompanies these tables is replete with allusions to his personal history—the embarrassments in which he is involved, the persecutions he has been exposed to, the treachery of friends, the implacable malevolence of enemies, &c.—to an ordinary reader it is in many parts unintelligible. Now with respect to Wronski's private concerns we have nothing farther to do than to express our regret, that an exalted mind, labouring in the cause of science, should be almost paralyzed by distress, and, for the sake of the philosophic character of Europe, to entertain a hope, that in this case there may be as much in the wayward irritable impatience of genius as in the jealous hostility of contemporaries.

Prior to the invention of logarithms, to carry on any very complicated numerical computations was almost an impracticable task, and the well-known facility with which it is now performed, while it is the highest eulogium they can receive, supersedes the necessity of our enlarging upon the subject. From the first appearance of Napier's *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio* in 1614, the constant and steady demand for these tables has led to very many publications of them; but as each succeeding editor has for the most part blindly copied from those who preceded him, there has been a pretty regular transmission of error, which has enabled an ingenious countryman of our own to expose the plagiarisms even of the Chinese, who, having with their usual ingenuity, transcribed the figures, with their accustomed effrontery laid claim to the invention. Still in their arrangement the tables have been receiving successive improvement, and since the process of stereotyping has been known, the French edition by Callet has been gradually attaining a degree of perfection which has led to its being almost universally adopted; those of Mr. Babbage are indeed superior, but embrace only the logarithms of numbers; the same is the case with the small work, of which the title is prefixed to this article, and of it we shall now give a description. It consists of six cards of moderate dimensions, printed only on one side, and comprising as many distinct sets of logarithms (either of which may be purchased separately,) designed for

likely to do good than harm, by opening the eyes of the nation to the monstrous pretensions and essentially worldly policy of a domineering foreign power.

The author has entered largely into the relations subsisting at different periods between Spain and Rome; but this part of his subject we have entirely passed over, from a persuasion that to an English reader it would be very uninteresting. Neither have we touched on the national literature, since that subject is too important to be noticed incidentally. Our object has been to advert merely to the general policy of that wretchedly governed country.

ART. XVI.—*Cinq-Mars, ou Une Conjuraison sous Louis XIII.* Par Le Comte Alfred De Vigny. Troisième Edition, revue et corrigée. Paris. 1827. 2 tom. 8vo.

CINQ-MARS is not destitute of talent; without, however, some accidental aid of fashion or favour, there is not enough of it to justify the success which it has met with in the world of Paris. French literature is at present affected with a kind of *passio historica*. History is dressed up for the Parisians nearly in as many ways as an egg. This is a respectable mania, and, with some trifling inconveniences, cannot fail to be followed with lasting benefits. Among the inconveniences may be reckoned the perplexity which is caused by the small difference between the novel and the history: it is hard to say which is which; and it often happens, that there is less fiction in the romance than the chronicle. The order of the day seems to be, to bring out the romance of history on the one hand, and to make its facts the groundwork of the composition on the other. We are not aware, whether it has been pointed out, that the works of the author of Waverley have suggested the fashion, both as respects *history* and novels. He gave them the idea of studying the picturesque of history, as well as that of drawing from its quarry the subjects of fiction.

The author of *Cinq-Mars* has gone a step beyond Sir Walter, who only introduced real persons occasionally into fictitious scenes, whereas here nearly all the persons and the events of the novel are real. There is nothing fictitious but the motives of the actors—respecting which history seldom can speak confidently—and the petty incidents and traits which are put into the picture to heighten the colouring and darken its shadows.

Any French history will tell us that Henri d'Effiat, Marquis de Cinq-Mars, the second son of the Marquis d'Effiat, the friend of Richelieu, about the latter part of the cardinal's career, got up a conspiracy against his power, to which the king himself lent his sanction, and in which Monsieur, the brother of the king, Louis XIII., was concerned, as well as the Duc de Bouillon; that the design failed; and that Cinq-Mars, together with his friend and counsellor, de Thou, son of the celebrated historian, was executed at Lyons, in the year 1642. Cinq-Mars was the favourite of Louis XIII., who had made him his grand écuyer; he was quite a youth when he died, and had been brought to court by the cardinal for the sole purpose of being the king's favourite and his own tool. He succeeded better in the former capacity than in the latter; for he attempted, by means of his master, to ruin the minister. His plot was, however, indiscreetly managed. Monsieur deserted it, and though the king's brother, as well as advanced in years, he accused Cinq-Mars, a youth, of having seduced him into it. The Duc de Bouillon was pardoned at the expense of his hereditary principality of Sedan; the only victims were the most active but perhaps the most innocent of the party. This is also the story told by the novelist, with but slight deviations. We first have the youthful Cinq-Mars at his

father's castle of Charenton, in Touraine, and a picture of the society at this baronial establishment. One of the visitors is the Marshal Bassompierre, who is introduced as a veteran warrior-courtier belonging to times gone by; his arrest is also described as taking place here; Bassompierre was, however, led to his long imprisonment in the Bastille from his own house in Paris. M. De Vigny, however, adheres to history in designating the person who executed the arrest; and in the words addressed to him by De Launay, nearly copies his words as reported by Bassompierre himself. And the guest at his paternal castle is Mademoiselle Marie de Gonsague, Duchess of Mantua; to this princess the young Cinq-Mars has dared to lift his eyes. A mutual attachment springs up, checked only by the rank of the lady, which forbids her to espouse with any one who is not of a sovereign house. That he may raise himself to a rank in which he may honourably pretend to her hand, is made the paramount motive of the whole of Cinq-Mars's conduct. It does appear, from the Memoirs of Madame de Motteville, that the young Duchess of Mantua, (afterwards Queen of Poland,) did look upon young Cinq-Mars (or M. le grand écuyer as he was called,) with a favourable eye; but the letter which it is said she wrote to him, giving him to understand, that his plot would not hold water, and was as commonly known as that the Seine flowed under Pont-Neuf, gives a very different idea of her character from that drawn by M. de Vigny—a tender and sentimental piece of timid devotion. From Chaumont Cinq-Mars is, by the cardinal, summoned to the court, then encamped before Perpignan, and on his way stops at Loudun, that the author may describe a horrid piece of butchery and bigotry which took place about this time—the martyrdom of Father Urbain Grandier, who was burnt for magic. This tragedy occupies a considerable space in the first volume, and presents an almost ludicrously close imitation of Sir Walter Scott's conduct of similar scenes. The excitement of the populace, the bearing of Grandier on his trial, the method by which the author contrives that his punishment on the rack shall be reported to the multitude below by a spectator from a window above, and lastly, the scene at the stake, are all creditable exertions of a respectable talent for description; the effect upon the reader, however, is not of that intensity that genies alone can produce. Cinq-Mars, full of indignation at the sight of these cruel transactions, mixes himself up in some measure with them, and thus gives the author a kind of right to describe them; the part he performs is rather distinguished than honourable; for he seizes a heavy red-hot cross of iron, which had been put into the hands of the victim for consolation, and with it knocks on the head Laubardemont, the principal judge who had presided at the ceremony of the trial and the execution. At the siege of Perpignan, Cinq-Mars's first exploit is a duel, making one of six, after the fashion of those times; the next is his leading a troop of light horse against a bastion of the town, and actually scaling the wall on horseback. An introduction to the king quickly follows, and the cardinal is represented as instantly conceiving a hatred of his new protégé; an unnecessary departure from history; for the cardinal for some time supported him, and only gave him up when he began to meddle on his account. The king too had occasionally reasons for being disgusted with Cinq-Mars's dissipation and irregular conduct, a part of the truth which M. De Vigny glosses over; for it suits him, in spite of the utmost imprudence and unsteadiness in his hero, to picture him as a perfect character, or, if ever imperfect, erring through an excess of virtuous passion. The character and manners of Richelieu and those of Louis XIII. have been sedulously studied, and are elaborately drawn by the author; their only fault is that they are overdone; they want the quiet and easy effect of truth. Richelieu always appears to be acting the "grand politique" before a numerous and fashionable audience; and Louis's characteristic feebleness and imbecility are certainly painted

beyond the truth of either nature or history. Allowing something for this tendency to exaggeration, several scenes might be pointed out as natural and powerful; we will instance that in which the king displays his discontent with Richelieu before the court at Perpignan. The sordid avoidance of the courtiers, and the dexterous resignation of his power by the cardinal, by which he secures it, are certainly able. The scenes in which the author is particularly absurd occur to the memory in great abundance. Such is that in which the courtiers crowd in upon Richelieu in succession in various characters; such is the one in which the cardinal retains his post by threatening the king with a table loaded with papers and portfolios. The conception of this trick of Richelieu is altogether most amusingly absurd. It is literally this—the cardinal tells the king that if he is dismissed, his majesty must do his own business, and that *that* is beyond his power is very plainly insinuated. That it may be settled in the most satisfactory manner by experiment, Richelieu proposes, that as this is his hour for commencing his labours, that he the cardinal should leave the room, and that his majesty should play the minister. The king consents, and four stout footmen wheel out the gouty great man. It appears that in the next apartment all the secretaries of state are at work, like so many tailors, and at a signal they come in one after the other for orders. First, a little black man, Desnoyers, enters, and asks the king his determination respecting a difficult question with Spain; his majesty knowing nothing of what had preceded, is naturally at a loss, and promises to think about it; but the secretary insists very uncourtously upon taking back an answer that night, and the king, instead of kicking him out, submits to be worried. Next comes Chavigni, who also desires to know off-hand whether his majesty will interfere in the civil war of England, and send troops to the assistance of his brother-in-law, Charles I. This is a question, which, under any administration, would demand long and mature deliberation; several cabinet councils and two or three parliamentary debates would take place in this country before such a measure was decided on. Chavigni, however, besets the king for an instant answer, and the king, beginning to grow sick, calls out “Richelieu,” and drops down into an arm-chair in a fit. The cardinal is then wheeled in again, and the king, convinced he is unfit for business, gives up every thing to the cardinal, consents that his favourite Cinq-Mars shall be beheaded, and sets off for Paris. This is the notion that little boys and girls at school have of kings and their prime ministers; we cannot, however, generally compliment M. De Vigny on his knowledge of the world of real life. His romance is wild but somewhat spirited, and his scenes have brilliancy and bustle. He has imitated Sir Walter Scott in what we think his injudicious introduction of Shakspeare in the scene at Kenilworth: here we have Corneille, Descartes, nay, Milton, and a crowd of living wits, who make one another’s acquaintance before our faces, and discourse quietly together. We may judge of this scheme by its effects; it is disgusting. One of the best-conceived and best-sustained characters in the whole book is that of old Grandchamp, the faithful grumbling veteran. As for Father Joseph, *Son Eminence Grise*, as he was called, and his rival in iniquity, Laubardemont, they are mere horrors.

ART. XVII.—1. *Lettere su Roma e Napoli*. 12mo. Milano. 1826.

2. *Lettere su Firenze e Venezia*. 2 vols. 12mo. Milano. 1827.

THE first of the above little works appeared some time ago, and was then noticed as the production of a sensible and well-informed young man, who gave hopes of better things. A description of Italy by a native, written in a style above that of the guide books, appeared a pleasing novelty in that country. Too great a share, however, of the work is devoted to historical and classical lore, (every

page of which is stamped in the memory of the very school-boy,) while too small a portion is allotted to the present state of the people. This has been the weak point of most writers on Italy—a weakness somewhat excusable in a native who resorts to past recollections as a shelter from present humiliation. Well told anecdotes, however, of more modern times, come to relieve the wearisome influence of classic erudition. The story of Orsino, that of Caroline of Agnano, and still more the melancholy tale of Elisa Riccardi, are related with amiable and natural feeling. The reflections on St. Peter's Church and the Vatican, those elicited by a visit to Subbiaco, the cradle of the celebrated Order of St. Benedict, rise above the common-place effusions of moralizing tourists. The strictures on the present Romans are, perhaps, too severe, as coming from the pen of a Northern Italian, who is still a stranger to the classic land south of the Apennines.

But it is in the subsequent letters, evidently by the same writer, on Florence and Venice, that the expectations excited by the former publication have been in some measure realized. Here the author has found himself on modern ground, better adapted to the display of genuine Italian sentiments. Thus, in speaking of Tuscany, the present peaceful garden of Italy, after expatiating on the former wealth of the Florentine republic—a wealth derived chiefly from its woollen and silk manufactures, and its *cambiatori* or bankers, who used to lend money to merchants, noblemen, and even to kings, at the high interest of twelve, and even twenty, per cent.—after observing how the rival industry of other nations, the vicissitudes of commerce, the ambition of some wealthy families, and the overbearing interference of Charles V. and of the Court of Rome, led Florence to the loss of its wealth and independence, a loss followed by depravity of morals and dereliction of principle, the author turns with satisfaction to the milder features of the present state of society. Tuscany may, without flattery, acknowledge the revival of its prosperity from the beneficent sway of its present dynasty. Leopold availed himself of his absolute power to make his subjects happy. His son, the late Grand Duke Ferdinand, followed his steps, though with unequal firmness of mind; and although reigning during a most stormy period, yet he entitled himself to the affection of his subjects. The ministers of that little state continue under the present sovereign to protect industry, to encourage instruction, and to watch over the administration of justice. There are certainly less abuses, there is more general comfort and satisfaction, spread over the body of the people in Tuscany than in any other state of the Peninsula. Tuscany has been styled the Oasis of Italy.

"The Florentines are those among the Italians who most resemble their ancestors. We trace in their language the same attic salt which Boccaccio diffused over his writings, the same urbanity and taste even among the vulgar. The upper ranks of society at Florence are as refined as those of any other European capital; the *décor* of pleasing, what the French style *préséances*, is one of their characteristics. . . . The nobles have ceased to be idle and haughty; they court the good opinion of their countrymen by forwarding and encouraging useful and liberal undertakings. The names of Ridolfi, Ginori, Pucci, Capponi, Inghirami, and of other representatives of patrician families, are distinguished in the literary and scientific world. The activity of mind, the spirit of the old Florentine republicans, are not extinguished in their posterity, but they have taken a more pacific tendency, by turning to agricultural industry, commercial speculations, and studies of every sort."—p. 23.

This eulogium of Tuscany is not exaggerated, and the author has done justice to the gentle inhabitants of this favoured part of the Peninsula.

M. Dandolo, the author, (who has now acknowledged himself, in a note which he devotes with filial affection to the memory of his father, a senator of the late kingdom of Italy, and well known for his works on rural economy,) leads his readers to the several temples and other public buildings which

adorn the capital of Tuscany, not with the pedantic tone of a thorough-bred cicerone, but for the purpose of drawing from each monument recollections of the former manners and deeds of the Florentines. Those elicited by viewing the apartments in the Palazzo Pitti, where several victims of the gloomy tyranny of Cosmo I. and of the horrid depravity of his children were sacrificed, are expressed with all the energy of honest indignation. The history of the second family of the Medici equals in infamy that of the early Cæsars.

One of these little volumes is devoted to Venice, the country of the author. Alas! what could he say of the present state of that ill-fated city, which is fast and inevitably sinking into decay and oblivion? Better descant, as he has done, on the former glories of the Adriatic queen, on the high deeds of her noble sons, of old Dandolo, of Pisani and Zeno, and of that valiant Morosini, the dread of the Ottomans, the last great man that Venice produced, and who won at the point of the sword the glorious appellation of the Peloponnesian. The splendid Temple of St. Mark, the richest in the world, St. Peter's not excepted, the Ducal Palace, the once formidable Arsenal, the Library, all these are scenes of indelible interest to a man acquainted with the history of Venice. Those mute remains alone are left to remind the traveller of fourteen centuries of a glory often sullied with crimes.

ART. XVIII.—*Van der Veldt's Lebenslauf und Briefe*. Dresden. Arnold. 1827.
Van der Veldt's Life and Letters, forming the 25th Volume of his collected Works.

WE have been able only to glance at the publication before us, but considering the talents and uncommon industry of this popular novelist, whose untimely death is justly to be regretted, we can have no doubt that the autobiographical sketches contained in it will, to every intelligent reader, prove highly interesting. By his confidential letters addressed to his biographer, commencing in the year 1816, and ending in 1824, we are introduced to the author's domestic circle, we sit with him at his writing-desk, and are initiated into the whole *arcana* of that process, by which, under the pressure of many difficulties, he was enabled to complete a series of historical romances; which, by the way, have all been translated into French, though here they remain comparatively unknown. Through life, Van der Veldt had to contend with narrow circumstances, and latterly with the irksome duties of an official station, which, as he attended to them with conscientious punctuality, might have been supposed sufficient to fill up his whole time. Yet, in turning over the pages of history, on which all his romances were founded, he seized with incredible rapidity those leading points which were suitable for his purpose. Then the outline of his work was instantly drawn up, seldom occupying more than one page, or at most two or three pages in quarto. The plan thus laid down was strictly followed, and he proceeded to write his narrative, generally with such precision, that no correction or change was requisite, though, at other times, soliloquizing aloud over his work, he would perhaps expand the dialogue, and insert additional scenes. Thus, in the course of eleven years, notwithstanding the constant interruptions to which he was liable, he produced (besides other compositions) nineteen volumes of prose novels, all which have been favourably received. His last story, the "Chinese Embassy," was elaborated from beginning to end on a sick-bed; and just before his death, in a hand-writing scarcely legible, he drew up the plan of another. On account of his references to history, he has been sometimes characterized as an imitator of Scott, but it appears that, in fact, most of his works had been published before he became acquainted (except by name) with the author of "Waverley," whom he could then understand only through the medium of a translation.

ART. XIX.—*Dramatische Dichtungen, von Grabbe. Mit einer Abhandlung über die Shakspeare-Manie.* (Dramatic Poems. By Grabbe. With a Tractate on the Shakspeare-Mania.) 2 Vols. Frankfurt on the Main. Hermann. 1827.

WE have cordially to congratulate the public, and all the patrons of rising genius, on this first appearance of an author who steps forward resolved to produce a revolution in the literary world, and who has, at all events, proved himself competent in some respects for the undertaking. Mr. Grabbe *can* write, and *has* written such things, both in prose and verse, as were most assuredly never written or conceived in our sublunary sphere till now, and such as we imagine no imitator will dare hope to equal. We regret that in this short space we cannot even attempt to give any just account of his truly sublime and effective tragedy, the "Duke of Gothland," (which alone fills up an octavo volume of no less than 400 pages,) nor of his principal comedy, in which the Devil, and the Devil's Grandmother, attended by the Roman Emperor Nero, as a groom in livery, play distinguished parts. We must reserve these as a *bonne bouche* for some other opportunity. Meanwhile, we may notice at least, with due deference, the opinions with which he has favoured the public regarding the character of Shakspeare; and on this occasion Mr. Grabbe is like some eminent performer of unexampled feats, for whose accommodation the stage must be cleared of all minor competitors. Or, to use a more worthy similitude, he is like a great orator in whose presence all humbler aspirants must be mute. Shakspeare, it appears, might have stood somewhat in his way, and hindered the due fulfilment of his magnificent designs. It was highly proper therefore, that such an individual should be jostled aside in the first place; and, accordingly, Mr. Grabbe, several years ago, perfected an Essay, in which, as a preliminary measure, he warned his countrymen against their unreasonable and immoderate admiration of our (falsely styled) great national bard.

"Of this absurd propensity," our bold revolutionist, "can speak with the more freedom, because he himself has, in some degree, suffered from it. In the 'Gothland' especially, some traces of the prevailing hallucination may be detected, but certainly, not one of the other pieces will betray this! Nay, the author believes that the spirit which animates the 'Gothland,' and the mode of conducting its action, will be allowed to show more originality than Shakspearean peculiarities!"

Mr. Grabbe has told us that he publishes these works as primary specimens on which, for his own future guidance, he wishes to hear the judgment of his readers. We can, with great confidence, assure him that in the passage just quoted, he has, on one point, formed for himself a decision, to which no critic in the world will refuse his corroborating testimony. Whatever the faults of Mr. Grabbe's productions may be, in other respects, that they are novel and original must be allowed in all conscience.

With regard to English poetry in general, Mr. Grabbe is of opinion, that there are only two authors of much consequence—"Lord Byron and Shakspeare;" the former for his excellence in expressing his own peculiar and inward feelings—the latter for his power of avoiding the betrayal of such feelings altogether, and for the delineation of events and characters supplied by *external* life. The relevancy of this remark at starting to the arguments which are to follow is not directly apparent, but soon afterwards he plunges in *medias res*, and proposes three questions:—

"1. Whence arose and arises this admiration of Shakspeare, which has turned into a ruling 'fashion?' 2. Is he deserving of such applause? 3. Whither will such continued admiration and imitation lead the German stage?"

In answer to the first question he has historically explained how the French models were banished by the exertions of Lessing, Schröder, and others; how the study of Shakspeare introduced by them and approved subsequently by Goethe and Schiller, was at length perverted, as he is pleased to affirm, into a hallucination, or mania, by the superadded and immoderate panegyrics of Schlegel, Tieck, Novalis, and other leading partizans of the romantic school. These authors, of course, he is obliged to treat with respect, though he believes them to be in error; but with regard to the multitude of minor authors who determine on all occasions to extol Shakspeare, he asserts that their conduct proceeds from one or other of the following causes:—

“1st. Because they feel that they themselves are without force in the field, while they look upon Shakspeare as a twelve-pounder, who supplies them with the means both of attack and defence. 2dly. Because this idolatry of Shakspeare having been kept up for about seventy years costs no trouble to express. One has only to harp upon the same string, and brush up old figures of rhetoric. 3dly. Because the Shakspeare mania has become ‘the mode.’ 4thly. Because the practice of eulogising him is like a trade supported by good securities, for great authors are on the same side, and, consequently, the gaping fool has always his auxiliaries in reserve. 5thly. Because a very little man, when he extols a great character, is apt to think that by so doing he sticks a feather in his own cap, especially if, at the same time, he can direct contemptuous expressions against some distinguished individual whom he contrasts with his idol, for example, should he speak of Shakspeare and Schiller. The little man may himself perhaps have written a play of the most despicable and short-lived class, but what matters this? He who believes that with his own decisive ‘*fiat*,’ he can exalt Shakspeare to the third heaven, may consider himself as on a higher footing than the individual whom he thus elevates. He is like a Napoleon, who rides up and down before the front ranks in a simple green uniform, with a colonel’s epaulets, yet can bestow on a general a badge of the legion of honour, enjoying also the reflected splendour of the dignity which he thus confers. 6thly. Because Germans entertain a kind of stupid reverence for that which they cannot comprehend. 7thly. Because with the multitude, the terms ‘eccentric’ and ‘interesting’ are looked upon as synonymous. 8thly. Because the Germans are sufficiently narrow-minded to consider that only as valuable, which comes from a far distance,” &c. &c.

Enough of this—but jesting apart, and in conformity to M. Tieck’s opinions expressed in a letter prefixed to the “Duke of Gothland,” we must say, that notwithstanding a degree of presumption and violence more akin to madness than genius, the author now before us is far from being destitute of talents such as, with proper cultivation, may enable him to correct and avoid the extravagancies into which over-impetuosity and the determination to be original have betrayed him.

ART. XX.—*Grammatica della Lingua Maltese*, di M. Vassalli. Seconda edizione, molto accresciuta, ed in miglior ordine ridotta. 8vo. Malta. 1827.

THE Maltese language is in a great measure a dialect of the Arabic. Although not a written language till of late years, it is by its nature a literary idiom, being etymologic in its dictions, and therefore deserves the attention of the philologist, and especially of the Orientalist. After passing through various and confused forms of orthography, which were assigned to it at different times, though without success, its alphabet has been at last fixed such as we find it in this Grammar, the first edition of which was written in Latin, and published in Rome in 1791. This orthography has been found by experience sufficient to express clearly all the sounds of the Maltese language. The alphabet consists of the Roman letters, with the addition of five heterogeneous characters, to ex-

press the *gim* or Persian گ, the Arabic *gin* ج, the *ghho* or ح, the *scin* ش, and the *tsod* ض. It has besides three sorts of *h*, the *he* or ه, the *hha* or ح and the *khst* or خ. The vowels are seven, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*, *e*, and the consonants twenty-six in number. M. Vassalli seems to think that the Maltese language has most analogy with the old Arabic of the sixth century of the Hegira, as he intends to demonstrate by a parallel, in the composition of which he has been some time engaged.—*Preface*, p. vii. He also mentions having published a Maltese Lexicon in 1796, which, however, we have had no opportunity of meeting with.

The Maltese common nouns have no less than five numbers, collective, singular, dual, plural determinate, and plural indeterminate, which are distinguished by the termination; for instance, *tamar*, dates, or the fruit of the date-tree; *tanwa*, one date; *tamartajn*, two dates; *tanwyl*, several dates; *tanw* or *tanwa*, many dates. The formation of these numbers is subject to many variations, which are ranged into classes. The nouns are declined by means of the article *il*, both for masculine and feminine, joined to prepositions; for instance, *il gayl*, beauty; *tal gayl*, of the beauty; *yl gayl*, to the beauty; *wyl gayl*, from the beauty. The root of the verbs is found, as in other Oriental idioms, in the third person singular of the past tense, from which the conjugation begins. The relative pronouns are expressed by affixes. The syntax appears remarkably simple and easy.

These few remarks will be sufficient to show the affinity between the Maltese and the languages of the neighbouring continent, especially with the dialects of the Arabic which are spoken on the coast of Barbary, the natives of the latter country, we understand, being able to hold converse with those of Malta with ease. An acquaintance with the Maltese idiom, which can be conveniently acquired on that island, might thus prove useful to those Europeans who intend to travel or reside in northern Africa. M. Vassalli, therefore, deserves praise for having been instrumental in rendering the Maltese a written language, and for having explained its rules in the Italian, with which the natives of Malta are generally conversant.

ART. XXI.—*Dictionarium Editionum tum selectarum tum optimarum Auctorum Classicorum, et Græcorum et Romanorum: ad optimos bibliographorum libros collatum. Emendavit, supplevit, notulique criticis instravit Dr. W. Hebenstreit. Præmittitur Prefatio, accedunt Indices.* Vindobonæ, sumpt. Armbrusteri, 1828, in 12mo.

In this little volume, of less than 300 pages, we have one of the most useful and convenient manuals of classical bibliography that has yet been offered to the public. The author has not undertaken to give a complete catalogue of editions, but merely a selection of the earliest and best, with brief characteristics of the merits of each. Confining himself within the bounds of classical literature, properly so called, Dr. Hebenstreit has arranged the authors in alphabetical order, the names being printed in capitals, and the editions following each other in chronological order. Besides the short characters already mentioned, he has given descriptions of the genuine editions where counterfeit ones are known to exist; and has also attached prices, in most instances, to the modern editions, (in German money) and in a few to the earlier ones.

The book is very neatly and correctly printed on fine paper, and is accompanied with three indexes, the first of the small Elzevir editions, the second of the Greek, and the third of the Latin authors included in the dictionary.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

No. V.

DENMARK.

THERE are three Public Libraries at Copenhagen.

I. THE GREAT ROYAL LIBRARY.—It is in a large building situated to the south of the Palace of Christiansburg, in which the Treasury of Arts, as it was called, was formerly kept; but in 1825 the apartments which it filled were allotted to the Library. This library contains about 400,000 volumes, and may therefore be reckoned among the most considerable in Europe. It was founded by King Frederick III., and the building completed in 1689. We may consider as particular and distinct portions of it,—

1. *The Northern Library*, which has been arranged since 1781, and contains everything relating to the literature of the Danish states, as well as most of that of Sweden, together with everything connected with the geography, history and language of Sweden and Norway.

2. *The Hjelmskjern-Rosenkra Collection*, which was incorporated with the Library in 1807, contains many typographical curiosities relative to the Danish-Norwegian literature.

3. *The Royal Library* has important collections of MSS. many of which appertain to Oriental literature. These collections have been very considerably increased by the MSS. and critical collections of the German philologist Reiske, which are extremely important for the study of the Oriental and Ancient languages. The well-known Danish historian, Peter Fr. Suhm, purchased the last-mentioned collection, and brought it with his own choice library, in the year 1798, to Copenhagen.

4. The collection of MSS. of Thott (4154 in number), and of early printed books (6159), presented by the minister of state Count Otto Von Thott, was received in 1786. Of specimens of early typography in this collection, there were 250 previous to 1480, and of these 35 before 1470. An establishment, under the name of the Museum, was connected with the Library in 1809, for the purpose of promoting the publication of the more interesting inédited MSS. and literary treasures which the Library contains. Circumstances have, however, hitherto prevented the execution of this design.

By an ordinance of 19th January, 1821, every person in Denmark, Iceland and the Colonies, in whose shop, or at whose expense, a work is published, is bound to deliver two copies of it—one on writing-paper,—gratis, to the Royal Library, even if the work is printed in a foreign country. This extends to copperplates, lithographic works, and the like. This obligation was previously imposed on every printer, and is still in force in the Duchies.

5. Attached to the Royal Library is the great Collection of Engravings, preserved in two rooms, in three grand divisions.

1st. The oldest collection of 47,228 engravings in 55 large volumes, among which are many pieces that are extremely rare. The earliest works in this collection are of the time of King Christian V. towards the end of the seventeenth century.

2d. A more modern collection of 29,016 engravings, which was purchased in 1783 of the counsellor of state Von Waschersleben; having been now arranged according to the several schools and masters, fills 217 volumes of different sizes.

3d. PINACOTHECA DANO-NORVEGICA, formed by many years assiduous exertions by Counsellor Adam Møller. This collection contains, in 25 very large volumes, about 4500 engravings, including not only all the productions of Danish engravers, but also the productions relative to Denmark engraved by foreign artists. It is to be regretted that this collection has not been continued since the death of the founder in 1795.

The Royal Library has been open for the use of the public since the year 1798. On week days the hours of admission to the reading-room are from eleven to two o'clock; and by the observance of certain regulations, persons may even have books at their own houses. In the reading-room there is an admirable bust of the learned Hjelmskjær by Thorwaldsen. It is a present from Hjelmskjær's daughter, the Dowager Countess of Rosenkrone, and was placed there in the year 1827.

II. THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, in a long room in the church of the Holy Trinity, consists of about 100,000 volumes. The following may be mentioned as remarkable portions of it:—

A. The collection presented by Arne Magnusson, consisting chiefly of MSS. on parchment and paper, illustrative of the history, antiquities, languages and geography of the Northern nations. Arne Magnusson, (better known by his Latinised appellation of Arnas Magnæus,) Professor of History in the University of Copenhagen, and author of several learned works on Danish and Northern history, &c. died in 1730. By his will he bequeathed to the University twelve hundred volumes, which he had saved from the great fire which destroyed the University Library in 1728, and all the property he possessed in Denmark, on condition of creating two places in it in perpetuity for young Icelanders. He also left a fund of 1000 ducats to defray the expenses of translating and printing the Sagas and other ancient MSS. which he had bequeathed to the Library. This foundation was confirmed by the king in 1760, and in 1772 six commissioners were named to undertake the fulfilment of the testator's dispositions.

B. A rare collection of books in the Sanscrit and other Oriental languages, partly presented, and partly procured by the celebrated botanist Dr. Nathan Wallich, united to what the Library previously possessed, and to the philological treasures collected by Professor Rask.

C. The collection of works on natural history, presented by the late minister of state Count J. G. Moltke.

D. The collection of books on Danish jurisprudence of the counsellor of state Schon, added to the Library in 1812.

According to the above-mentioned ordinance of 19th January, 1821, one copy, on writing-paper, of all works published in Denmark, Iceland and the Colonies, must be delivered gratis to this library also. Since 1776 there has been a reading-room open to the public daily from ten to two o'clock, in which hours books are also lent to carry home.

III. THE CLASSEN LIBRARY.—This library is in a handsome building erected for its reception, consists of about 30,000 volumes, and is particularly rich in the departments of Mathematics, Physics, Natural History, Economy, and Polytechnics. The founders of this library were Mr. J. F. Clasen (ob. 1792) and his brother the privy-counsellor Clasen (ob. 1825). The former bequeathed his library to the public, and an annual sum for the purpose of increasing it; the latter had a building erected for its reception at his own expense, and according to a plan of his own designing. The Library was opened

in 1796. It has a reading-room open from eleven to two, on four days in the week, when books are lent out. There is a bronze bust of J. Fr. Clavm in the Library.

Besides these three public libraries, the Surgical Academy, the Botanic Garden, the Veterinary School, the Ecclesiastical Seminary and the Academy of Arts have each libraries of their own, which are not inconsiderable.

We may here mention the *Athenæum*, a society founded at Copenhagen May 1, 1825, the members of which meet in a suite of reading-rooms, where they find the principal Danish, German, French, English, Norwegian and Swedish newspapers, periodical publications and pamphlets, and in general works of all descriptions interesting to well-informed persons. At the foundation of the society it was resolved, that as soon as the collection amounted to 1000 volumes, books should be lent to the members: this it was enabled to do on the 1st October, 1827. Travellers may be admitted, and visit the reading-rooms for a week, *gratis*; after that a card of admission may be had for a small monthly payment. The society has above 400 permanent members, and a select and interesting company, consisting both of natives and foreigners, is at all times to be met with in the reading-rooms.

The third volume of the elder or poetical Edda, (see our 2d vol. p. 311, note,) printed at the expense of the Magnusson fund, has at last made its appearance. It contains the *Völuspá*, the *Hávamál*, and the *Rígmál*, with a Glossary, Indexes, a most copious Lexicon of the Northern Mythology, by Professor Finn Magnúsen, and the ancient Calendar of the Northern nations. Copies of the Lexicon, which is written in Latin, may also be procured separately. The learning and research which it displays are really prodigious, and we hope to be enabled, before long, to make our readers better acquainted with its contents.

Another important work will shortly make its appearance from the same press, in 2 vols. 4to., entitled *The Grágás* (Grey-Goose), or Code of the ancient Icelandic and Norwegian Laws, in the original Icelandic, with a Latin translation and Indexes, by Thord Sveinbjörnsson, and an Introduction by M. Schlegel.

While the two preceding works were passing through the press, (having occupied several years,) the Commissioners of the Magnusson fund, published, at the end of 1826, another of smaller extent, (1 vol. 4to.) but extremely interesting as a picture of the manners, state of civilization and legislation of the North. This is entitled *Laxdæla-Saga, sive Historia de rebus gestis Laxdælesium*, and is supposed to have been written at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. It embraces the lives of seven generations of the family whose name it bears, one of the most distinguished in Iceland, and includes a variety of episodes relative to other persons and events. It is not confined to Iceland, as five kings of Norway and one of Ireland are introduced in the course of the narrative. The Latin translation was made by Mr. T. G. Repp, an Icelander, now Sub-Librarian of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

Messrs. Thorlacius and Werlauff have completed the *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*, for which they found such ample materials in the Magnusson collection of MSS. The sixth and last volume will contain a copious Index to the work, an Explanation of the Songs of the Scalds which occur in the first three volumes, and an Essay on the sources and authenticity of Snorro's history, by Professor Müller.

Professor Rafn has completed his *Histories of the Northern Heroes*, (Nordiske Kæmpehistorier,) in a third volume, which contains Danish trans-

tations of the most important mythic and romantic legends, from the MSS. in the Magnusson collection. The edition which he has published of the *Death-Song of Lodbrog*, has also been collated with the MSS. in the same collection.

The fourteenth volume of Suhm's *Historie of Denmark* (History of Denmark) has just appeared, embracing the period from 1375 to 1400. Suhm's intention was to bring down the history of Denmark to the year 1448, the period of the accession of the family of Oldenburgh to the throne. He only lived long enough to publish the first seven volumes himself, and at his death he left the manuscript of the eighth, and materials for continuing the work to the year 1400—a task which was confided to some of the most learned men in the kingdom. Suhm availed himself of the researches of all who had written on the subject, but particularly of the Icelandic remains, and has thus produced a work interesting, not only to natives, but to the neighbouring kingdoms.

The great Danish Dictionary, published by the Royal Society, is advanced to letter R, and letter P is in the press.

The same Society has appointed a Committee of Meteorology, consisting of Messrs. Hauch, Oersted and Schouw. Observations are daily made, according to a certain form, not only in Denmark Proper, but also in the most distant parts of the Danish possessions;—in Iceland, Greenland, the West Indian islands and the Coast of Guinea. During the last winter the Society for the diffusion of the Natural Sciences in Denmark held public lectures, gratis, on this branch of knowledge, at which Professors Oersted and Zeise, and Dr. Forschhammer assisted.

Under the title of *Danish Poetical Anthology*, or a Selection from the Works of Danish and Northern Lyric Poets, in chronological order, Professor Molbech proposes to publish a work, in 3 or 4 vols. 8vo, which will contain the best pieces from Tullin to the present time, and be accompanied with a short biographical and critical sketch of each author.

A translation into Danish, with notes, has appeared, of Depping's *Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands en France*. A Swedish translation of the same work is also announced.

A *History of the Northern Union*, in Danish, by John, will shortly appear, in 6 vols. 4to. with maps and plans. It will embrace the period of the union of the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, from the death of Waldemar IV. to the peace of Stettin in 1570. The Appendix will contain many documents of great importance for the history of the North.

FRANCE.

The first volume of a very important collection has just made its appearance from the Royal Press at Paris, handsomely printed in 4to., entitled *Collection de Lois Maritimes antérieures au XVIIIème Siècle*, par J. M. Pardessus, Conseiller à la Cour de Cassation, Professeur de Droit Commercial à la faculté de Paris, &c. It is intended to form a collection of the maritime laws of all nations, from ancient times to the end of the seventeenth century. The work is preceded by the first part of a very elaborate Introduction, exhibiting a view of maritime commerce previous to the discovery of America. The portion

now published comes down only to the Crusades. The rest of the volume is divided into eleven chapters, besides a preliminary one, which develops the object and plan of the work, and the authorities consulted, and enters into a variety of interesting details. Chapter 1 treats of the nations of antiquity which have left us no monuments of their maritime legislation; 2, that of the Greeks, especially of the Athenians; 3, that of the Romans, with the texts of the Roman laws which relate to it; 4, of Europe during the invasion of the Barbarians; 5, of the Eastern empire; 6, the compilation known by the title of the *Maritime Laws of the Rhodians*; 7, maritime laws of the Eastern countries conquered by the Crusaders; 8, the *Rooles or Jugemens d'Oléron*; 9, the maritime usages of the Southern Low Countries, known by the name of *Jugemens de Damme*, or *Laws of West Capelle*; 10, of the Northern Low Countries, known by the name of *Coutumes d'Amsterdam, d'Enchuyzen et de Stobben*; 11, the compilation generally known by the name of the *Maritime Law of Wisby*.

Necrology.—The *Duchesse de Duras*, authoress of *Ouirika* and *Edouard*, died in January last. She was the daughter of Admiral the Count de Kersaint, Deputy to the Legislative Assembly, and afterwards to the Convention, where his conduct was noble and courageous. Madame de Duras was very young at the period of the Revolution, and lived abroad till the restoration of tranquillity in France. She was the friend of Madame de Stael, and naturally adopted her manner of thinking on matters of public interest. Her sentiments were wisely liberal, and she was of opinion, with all the sincere friends of their country, that the diffusion of knowledge was the surest means of securing the national prosperity. She founded a school, at her own expense, on the system of mutual instruction, where a certain number of poor children were educated; and her Christian charity and zeal did not stop there, but were directed to the support of numerous useful institutions. Her literary reputation was fully established by the two above-mentioned publications, which display many charms both of sentiment and composition.

M. Balbi has received letters from Calcutta, confirming the general accuracy of the remarks on the languages of India contained in his *Atlas Ethnographique du Globe*. All the words of the Maldivian Vocabulary are represented as perfectly correct, the writer having visited vessels from the Maldives, in the port of Calcutta, and astonished the sailors by the accuracy of his pronunciation derived from the work of M. Balbi.

M. Crapelet, the celebrated printer, is displaying much enthusiasm in promoting the study of the old French authors, and has already printed several works of that description, that exhibit favourable specimens of style, besides possessing a certain degree of historical importance. He thinks it an excellent means of communicating fresh life to the modern language, to adopt many of the expressions of the writers of the seventeenth century, who often display a force of style and purity of taste seldom seen in our modern writers. The five works which M. Crapelet has already printed are as follow:—*Vers sur la Mort*, par Thibaud de Marly; *Lettres de Henri VIII. à Anne Boleyn*; *Le Combat de Trente Bretons contre Trente Anglais*; *Histoire de la Passion de Jesus Christ*, par Olivier Maillard; and *Le Pas d'Armes de la Bergère, maintenu au tournois de Tarascon*.

M. Goudot, a young naturalist recently returned from a voyage on the coast of Barbary, intends setting out immediately on a expedition, which has for its object the exploration of the extensive island of Madagascar. To increase the

facilities of his enterprise, subscriptions are received from the friends of natural science, who will receive in return packets of such objects in natural history as may be most interesting to them. We believe that our own countryman, Dr. Robert Lyall, who was appointed last year to be the British resident at Madagascar, is already actively engaged in similar pursuits.

The first number of a *Voyage Pittoresque dans le Royaume des Deux-Siciles* has just appeared at Paris and Naples in large folio. It is intended to contain the most beautiful views of the country, and the most important monuments, both ancient and modern. The whole will be included in sixty numbers, each containing three lithographic engravings. The work begins with Naples and its environs; then Campania and the Amphitheatre of Capua; Pompeii, Herculaneum; Nola, the exhaustless mine of Greek vases; and the ruins of Poestum. It will then proceed to illustrate the antiquities and natural beauties of Calabria, Lucania, Apulia, Messapia, Piceno, Samnium, and the other celebrated countries of the kingdom of Naples. The Sicilian division, besides the beautiful prospects for which that island is celebrated, will embrace the stupendous remains of Syracuse, Agrigentum, Selinuntium, Segesta, Catania, Taormina, &c.

The first number contains a View of Naples from the Villa of the Margrave of Anspach, the Ruins called the *Ponti rossi*, and the Tomb of Sannazaro.

The prize offered by the French Institute, relative to the calculation of the perturbations of the elliptical motion of comets, not having been awarded, the Academy has proposed it again, and invites the attention of geometers to this theory, in order to a new examination and improvement of the various methods. The application of these methods is also demanded to the comet of 1759, and to one of the two other comets whose periodical return has been already stated. The prize is a gold medal of 3000 francs. All memoirs to be transmitted before January 1, 1829.

Some curious details on the ruins of Wadi-Mousa, in Arabia-Petrea, have been recently communicated to the Institute by a son of M. Alexandre de Laborde, who has just returned from his travels in that country. He describes the ruins as transcending in magnitude the far-famed remains of Balbeck and Palmyra, and as producing emotions of the highest ecstasy on the mind of the beholder. These ruins have been scarcely seen by former travellers, and a full account of them may shortly be expected.

Professor Lambert, of Metz, announces a new translation, to be published in five parts, of the *Pentateuch*, to be accompanied with the original text and explanatory and critical notes. The author remarks, that perhaps no book has been worse translated than the Hebrew *Pentateuch*; and when we consider what a large proportion of mankind formed their religious belief upon its facts and its dogmas, the importance of a faithful and pure translation becomes of the highest importance.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Paris held its seventh annual meeting on the 29th of April last. The various Reports were read in the following order:—I. On the labours of the Society during the past year, and on the progress of Oriental literature in France, England, Russia and Germany, &c. by M. Abel-Remusat, the secretary. II. Extract from the Correspondence of M. Scholtz, by M. St. Martin. III. Sketch of the History of Georgia and of Georgian Literature, by M. Brosset. IV. Observations on the grammatical affinities of the Sanscrit with the principal modern languages of Europe. V. Portrait of

Zanghi, after the author of the History of the Atabec Tartara. VI. On the language of the Philippine islands, by M. Landresse.

Abel-Remusat has two new volumes in the press of his *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*.

M. Elaprocki will shortly publish a third volume of *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*.

A prize of 1000 francs has been offered by the Society of Christian Morality, at Paris, for the best Memoir on the State of the Law in France relative to Religious Liberty, such as it ought to be according to the Charter.

A particular department has been created for *geography* in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*. Thus is a desideratum supplied which has long been felt, and an enlightened and liberal minister has acquired new claims to the gratitude, not only of France, but of the whole civilized world, which will speedily share in the advantages of such a regulation.

M. Champollion, jun. sailed from France on the 31st of July last, on the new literary and scientific expedition to Egypt, which has been undertaken under the express sanction and patronage of the King. M. Champollion is accompanied by MM. Bibent, architect, Lhote, Cherubini, Duchesne, Bertin fils, and Lebourg, draftsmen, and Lenormand, Inspector of the Department of the Fine Arts at the Louvre; also by a party of Italian savants, (consisting of the two Messrs. Rosellini, Dr. A. Ricci, and Professors Raddi and Angelelli,) sent out at the expense of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, with instructions to act under M. Champollion's directions, assist him in his researches, and co-operate with him for the general objects of this memorable expedition. Its great object is to search for materials to fill up the important gaps which still remain in the history of the most celebrated people of antiquity. There is reason to believe that the monuments of Egypt may yet restore to us some pages of her own history, and of that of the earliest nations.

As a most favourable augury of the result of M. Champollion's expedition, we may mention that on his way to Marseilles, previously to his embarking for Egypt, he paid a visit to M. Sallier, of Aix, the proprietor of a valuable collection of Egyptian papyri. M. Champollion's examination of these is said to have led to the extraordinary discovery that two of them contained a history of the wars and reign of Sesostria Rhameses the Great, who, according to chronologists, was contemporary with Moses, being the son of that Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea while in pursuit of the fugitive Hebrews. One of the papyri is dated in the ninth year of that monarch's reign, and consequently has been recovered after an oblivion of thirty-three centuries! The *Literary Gazette* having already published all the details given by the French journals relative to these papyri, we think it unnecessary to repeat them here, and shall wait with anxiety for fuller and more complete information on the subject.

The French translation of the valuable work of Archbishop Cosé, (whose demise at a ripe old age the English literary world has recently had occasion to deplore,) entitled *Memoirs of the Spanish Kings of the House of Bourbon*, was completed a few months back in 6 vols. 8vo. The translator, Don Andres Muriel, (one of those highly gifted and unfortunate Spaniards who, having made themselves politically obnoxious to King Ferdinand's government, were forced to exile themselves,) has added very considerably to the value of the work by numerous notes, corrections of the author's errors, and by a whole

volume of additional matter, divided into nine chapters, relating to the reign of Charles III. In one of these chapters is a very full historical sketch of the state of Spanish literature during that reign, which well deserves to be consulted. But we particularly wish to draw attention to the book, on account of a remarkable memorial of Count d'Aranda, the Spanish minister at Paris, addressed to his own sovereign immediately after putting his signature to the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which recognized the independence of the revolted English colonies. In this remarkable historical document, (which Don A. Mariel has first published entire,) Count d'Aranda, after anticipating in the most sagacious and prophetic spirit the inevitable results to his country from the impolitic step into which she had been dragged by France of favouring this revolt, proposed, for *immediate* adoption, a plan for obviating the loss of her colonies, with which Spain was threatened, which, had it been carried into effect even twenty years later, we hesitate not to say, would have saved the oceans of blood and treasure which have been wasted in the contests between the Spanish colonies and the mother-country, and prevented the wide-spread misery and desolation in which these extensive regions are now almost universally involved, and to which there seems at present no prospect of a termination. The document is of considerable length, and we have only room to extract the essence of the plan.

"Your Majesty ought to give up all your possessions on the continent of the two Americas, retaining only the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. . . . In order to accomplish this great idea in a manner suitable to Spain, three Infants must be established in America, one as *King of Mexico*, the second as *King of Peru*, and the third as *King of Terra Firma*. Your Majesty will take the title of Emperor.

"The conditions of this great cession might be, that the three new kings and their successors should acknowledge your Majesty, and the princes who shall fill the Spanish throne after you, for the supreme heads of the family: That the King of Mexico should pay every year, as an acknowledgement for the cession of that kingdom, a contribution in silver of . . . The King of Peru to do the same for his possessions. The King of Terra Firma should send annually his contribution in colonial produce, especially in tobacco, to supply the several entrepôts in the kingdom."

GERMANY.*

VIENNA.—The reviewer of Von Hammer's *History of the Ottoman Empire*, in the Vienna *Jahrbücher*, had marked several passages for quotation, which Hülsenman, the editor, suppressed, as unfavourable, and consequently obnoxious to the Turks. What renders this the more extraordinary is the circumstance of Von Hammer's book itself being printed at Vienna. The celebrated Orientalist has in consequence, it is said, ceased to write for the *Jahrbücher*.

A volume of poems in the Lower Austrian dialect, by M. Castelli, will shortly appear. In their separate state they met with much applause, and will, when collected, form an acceptable gift to the lovers of a dialect which possesses many charms. Grammatical remarks and a Lexicon will be appended.

MUNICH.—The following exculpatory notice has lately been published in justice to the memory of a distinguished German scholar:—

* Under this head we shall in future bring together the intelligence from the different German States.

"The late Frederick Augustus Wolf, Privy Counsellor to his Majesty the King of Prussia, who died several years ago at Marseilles, had borrowed from the Public Library at Augsburg a manuscript of Homer's *Odyssey*, and being subsequently asked for it, affirmed that he had returned it long before, though the receipt for it, signed by himself, was still in the Royal Library in this city (Munich), whither it had been brought from Augsburg, and no trace of the manuscript itself could be found in either of the libraries. As Mr. Wolf could bring no proof of his having returned the manuscript beyond his own assertion, doubts necessarily arose, and reports affecting the honour of that learned writer were circulated, especially in foreign countries. The lost manuscript, however, has lately been found in the Royal Library, in consequence of a new arrangement being ordered by Mr. Lichtenthaler, lately appointed the superintendent of it, and was accompanied with documents which prove beyond all doubt, that Mr. Wolf did actually send back the manuscript at the time he stated. We consider it our duty, therefore, to give this public notice, for the refutation of the above-mentioned reports, and the entire justification of that illustrious and learned man, whose character had been placed in a false light.

"Munich, 25th June, 1828.

"The Royal Bavarian General Conservatory
of the Scientific Collections of the State. (Signed) "VON SCHELLING."

Dr. Fr. V. P. Grauthuisen, Professor of Astronomy in the University of Munich, has commenced the publication of a new Journal of Astronomy and Geography, under the title of *Analekten für Erd und Himmelskunde*—to appear twice a year, viz. at Easter and Michaelmas. The object of it is to collect and make known the most important and interesting discoveries in astronomy and geography, and the sciences connected with them. It will not contain any reviews, but short essays, extracts and interesting quotations from the best works on these subjects. The editor will do his utmost to tread in the footsteps of the excellent Bode, whose Almanack afforded amateurs as well as professors in astronomy opportunity to make known their discoveries, and by which many an ingenious man who persevered in his labours became an able astronomer.

We formerly alluded to the *Flora of the Altaic Mountains*, proposed to be published by Dr. Ledebur, and now learn that a Series of Plates, with brief descriptions, has been commenced at Munich. The work will appear in ten livraisons, two of which will form a volume, and will contain 500 lithographic figures, representing for the most part new plants found on these mountains, or in the environs. The collection was formed during a journey undertaken at the expense of the Russian government in the year 1826. Besides this work, Dr. Ledebur means to publish a Methodical Description of the Altaic Plants, in 4to.

The first volume of the Familiar Letters of the celebrated Wallenstein is now published, and the second volume is in the press. We have already mentioned the fortunate discovery of these valuable Letters. They extend from the year 1627 to 1634, and are addressed to Arnheim, Alsinger, Gallas, Piccolomini, &c. A Sketch of the Life and Campaigns of Wallenstein is prefixed.

The Public and Private Life of Augustus Ludwig Von Schlözer, compiled from original documents, many of which are inserted at length, by his son Christian Von Schlözer, Counsellor of State to the Emperor of Russia, 2 vols. 8vo. The life of this laborious author, whose literary influence was extensive;

his residence at Stockholm, Petersburg, Paris and Rome; his adventures and controversies; his correspondence with celebrated statesmen and men of letters, present considerable interest. He was the editor of the edition of Nestor's Russian Chronicle, mentioned in our first volume, page 604.

Mr. Kupferberg, bookseller at Mentz, announces for publication a complete edition of *Collectio Conciliorum Trevirensium*, (Collection of the Councils of Treves,) with Notes. The greater part of these Councils has been printed before, but are now rare, the several great works in which they are contained being difficult to procure, unless at high prices. Some of these had been printed from incorrect MSS. and others had remained unpublished. An edition of the whole, in a correct form, and illustrated with suitable notes, has been long wanted.

Dr. C. A. Schaab, of Mentz, is about to publish a History of the Invention of Printing, from original sources, and accompanied with 268 hitherto unpublished documents, which throw an entirely new light on the genealogy of Gutenberg, Faust and Schöffer.

Goethe's Herman and Dorothea.—The following anecdote of a circumstance which took place in Germany nearly a hundred years ago, is said to be the foundation of this celebrated poem.

In the year 1732, in consequence of a great persecution of the Protestants in the Principality of Salzburg, great numbers of them were compelled to emigrate, and about 20,000 of them came to Prussia. The son of a rich farmer happening to meet with one of these emigrant parties, and entering into conversation with a young woman belonging to it, was very much smitten with her; but being unwilling to make her more serious proposals till his parents should have seen her, asked her if she would be willing to engage as their servant. Having assented to the proposal, she went with him to his father's house. After some time the young man, having obtained his father's consent, offered her his hand, which she, fancying he was merely in jest, at first resented; but being soon satisfied by his father that the proposal was serious, she joyfully consented, and then drew from her bosom a purse, containing 130 pieces of gold, which she offered him as her marriage portion. The story is related in a Berlin Journal of the year in which it happened.

Among many interesting sketches in the last number of Goethe's periodical work, *Über Kunst und Alterthum*, (On Art and Antiquity,) Vol. VI. Part II. we have especial satisfaction in selecting the following remarks on Mr. Moir's translation of Schiller's "Wallenstein".—

"Already," says the illustrious critic, "I have noticed* the peculiar plea-

* He is alluding to some verses in a preceding page of the same number, of which the following is a humble attempt to convey the sense to the English reader:—

A meadow-garland once I sought,
And home with me rejoicing brought:
Within my hand too closely prest,
Droop'd every flower its budding crest;
But in a liquid goblet rear'd,
What scene of wonder soon appear'd!
The buds their pristine bloom disclose,—
Each stem in lovely verdure glows,—
And all as fair and sweetly smile
As when they graced their native soil.

Such change and charm came over me,
My songs in foreign tongues to see.

case, the revival of youthful emotions, which an author, especially a poet, experiences from the skilful resurrection of his works by an adequate translator, nor is it to be wondered at that an English version of my friend Schiller's 'Wallenstein' should, in my mind, have excited these feelings in no ordinary degree.

"During the author's labours on this most remarkable *Trilogie*, I was almost constantly by his side, for he had a peculiar gift of being able to talk freely and willingly with his acquaintances on the literary tasks which he had in hand, even as the time when he was busily employed in their completion. In his deeply meditative and wakeful spirit, there was an almost miraculous combination of obstinate perseverance with submissive docility; nor did that submission to intercourse with his friends disturb him in composition, but served at once to regulate and strengthen his conceptions, as will be proved ere long by the publication of our epistolary correspondence, which was continued for ten years.

"Considering that on the completion of this threefold drama, I assisted my friend in bringing it on the stage, and attended every rehearsal, where I had to endure the complicated details of theatrical drilling, and share his vexation, when, in spite of all our pains, certain passages were found unmanageable,—afterwards, too, that as a critical director, I witnessed its public representation so often, hearing the poet's admirable verses pronounced by actors not always able to comprehend what they uttered, while I myself knew the whole tragedy by heart,—I must be forgiven for confessing, that by such repetition it became at last insipid, and tiresome, so that for many years I could not bear either to read the play or to see it performed.

"Now, however, it suddenly comes before me in the language of Shakspeare, and the analogy between two great poets is vividly manifested. It is again the first fresh creation—the 'same and yet another'—so novel withal, that with its fullest poetic influence it rivets attention, and excites the most fervent emotions. The translator's preface deserves particular notice, for he evinces a deep knowledge of Schiller's writings. Historically he is well acquainted with 'The Camp,' though from this portion of the *Trilogie* he has only ventured to render in English the concluding song—and to this, in a foreign language, we listen once more with as much enjoyment as we derived twenty-five years ago from the original."

Mr. G. N. Von Nissen, actual Counsellor of State in the service of the King of Denmark, Knight of the Order of Dannebrog, &c. who married the widow of Mozart, announces for publication by subscription, an entirely new *Life of Mozart*, founded on original documents and correspondence, embracing everything which has hitherto been written concerning him, with the addition of numerous interesting documents, engravings and music. One very large volume, 8vo. To be published at Michaelmas Fair.

Three volumes of Sermons, selected from the MSS. left by the late Professor Tschirner, (whose death we noticed in our last, p. 739, and who was reckoned one of the most eloquent preachers of modern Germany,) are to be published at Michaelmas. They will contain about 100 sermons, preached on Sundays and holidays, with others delivered on remarkable occasions, during the last twelve years. Most of them were selected for publication by the late Professor himself, and the remainder by Professor J. D. Goldhorn, who has undertaken the office of editor.

Another posthumous work of the same author has been announced for publication at the end of this year, which, from the nature of the subject and the name of the author, promises to be highly interesting. It is *Der Fall des*

Heidenthums, (The Fall of Paganism,) in five books, forming 2 vols. 8vo. Mr. Barth, the publisher, announces this as the greatest work of Tiedtman, the principal object of twenty years research, presenting a faithful, complete and animated picture of the greatest and most important event in the history of the world, and which, as a composition, will place the author on a level with Gibbon, Joh. Müller, Herder, &c.

Professor Müller, of Göttingen, will shortly publish "*The Etruscans*," a prize-essay, in 2 vols. being the fourth and fifth volumes of his "*Geschichte Etruscher Stämme und Städte*." (History of the Etruscan Tribes and States.)

Zumpt's *Handbuch der Römischen Geschichte*, (Manual of Roman History,) in two volumes, will speedily appear.

Who was the continuator of Schiller's *Geisterseher* (Ghost-Seer) has been a subject of dispute. A writer in a late German Journal proves the author to have been Follenius, and not Vulpius, as had sometimes been asserted.

A new and complete edition of the works of Tietz, the dramatic poet and critic, is announced for publication.

A beautiful pocket edition of the Works of Adolph Müllner, the celebrated dramatic poet, has just made its appearance in seven volumes. An eighth, which is commenced, will complete it.

Müller's *Life of Erasmus*, just published, in 1 vol. 8vo. is infinitely superior to *Barigny's*. Although totally blind, the author has been enabled to consult the best authorities, and enriched his work with many particulars which had been overlooked by former historians.

The second volume of the royal 8vo. edition of Calderon's Works, in Spanish, published by Mr. Ernest Fleischer of Leipzig, and noticed in our last Number, has just made its appearance. It contains twenty-six pieces, and a most beautifully executed portrait of Calderon, after a drawing by Retzsch, in which the artist has introduced some appropriate ornaments. The translators of Calderon, in Germany, have been numerous, though by far the best are Gries and Malsburg. Lately one of his plays, the *Medico de su Honor*, has been admirably well rendered by Mr. A. Schumacher.

In Riea's *Abriss aus dem Leben*, (Sketches from Life,) which have just appeared, the author's description of his residence in London, and the effect produced on his mind by English manners, displays considerable vivacity and humour.

Mr. Häring, well known as a poet and poetical translator under the name of Willibald Alexis, has lately published "*Travels in Scandinavia*." His descriptive sketches of Sweden, of its romantic scenery, and of the national manners and literature, are particularly entertaining.

The fourth and last volume of Mr. Crome's statistical work on the States of the German Confederation—*Geographisch-Statistische Darstellung der Staatskräfte von den sämmtlichen zum Deutschen Staatenbunde gehörigen Ländern*—is now published. This volume includes the Saxon Duchies, Anhalt, the principalities of Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein, Hesse-Homburg, and the four free cities, (Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen and Frankfort.) Like the preceding volumes, it is

compiled with great care; and though the highly respected author thinks fit to allege his advanced age as an excuse for any inaccuracies, it does not appear that such an apology was at all necessary. Crome intends to conclude his statistical labours with this work. But we may still expect from him another production, which will be extremely interesting, and throw great light on the literary history of the last fifty years. It is the *Memoirs of his own Life*, in which, as he modestly observes at the end of his preface to this volume, he intends to tell the public much less about his own life, than about the great and remarkable men with whom he has been more or less acquainted in the course of the half century, now nearly complete, in which he has been before the public as a teacher and professor.

We have seen the Preface and a specimen-sheet of a new *English-and-German and German-and-English Dictionary*, by a Mr. J. L. Hilpert, of Heidelberg, and think we may at last congratulate both nations on the prospect of possessing a Dictionary suited to the actual wants of each. The study of the English language, the author remarks, has exceedingly increased in Germany of late years, and now forms a popular branch of instruction among all classes. We cannot say quite so much for the study of the German in England, but we at least know that a desire to be acquainted with the immortal productions of a Goethe and a Schiller—not to speak of the other master-spirits of their fatherland—is rapidly spreading among the higher classes in England, and particularly among the literati. The present Dictionary, we believe, will be in 4 vols. 4to. and its copiousness will be an additional recommendation, from the poverty and meagreness of most of its predecessors.

The celebrated M. Battmann has just published the first volume of a work entitled *Mythologus*, or a Collection of Dissertations on the Traditions of Antiquity. The greater part of these have been already read before the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, but the author has done well to collect them together, as they throw light on many important points of archæology.

Bonn.—The first livraison of Professor Niebuhr's edition of the Byzantine historians, (which will be the third in the order of the collection,) has recently appeared. It contains the five books of the *History* of Agathias, and his *Epigrams*, with a Latin translation, notes, and two indexes. The preface of the learned editor enters into very full details of the pains which have been taken, by a careful collation of MSS., of printed editions and translations, to establish a correct text; and the present volume affords ample evidence of his high qualifications for the task, as well as of the necessity of some such superintendence in the re-publication of so important a body of history. At a future period, it is our intention to devote an article or two of some extent to the Byzantine historians, from whom our own Gibbon derived a large portion of the materials for his great history, and whom, we believe, he intended at one time to have made the subject of a separate work. We shall confine ourselves at present to a short notice of the author before us.

Agathias was a native of Myrine, a city of Asia, originally founded by the Æolians, and is conjectured to have been born about the year 536 of our era. By his own account he followed the profession of the law, but merely as a means of existence, having a great preference for poetry and the belles-lettres. He is supposed to have commenced writing his history when he was about thirty years of age; he says, that "finding himself in a period fertile in extraordinary events, he had listened to the voice of the oracle, which recommends us to know ourselves; that in obedience to it he had determined to take up

history, in order not to spend his whole life on fables, and to devote a portion of it, at least, to a serious and important work." He became, in fact, the continuator of Procopius of Caesarea, who had given the History of Justinian up to the twenty-sixth year of that monarch's reign, viz. the year 553; and Agathias begins at the point where Procopius left off. His intention was only to continue it to the death of Justinian in 566, but the five books of which it is composed go no farther than the year 558, terminating with the defeat of the invading Huns by Belisarius.

We find, in the seventh chapter of his fifth book, (p. 291—293,) under the year 557, some singularly curious details respecting the effects of the expansive force of steam, produced by Anthemius, the famous architect of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, and which is probably the oldest experiment of the kind of which we have any account. The following is an abridgement of Agathias's account:—

"Anthemius had a neighbour named Zeno, a celebrated rhetorician; their houses joined together in such a manner as to appear only one. In process of time some dispute arose between them, that led to a law-suit, in which Zeno pleaded his own cause, and gained the victory. Anthemius, finding himself unequal to cope with his adversary in eloquence, resolved to give him a proof of his superiority in his own art. The lower part of Zeno's house was so connected with his, as to afford him the necessary facilities for executing his scheme. He procured several large vessels which he filled with water, to which he attached long leathern pipes, wide enough at bottom to cover the vessels entirely, and very narrow at the tops, which he fixed to the joists of his neighbour's floor with so much nicety, that not a particle of the air which ascended could escape. He then lighted a great fire under the vessels. As soon as the water began to boil, it threw up a thick steam, which rose with violence, and pressed against the joists with so much force as to make the floor and the whole house shake and tremble so as to resemble the shock of an earthquake; the servants of Zeno were so terrified as to run out into the street," &c.

Professor Niebuhr has offered a prize of 100 rix-dollars for the best Essay on "The Geography of the Roman Empire under Justinian, and of the neighbouring states and nations, as well at the commencement of his reign as after the conquest of Italy." All memoirs to be transmitted before the end of November next.

Professor Kruse, of Halle, has recovered the manuscript Journal of Seetzen, the celebrated German traveller, which was supposed to be lost. It will, probably, contain many interesting details respecting Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Professor Kruse is entrusted with its publication.

HAMBURG, July, 1828.—The Senate of this city has at length published a decree to secure the rights of authors against the piracy of their works. The author (or legal proprietor) of all works and musical compositions, published in the States of the German Confederation, or which shall be in future published, shall enjoy a temporary exclusive right to the publication and sale of the same in the city and its territory. This exclusive right ceases at the expiration of two years from the publication of the work, or of each separate volume. But if the author (or proprietor) should, before the expiration of that time, have published a second, &c. edition of the work, or a revised and corrected edition of it, these shall enjoy the same temporary rights, so that a spurious impression even of the other editions is equally prohibited. The heirs of an author, who, after his death, publish his hitherto unedited works, or continuations composed

by him of his earlier works, have the same exclusive right for ten years to such works and continuations, which rights, however, absolutely terminate at the expiration of that time. The same limited right is enjoyed by the heirs of an author, if within two years after his death, they publish, or begin to publish, a collection of his already published works. Translations from foreign languages into the German, and, *vice versâ*, if published in the states of the Confederation, enjoy the same rights as original works. These are the principal articles of this decree, which is to remain in force till the German Diet shall adopt some general measure on the subject; and with a proviso, that it may be revoked or modified, if it should cause an immoderate increase in the price of books.

Necrology.—On the 7th of July died at Halle, after a short illness, the celebrated Dr. *Augustus Hermann Niemeyer*, Chancellor of the University, in the 74th year of his age. He was born in that town, September 1, 1754, and educated in the seminary over which he presided for forty-four years. He first began to give instructions in the University on the 18th of April, 1777, and the manner in which the fiftieth anniversary of that event was commemorated at Halle, on the 18th of April last year, proved how many thousands of his scholars all over Germany honoured the remembrance of their excellent instructor. The greatest literary services of Niemeyer were undoubtedly in the department of education. Indefatigable writing was the soul of his life, and remained undiminished to the last moment. What he was enabled to perform in this respect is attested by ten full pages in Meusel's *Gelehrtes Deutschland*, in which Niemeyer's writings are enumerated.

Gückingk, an admired German poet, and the friend of Bürger, Gleim, and Jacobi, died in February last, in the 80th year of his age. His works have gone through many editions, and will secure him an honourable place among the poets of his country. His songs, that breathe a spirit so soft and sympathetic, well depict his heart, and his memory will long be cherished by all who knew him. Of late years he occupied a place in the councils of the King of Prussia.

ITALY.

Mr. G. P. Vieusseux, of Florence, the publisher of the valuable periodicals, *Antologia* (monthly) and *Giornale Agrario Toscano* (quarterly), announces the establishment of a third work, to be entitled *Annali Italiani delle Scienze Matematiche, Fisiche, e Naturali*, to be published in quarterly volumes, each containing thirty sheets of letter-press, with an index, and occasional engravings.

Count Leopardi, of Milan, has recently published a *Crestomasia Italiana*, which is reckoned superior to all that have preceded it. Thoroughly acquainted with the beauties of his native literature, the author has endeavoured to select such passages from the great writers of Italy, as will inspire strangers with a just feeling for its peculiar excellencies.

Messrs. Giunchi and Mordacchini have just published at Rome, the first volume of the *Monumenti dello Stato Pontificio, e relazione topografica di ogni parte; opera di Giuseppe Marocchi d'Imola*.

This first volume contains the account of *Sabinum*; it is illustrated by ancient inscriptions, both sacred and profane, which are most accurately given, and is characterised by interesting local information.

A tragedy, entitled *La Vestale*, (the Vestal,) has been recently acted at Rome with extraordinary applause. Such was the beauty of the style, the elevation of the sentiments, the conduct and action of the plot, and the spirit of the dialogue, as to draw increased crowds at each new representation. Such brilliant success having alarmed the ecclesiastical police, its performance was forbidden; and, it is said, that the Cardinal-vicar, Zurla, who had sanctioned its appearance, has been censured for permitting it. What seemed particularly to excite the wrath of the inquisitors, were some passages on the pagan priests, which the public seemed to apply to the catholic clergy. The author, M. Sterbini, was not allowed to print it at Rome. Some time after he read, at the *Accademia Tiberina*, an Ode on the Battle of Navarino, in which supplications were offered up for the deliverance of Greece, and high eulogiums bestowed on the allied Sovereigns who have the charge of this generous enterprise. This manifestation of philanthropic enthusiasm was deemed an unpardonable crime by the papal government, which, accordingly, banished the author from Rome, and confined him with his family in a small country-house in the environs.

The Accademia Della Crusca, has, for the third time, proposed the following question for the solution of the literati of Italy and even of France:—*How and when were the Italian, Provençal, and French languages formed, at the expense of their common parent?—What were the circumstances that chiefly contributed to impart to the Italian its distinguishing characteristics?—When and on what occasion was it first written?—At what period did any considerable difference take place between the language of the people and that of written composition?—What influence did these two varieties exercise on each other?—In what part of Italy was the popular language most at variance with that of books?—The influence, if any, of the Sicilian poets on the revolution of the written language?—Whether, before Dante, Petrarca, and Boccacio, any of the Italian dialects had obtained pre-eminence over the others, and how happens it that the Italian language, although formed and polished the first, the eldest daughter of the Latin, and bearing more resemblance to her parent than any of the sister dialects, has not obtained the honour of being the language of diplomacy and of carrying on the principal relations among states?*

Goethe, in the last number (vol. vi. part 2) of his *Kunst und Alterthum*, gives a short but interesting account of a *Collection of Italian Popular Songs*, the materials for which had been got together by Will. Müller during his Travels in Italy, and have been arranged and published since his death by his intimate friend, O. L. B. Wolff. This collection is divided into three parts:—1. Songs in the dialects approaching nearest to the written language. 2. Selections from printed collections. 3. Songs in the dialects differing most from pure Italian. The first portion is again subdivided into three; comic or satirical, religious, and political. The second contains among others, the celebrated ode, *Orfeo della dolce Lira*, the *Life of the Bandit Chief Pietro Mancini*, the *Story of the cruel Violante*, &c. The third contains songs in a great variety of dialects, the Piedmontese, Neapolitan, Sicilian, Venetian, &c. To assist the reader, the editor has given a complete view of the principal variations of the different dialects from the regular Italian, with explanatory notes, and in some few instances with the melodies attached.

From this brief sketch, it will be seen that the chief object of the work is

to show by some striking examples the direction of the poetical spirit among the lively Italians—its modification by the peculiarities of the different provinces, and the influence exercised on it by the prevailing manners of each.

The *Giornale generale della Libreria e Stamperia Italiana* is published at Parma. It includes books, maps, copper-plate and lithograph engravings, and music, published in all parts of Italy.

NETHERLANDS.

ONE of the most important botanical works which has appeared in Europe of late years, is about to be commenced at Brussels; it is entitled *Flora Jave necnon insularum adjacentium*, auctore Carolo Lud. Blume, M. D. &c. &c. adjutore J. B. Fischer, Med. and Chir. Doct. cum tabulis lapidi eriguae incis. It will contain the collections not only of the learned author, but also those of Kuhl, Van Hasselt, Reinwardt, &c. The drawings have been made almost entirely from the living subjects, and will be copied with extreme fidelity by the best artists. The number of subjects to be engraved is about 600; the descriptive text will be entirely written in Latin, and arranged according to the system of the natural orders. The work will be printed in a handsome folio size, on vellum paper, and is calculated to form one hundred livraisons, each containing six plates; one livraison to be published every month, or a double one every other month, price 12s. per livraison plain, or 15s. coloured. After the publication of the 20th livraison, the prices will be increased 2s. for the plain, and 3s. for the coloured. A specimen of the work may be seen, and subscriptions will be received by Messrs. Treuttel & Co.

Mr. Ph. Vander Maelen, author of the great *Universal Atlas*, recently completed, has just announced the commencement of an *Atlas of Europe*, to consist of 165 maps. The size of the maps is *grand colombier*; they will be published in numbers, each containing four coloured maps, at uncertain periods; the author calculates on publishing seven numbers in a year, at which rate it will require six years to finish the work. The numbers will be sold separately; the price will be about 15s. per number.

M. Zeyher, a young botanist now at the Cape of Good Hope, has sent home a collection of plants, amounting to nearly 20,000, well dried and in good condition. They were collected at the Cape in the neighbourhood of Caledon, Witenhagen, Gnadensthal, Constantia, Hottentots-Holland, &c. Professor Sprengel is entrusted with their examination and classification, previously to their being sold in lots.

Among the books forming part of what was called the Bollandists' library, which the members of the ancient abbey of Tongerlo have given up to the government, were found nearly seven hundred volumes in manuscript; this first portion has recently arrived at Brussels, and we have been assured that it contains the sequel of the *Lives of the Saints*, by the Bollandists, and that the government will be at the expense of printing them.

The magistrates of Antwerp have lately ordered a work to be printed on the Antiquities of the city of Antwerp, by J. F. Williams, Member of the Institute, in which several curious documents are inserted that have hitherto been

buried under the dust of the libraries. Such are the charters of the Sovereign of Brabant subsequent to 1186, &c. The book, besides numerous facts peculiarly interesting to the citizens of Antwerp, contains many curious particulars relative to the history, the manners, laws, customs and public spirit of the times. The work is embellished with ten plates; four of which are views of the city at different periods.

RUSSIA.

THE Gazette of St. Petersburg, of June last, contains copies of the regulations respecting the rights of authors in general, and the regulations respecting the recompense to which dramatic authors are to be in future entitled, whose works shall be performed on the Imperial Russian theatres; both of which have been approved by his Majesty the Emperor. The first consist of eighteen articles, the second of twenty. The following are the principal articles of each:—

I. Every author or translator has the exclusive copy-right of his work during his life-time, and his heirs enjoy the same privilege for twenty-five years after his death; after which it becomes common property, and every person is at liberty to print, publish, and sell it, without molestation.

No printed or manuscript work belonging to an author can be sold for the payment of his debts.

The purchaser of any book, or manuscript, from a bookseller's stock, sold in consequence of bankruptcy, or for the payment of debts, shall be bound to the complete fulfilment of the terms of the original contract between the author and publisher.

Contracts between authors and publishers to be registered in the broker's books.

The other articles relate to the printing of second editions, the definition and punishment of literary piracies, &c. &c.

II. With respect to dramatic works, they are divided into five classes, the first, or highest, class, including *original* tragedies or comedies in *five* or in *four* acts, and in *verse*; and the musical compositions of grand operas; and the fifth, or lowest, *translations* of minor pieces in *prose*, and of *vaudevilles* in *one* act.

The authors of such works accepted, shall receive, *during their whole lives*, the following shares of the receipts of the Imperial theatres of the two capitals on the days when their pieces are performed:—

For a piece of the first class	one-tenth.
second class	one-fifteenth.
third class	one-twentieth.
fourth class	one-thirtieth.

The shares to be calculated on two-thirds of the gross receipts.

By mutual consent of the authors and the superior board of administration of the theatres, the pieces may be purchased for a sum paid down, but of which the *maximum* is fixed never to exceed: for the first class, 4000 rubles (about 160 guineas); for the second class, 2500 (100 guineas); for the third class 2000 (80 guineas); for the fourth class, 1000 (40 guineas); and for the fifth class, 500 (20 guineas). The other clauses relate to free admissions, operas, &c.

ST. PETERSBURGH.—On the 28th of June the Imperial University of St. Petersburg had a solemn sitting, at which were present his Eminence the Me-

tropolitan of St. Petersburg, his Highness Prince Lieven, Minister of Public Instruction, and a brilliant assemblage of spectators. Professor Bontirsky, the secretary, opened the sitting by reading an account of the proceedings of the University for the year 1827, from which it appears, that in 1823 the number of students in the University was only 30; in 1826 it increased to 66, in 1827 to 132, and at present there are nearly 150, not including the pupils in the Noble establishment of the University which has 103. The number of scholars in all the establishments subordinate to the University was, in 1827, 11,209, being 599 more than in 1826. The number of teachers amounts to above 800. The statement gives a curious view of the number of pupils in each of the governments to which the jurisdiction of the University extends, as compared with their population. In the government of St. Petersburg 5440 pupils receive instruction in the establishments subordinate to the University; but besides these 5440, there are undoubtedly 5 or 6000 young persons educated in establishments which are independent of the University. In the other governments the number of pupils compared with the population is as follows:—

Governments.	Number of Pupils.	Proportion compared with the Population.
Kalouga	684	1 to 1463
Vologda	515	1 to 1421
Takov	672	1 to 1161
Smolensko	928	1 to 1131
Mohilev	928	1 to 916
Olonetz	324	1 to 731
Archangel	344	1 to 639
Witepsk	1356	1 to 533

Estimating the population of these eight governments at 5,630,000, there will be, on an average, one pupil to 993 inhabitants, and in the nine governments, including that of St. Petersburg, one pupil to 555 inhabitants.

The commencement of the present year produced, at Moscow, among other literary novelties, a fresh display of Almanacks. Since the *Polar Star*,* perhaps the best Russian Almanack that has yet appeared, led the way, this beautiful species of literary gift has gone on multiplying from year to year, and the present season has added several new ones to those already existing; not, as it would seem, altogether to the satisfaction of some of the Russian literati, as the author of "a Review of Russian Literature for 1827," in the *Moscow Messenger*, complains that these annuals divert the attention of literary people from more important studies. The graphic merits of these almanacks are certainly much below those of the sister works of England, France, and Germany, but their literary merits are said to be of a high order. The most elegant of the class are the *Northern Flowers* (Sjewernie Zwiety), with a portrait of the poet Pushkin, and the *Neva Almanack*, both published at St. Petersburg, the first by Delwig and Soman, and the latter by Aladin. Besides these, there are the *Album of the Northern Muses*, the *Dramatic Almanack*, edited by Ivanov; the *Moscow Almanack*, by the well-known Sergei Glinka; but the greatest wonder of all is a *Siberian Almanack*, which contains much interesting matter, and among the rest the description of a journey from Krasnojarsk to Kiachta, in three letters.

* This was the first of the Russian annuals; it began in 1823, and was continued during the two following years. The editors were two young and promising writers, who were lost to literature by their connection with the conspiracy in 1826; one of them was executed, and the other sent to the mines in Siberia.

Much has been said in the literary circles of St. Petersburg, in praise of some recent poems, particularly a new one by the blind poet Koslov, entitled "Natalie Dolgoruki," and the "Ball-room" by Baratsinski. The celebrated Pushkin has lately published two poems entitled the "Gipsy" and the "Robbers," which have been highly applauded. This eminent author is, at present, proceeding with a metrical romance, entitled *Eugenius Onegin*, of which five books have appeared, and have been most favourably received. He has lately published a new edition with considerable alterations of one of his early poems *Ruslan and Ludmila*. For another of his compositions which has been translated into German under the title of the "Trauer-quell" (Grief-spring), "in Bakschisarai," the poet received 3000 rubles. The whole poem contains only 600 verses, so that every line on an average is valued at five rubles.

A translation of Lord Byron's *Parisina*, by Verderevsky, a young poet, is spoken of with much approbation. Generally speaking, English poetry is in high favour, and translations of the minor poems of Byron, Moore, Southey, &c. are constantly appearing.

The Emperor has issued an Ukase, by which the removal of the University of Abo to Helsingfors, the chief town of Finland, according to the intention of the late Emperor Alexander, is decreed; and by the same authority the University is hereafter to bear the name of the University of Alexander in Finland.

A French translation of M. Gretsch's larger Russian grammar, executed under his own eye by M. Reiff, has recently appeared at St. Petersburg, and adds considerably to the facilities offered to foreigners for acquiring a knowledge of the language of this immense empire. Mr. Heard's Russian Grammar for Englishmen we have already mentioned. And we may mention by the way, that a young Russian teacher, who has been some time resident in London, intends, if he can meet with encouragement, to publish a volume of select pieces from the best prose writers and poets, with faithful English translations.

Notices sur les principaux Tableaux du Musée Imperial de l'Ermitage à Saint Petersbourg, 12mo. 1828, is the title of a very useful manual to the visitors of this splendid collection. The gallery now contains no less than 1800 pictures, of which there was no complete catalogue until now. Mr. Labensky, principal inspector of the gallery, some years since began a Descriptive Catalogue, with outline etchings, in numbers, but he published no more than eighty plates. The little guide before us gives, besides the account of the pictures, notices of every thing remarkable about the palace of the Hermitage, the theatre, the library, museum of natural history, cabinet of coins, gems, and other works of art, Mr. Dawe's portraits of the Russian generals, &c. &c.

Charles Brulov, a young Russian artist, who has been for some years at Rome for improvement in his profession, has recently finished there a copy of Raphael's famous *School of Athens*, which is said to have been pronounced by connoisseurs and artists the best copy that has been yet made of that celebrated picture. He has also finished an original picture of "Noon," (as a companion to one of "Morning" which he painted for the Emperor some time since,) which exhibits proof of great improvement in his art.

The amateurs of Russian Literature will find among the advertisements prefixed to this number a list of several valuable works just imported by the publishers of this Review.

SPAIN.

MADRID.—There is announced for publication a new edition of the History of Spain, by P. Juan de Mariana; to which is added, the Continuation by P. Minana, (the reign of Charles I. and Philip II.) and a Narrative of the principal Events from 1600 to 1808, with a short Life of Mariana, and an account of the old Editions. 8 vols. 8vo.

In the course of the year 1827 the number of students in the Spanish universities was 10,141; of whom 3389 studied philosophy and physics, 1467 theology, 3878 jurisprudence; 491 canon law, and 916 medicine. In the colleges and seminaries connected with them, there were 5336 students, of whom 3133 studied philosophy and 2203 theology; making the whole number of students in 1827, 15,477, which is 1800 more than in the year preceding. There are besides 736 schools of the colleges for the study of the humanities.

Don Leandro Fernandez Moratin (whose dramatic works were reviewed in our last number) died at Paris in June last. He has left behind him an important work, *Orígenes del Teatro Español*, which comprises the history of the Spanish stage from its origin to Lope de Vega inclusive; its publication, we are given to understand, may be soon expected.

SWEDEN.

THE Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, recently held its annual sitting, at which were present the Crown Prince, the principal ministers of state, and a numerous assemblage of individuals, distinguished either for their rank or talents. M. Aresenius, the president, gave a summary account of the labours of the society during the past year; reports on the different divisions of the sciences were then read, by M. Berzelius for chemistry, M. Cronstandt for mathematics and astronomy, M. Dahlmann for geology and zoology, M. Wickström for botany, and M. Pasch for technology. These reports embrace the improvements and discoveries in the sciences made in all countries where the arts and sciences are cultivated. The academy's first medal was awarded to M. Gyllenhal, author of the *Insecta Suecica descripta*.

Nicander, the young Swedish poet, (and whom, by an error of the press, we mentioned in our first number by the name of *Sander*,) author of the lyric poem entitled "The Death of Tasso," which obtained the prize of the academy, is about to proceed on a tour through the countries of Europe the most interesting in a literary point of view. With a view to assist him in his objects, the academy has granted him a pension.

The first volume of a collection of the ancient Swedish laws has appeared at Stockholm. It contains the laws of West Gothland, together with notes and various readings and indexes of the old Gothic, the law terms in the Latin of the Middle Ages, and of the names of places and persons. The printing does credit to Swedish typography, and the lithographic plates of antiquities are also well executed. The second volume will contain the laws of East Gothland.

The Rev. J. Berggren, who was for many years chaplain to the Swedish embassy in Constantinople, published last year "Travels in Europe and in

the East," 2 vols. 8vo. in the Swedish language. A German translation of the first volume has just been published at Darmstadt; that of the second, which relates entirely to Syria and Palestine, is in the press.

The Herbarium formed by M. Berggren, during his travels in the East, has been given to the University of Upsala, to be added to the collection of Hasselquist. M. Berggren has recently published a catalogue of it, in which he has been assisted by the celebrated Wahlenberg.

Counsellor Billberg has just published at Stockholm, *Synopsis Faunæ Scandinaviæ, complectens animalia Sueciæ et Norvægiæ, hucusque detecta.*

SWITZERLAND.

THE Council of Geneva is now occupied with a plan for improving the system of public education at the college, and in the academy. A Genevese citizen, anxious to see the college rendered useful to the mercantile and labouring classes, as well as to artists, re-published a tract of the celebrated *Saussure* on this subject, first published in 1774. Never were the claims of the people pleaded with more force and truth; never did eloquence and patriotism produce fewer results. The present editor flatters himself that the moment is now favourable for reverting to the subject, and hopes, that party spirit having subsided, the philanthropic ideas contained in this work will produce a favourable impression and salutary results.

The Helvetic Society of the Natural Sciences held its annual meeting this year at Lausanne. From the President's opening speech we learn, that there are now in Switzerland ten societies for the natural sciences, all of which are in correspondence with the general society. According to its rules it should consist of the following sections:—I. Physics and Chemistry. II. Zoology. III. Botany. IV. Mineralogy and Geology. V. Medicine and Surgery. VI. Agriculture. The physicians, however, it is said, are about to form a society of their own.

Gaudin's *Flora Helvetica*, of which three volumes are just published, will consist of six in all; the fourth will appear in November next, and the fifth and sixth in the course of 1839.

The first number of Dr. Zollikoffer's *Alpine Flora of Switzerland* has lately appeared, with lithographic plates, and fulfils every expectation formed from the author's well-known devotion to his subject. His collection of plants is considerable, and should the work meet with encouragement, the numbers will follow each other with rapidity.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

At the sitting of the Paris Geographical Society of the 13th of June last, M. Amédée Jaubert gave an account of the first results of his labours on *Edrisi*, of whose work he has discovered in the Royal Library, a much more complete MS than any hitherto known. It is composed of 260 leaves, dates of the year 744 of the Hegira, (1343 of our era), and was written at Almeria

in Spain, in the Arabic characters used by the African Moors. The preface to the work, (which was finished in the year 548 of the Hegira—1154 of our era,) contains some curious details on the pains taken by Roger II. the Norman King of Sicily, in order to obtain correct information of the configuration and state of the different countries of the then known world. It shows, that not satisfied with collecting and comparing all that the Greeks and Arabs had written on the subject, the Norman monarch had deemed it advisable to consult a great number of well-informed persons. He had commenced by causing researches to be made into the geography of Italy. The work of Edrisi made a great noise even at that period; it is, as the author himself says, the result of nearly fifteen years laborious and painful research. M. Jaubert had, at first, thought of confining himself to the portions untranslated; but he very soon abandoned this idea, and thought it more advisable to give a complete translation.

The Society gratefully appreciates the labours of M. Jaubert; several of its members regard the discovery of this MS as a fresh acquisition for the geography of the Middle Ages, the importance of which the Society has already recognised by the publication of the text and various readings of Marco Polo. One of the volumes of its collection cannot be better filled than by the complete translation of the Arabian geographer *par excellence*, as he is styled by Bochart. In consequence, it engages M. Jaubert to pursue his plan, and to follow up his labours to a conclusion.

M. Rousseau, French Consul at Tripoli, has written to M. Barbié du Bocage, on behalf of the same Society, that he has at last found a good copy of the Travels of Ibn-Batuta, and that he hopes soon to obtain one of the History of Timbuctoo, by Sidi Ali Baba, of Arawan. M. Rousseau also intends transmitting to M. du Bocage a Memoir on the topography of the central part of the kingdom of Tripoli.

Professor Kosegarten wishes to inform the subscribers to his edition of the *Annals of Tabari*, in Arabic, that the printing of the first volume is already considerably advanced. A Latin translation is printed opposite to the Arabic; the proper names, and all words of rare occurrence and difficulty will be pointed out by the vowel letters; the poetical passages will also be similarly distinguished, by which means the value of this edition will be greatly enhanced. The first volume will contain from thirty to forty sheets, well and clearly printed on a good paper. This volume embraces the events that occurred in Arabia immediately after the death of the Prophet, and, consequently, the first foreign military expeditions of the Moslem Arabs, or the march of Chaled Ben El Valid into Mesopotamia, against El Hira and El Anbar. The editor will add, at the end of each volume, such notes and explanations as may be necessary. The subscriptions of all the friends of historical research, and, in particular, of Oriental literature, are earnestly solicited to this most valuable and important work.

Great expectations are formed among the Oriental Literati of the forthcoming *Arabic and Latin Lexicon* of Professor Freytag. The printing of the first volume is already considerably advanced, and it will certainly be published about the middle of next year.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT,

FROM MAY TO AUGUST, 1828, INCLUSIVE.

THEOLOGY.

- 1 Jauffret, du Celibat des Prêtres, &c. 8vo. *Paris*. 1s. 6d.
- 2 Jeaucard, Vie du B. Alphonse-Marie de Liguori, Evêque de Ste-Agathe de Goths, &c. 8vo. *Marseilles*. 9s.
- 3 Sœufier, Statistique des Eglises Reformées de France. 8vo. *Paris*. 7s.
- 4 Breviarium Romanum. 4 vol. 12mo. *Paris*. 1l. 8s.
- 5 Breviarium Parisiense ad usum diocesis in quibus idem ritus usurpatur. *Parisæ*tiva, (to form 4 vols.) 12mo. *Paris*. 18s.
- 6 Bibliothèque choisie des Pères de l'Eglise Grecque et Latine, par Guillon. Tom. XXV. 8vo. *Paris*. 10s.
- 7 Tabaraud, Essai historique et critique sur l'état des Jesuites en France, &c. 8vo. *Paris*. 7s.
- 8 Collectio Selecta SS. Ecclesiæ Patrum, complectens exquisitissima opera, tum dogmatica et moralia, tum apologetica et oratorica, accurantibus nonnullis e Gallicano clero presbyteris. Tom I. 8vo. (to form 30 vol.) *Paris*. 8s.
- 9 Grégoire, Histoire des Sectes Religieuses. Tom. I. 2 parties, tom. II. 1ère partie. 8vo. *Paris*. Each part 4s.
- 10 Concordance des Quatre Evangelistes, suivant l'ordre de Michæelis. 12mo. *Paris*. 6s.
- 11 La Sainte Bible, renfermant l'A. et le N. Testament, avec des notes explicatives, des réflexions pratiques, et de nombreux parallèles; par feu Thos. Scott. Trad. de l'Anglais sur le 5me édit. Livraison 1. Evangile selon St. Matthieu. 4to. *Paris*. 9s.
- 12 Lisco, F. G. Predigten, vornämlich über die Gleichnisse Jesu. 8vo. *Berlin*. 6s. 6d.
- 13 Causius, D. P. Summa doctrinæ Christianæ. 2da editio. 8vo. maj. *Landshut*. 5s. 6d.
- 14 Willemer, von der Macht und Gewalt der Glaubens. 8vo. *Frankfurt*. 4s.
- 15 Elbers, Fr. Predigten. 8vo. *Elberfeld*. 6s.
- 17 Merlo-Horstii, Jacobi, Aphorismi eucharistici, id est, pizæ et sanctæ celebrationis et communionis monita. 8vo. *Cöln*. 4s.
- 18 Münch, D. E. Geschichte der mönchthums in allen seinen Verzweigungen. 1r und 2d bdchn. 16mo. *Stuttgart*. 3s.
- 19 Oberthür, F. Idea biblica ecclesiæ Dei. Vol. I.—III. Gr. 8vo. *Sulzbach*. 15s.
- 20 Stickel, D. J. G. Prolusio ad interpretationem tertii capitis Habacuci. Pars I. 8vo. maj. *Neustadt*. 1s. 6d.
- 21 Block, G. W. Fortsetzung der Reformation. 1r theil, gr. 8vo. *Altona*. 5s.
- 22 Clausen, D. H. N. Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis Sacræ Scripturæ interpret. 8vo. maj. *Berlin*. 8s.
- 23 Gernar, F. H. Beitrag zur allgemeinen Hermeneutik und zu deren Anwendung auf die theologische. gr. 8vo. *Altona*. 7s.
- 24 Graser, J. B. das Judenthum und seine Reform. 8vo. *Bayreuth*. 4s. 6d.
- 25 Münster, Fr. Notitia codicis græci Evangelium Johannis variatum continentia. 8vo. maj. *Copenhagen*. 2s.
- 26 Dräcke, D. J. G. V. Gemälde aus der heiligen Schrift. 3te und 4te Sammlung. 8vo. *Lüneburg*. 14s.

- 27 Flatt, D. J. *F. von Vorlesungen über die Briefe Pauli an die Galater und Epheser.* gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 9s.
 28 Rust, Dr. J. de nonnullis quæ in Theologia nostræ ætatis dogmatica desiderantur. 8vo. *Erlangen.* 2s.

LAW.

- 29 Saint Edme, Dictionnaire de la Pénalité dans toutes les parties du monde connu. Livraison XXIII. XXIV. 8vo. *Paris.* Each 3s. 6d.
 30 Locré, Législation Civile, Commerciale, et Criminelle de la France. Tom. XIII. 8vo. *Paris.* 10s. 6d.
 31 Causes Criminelles Célèbres du XIX^{me} siècle. Tom. IV. 8vo. *Paris.* 8s.
 32 Lois des Francs, contenant la Loi Salique et la Loi Ripuaire, trad. avec le texte en regard, et des notes par Peyré. 8vo. *Paris.* 8s.
 33 Recueil général des Anciennes Lois Françaises, depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789, par MM. Isambert, de Crusy, Armet. Tom. XII. 2^{de} partie, et tom. XIII. 2 vol. 8vo. *Paris.* 16s.
 34 Lucas, du Système Pénitentiaire en Europe et aux Etats Unis. Tom. I. 8vo. *Paris.* 10s.
 35 Lagrange, Manuel du Droit Romain, destiné aux étudiants en droit, &c. 18mo. *Paris.* 8s.
 36 Delalleau, Traité de l'Expropriation pour cause d'utilité publique. 2 vol. 8vo. *Paris.* 11.
 37 Tönson, D. M. Grundsätze eines allgemeinen positiven Privat-Rechts. 8vo. *Kiel.* 13s.
 38 Karsten, D. C. J. B. Grundriss der deutschen Bergrechtslehre. 8vo. *Berlin.* 10s.
 39 Freyberg, M. Freiherr, v. Geschichte der bayerischen Landstende und ihrer Verhandlungen. 1^{er} bd. gr. 8vo. *Sulzbach.* 10s.
 40 Hoffmann, die Staatsbürgerlichen Garantien. 1^{er} theil, 8vo. *Stuttgart.* 7s.
 41 Busch, F. B. Theoretisch-praktische Darstellung der Rechte geschwächerter Frauenpersonen gegen ihre Verführer. Gr. 8vo. *Münster.* 10s.
 42 Gessner, Ch. H. Observationes de jure succedendi contra Testamentum ex Novella CXV. 8vo. maj. *Zurich.* 3s.
 43 Rossberger, Dr. W. M. historisch-dogmatische Darstellung der römischen Rechts-Institutionen im Grundriss. 8vo. *Berlin.* 5s.
 44 Warnkönig, L. A. Oratio de Jurisprudentia gentium Europæarum. 8vo. maj. *Aachen.* 2s.
 45 Fürstenthal, Corpus juris Civilis, canonici et germanici. 1^{er} bd. gr. 8vo. *Berlin.* 10s.

MORALS, POLITICAL ECONOMY, EDUCATION.

- 46 Say, Cours complet d'Economie politique pratique. Tom. II. 8vo. *Paris.* 9s.
 47 Boeckh, Economie politique des Athéniens, ouvrage trad. de l'Allemand, par Lalligant. 2 vol. 8vo. *Paris.* 11.
 48 Cousin, Victor, Cours des Leçons sur l'Histoire de la Philosophie. 8vo. *Paris.* 14s.
 49 Œuvres complètes de Thomas Reid, chef de l'Ecole Ecosaise, publiées par M. Th. Jouffroy, avec des Fragmens de M. Royer-Collard, et une Introduction de l'Editeur. 1^{er} livraison, tom. III. et IV. 8vo. *Paris.* 19s.
 50 Code Universitaire, ou Lois et Statuts de l'Université Royale de France. 8vo. *Paris.* 8s.
 51 Du Theil, Coup d'Oeil rapide sur l'Instruction publique, depuis 1789, jusqu'à 1828. 8vo. *Paris.* 2s. 6d.
 52 Groos, D. Fr. Psychiologische Fragmente. 1^{er} bdchn. gr. 8vo. *Heidelberg.* 3s. 6d.
 53 Meilinger, F. Grundriss der Moralphilosophie. gr. 8vo. *Landshut.* 4s. 6d.
 54 Clarus, D. J. Ch. Beiträge zur Erkenntniss und Beurtheilung zweifelhafter Seelenstände. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 8s.
 55 Bachman, D. E. Fr. System der Logik. Gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 15s.
 56 Blasche, B. H. Handbuch der Erziehungswissenschaft, 2 abtheil. 8vo. *Gießen.* 3s. 6d.
 57 Wedekind, D. G. F. Ueber die Bestimmung der Menschen. 8vo. *Gießen.* 5s.

- 58 *Medden, poetische Betrachtungen in freien Stunden.* 12mo. *Wism.* 4s.
 59 *Ancillon, Fr. zur Vermittelung der Extreme in den Meinungen.* 1r theil, gr. 8vo. *Berlin.* 9s.
 60 *Masemann, D. J. G. Grundlinien der Logik und Dialektik.* gr. 8vo. *Berlin.* 4s. 6d.

MATHEMATICS.

- 61 *Peyrot, Petite Encyclopédie Mathématique, ou Cours complet de Mathématiques, &c.* Tom. I. 8vo. *Paris.* 4s.
 62 *Marcoz, Astronomie Solaire d'Hipparque, soumise à une critique rigoureuse, et ensuite rendue à sa vérité primordiale.* 8vo. *Paris.*
 63 *Cauchy, Leçons sur les Applications du Calcul infinitesimal à la Géométrie.* Tom. II. 4to. *Paris.*
 64 *Peclet, Traité de la Chaleur, et de ses applications aux arts et aux manufactures.* 2 vol. 8vo, avec atlas de 27 planches. *Paris.* 11. 8s.
 65 *Struve, Catalogus Novus Stellarum.* Folio. *Dorpat.* 2l. 10s.
 66 *Effemeridi Astronomici di Milano, 1828.* 8vo. *Milano.* 9s.
 67 *Annales des Mathématiques pures et appliquées, ouvrage périodique, rédigé par Gergonac.* Tom. XVIII. 4to. *Paris.* 11. 1s.
 68 *Diesterweg, D. W. A. geometrische Aufgaben nach der Methode der Griechen bearbeitet.* 8vo. *Elberfeld.* 7s.
 69 *Ulrich, D. G. C. J. Lehrbuch der Trigonometrie.* Gr. 8vo. *Göttingen.* 15s.
 70 *Hahn, D. E. M. vollständiges Lehrbuch der Stereometrie.* Gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 16s.
 71 *Grebel, D. M. W. die Sphärische Trigonometrie.* 4to. *Glogau.* 5s.

NATURAL SCIENCES.

- 73 *D'Omalius d'Halley, Mémoires pour servir à la Description géologique des Pays-Bas, de la France, et de quelques contrées voisines.* 8vo. *Namur.* 8s. 6d.
 74 *Straus-Durckheim, Considérations générales sur l'Anatomie comparée des animaux articulés, &c.* 4to. avec atlas. *Paris.* 2l. 8s.
 75 *Dictionnaire des Sciences Naturelles.* Tom. LIII. et LV. et planches cahiers 53 et 54. 8vo. *Paris.* Each 11s.
 76 *Mémoires d'Agriculture, d'Economie rurale et domestique, publiés par la Société Royale et Centrale d'agriculture, année 1827.* 2 tom. 8vo. *Paris.* 12s.
 77 *Lesson, Manuel d'Ornithologie, ou Description des genres et des principales espèces d'Oiseaux.* 2 vol. 18mo. *Paris.* 10s.
 78 *Tussac, Flore des Antilles.* Tom. IV. livraison 7 et 8. Folio. *Paris.* Each 11. 10s.
 79 *Festier, Flore Artificielle, premier ouvrage sur l'art de faire les fleurs.* Livraison I. avec 3 planches, (to be completed in 6) 8vo. *Paris.* 3s.
 80 *Croiset et Jobert, Recherches sur les Ossements fossiles du département du Puy-de-Dôme.* Tom. I. texte, (2 parties) 4to. *Clermont-Ferrand.* 18s.
 81 *Freycinet, Voyage autour du Monde. Botanique.* 7me livraison, 4to. *Paris.* 16s.
 82 *Planches de Seba, accompagnées d'un texte explicatif mis au courant de la science.* Livraisons XIII. et XIV. folio. *Paris.* Each 4s.
 83 *Lenoir, Traité de la Culture de la Vigne et de la Vinification.* 8vo. *Paris.* 12s.
 84 *Cuvier, Baron, Histoire des Progrès des Sciences Naturelles depuis 1789 jusqu'à ce jour.* Tom. II. 8vo. *Paris.* 8s. 6d.
 85 *Aug. de Saint Hilaire, Plantes usuelles des Brésiliens.* Livraison XIV. 4to. *Paris.* 5s.
 86 *De Pradt, Voyage Agronomique en Auvergne.* Nouv. édit. revue et augmentée. 8vo. *Paris.* 6s.
 87 *F. Cuvier, Histoire Naturelle des Mammifères.* Livraison LVIII. folio. *Paris.* 11.
 88 *Brongniart, Histoire des Végétaux Fossiles.* 2de Livraison, 4to. *Paris.* 15s.
 89 *Manuel complet de Botanique, 2de partie, Flore Française par Boissudaval.* 3 vol. 18mo. *Paris.* 14s.
 90 *Duponchel, Histoire Naturelle des Lépidoptères Nocturnes.* Tom. IV. 1ère partie, livraisons 8—12. 8vo. *Paris.* Each 3s.

- 91 Temminck et Meffren-Langier, Nouveau Recueil de Planches coloriées d'Oiseaux. Livraison LXXVIII. 4to. each 15s. Folio, each 21s.
- 92 Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Flora Gallica, seu Enum. plant. in Gallia sponte nascentium, sec. Linn. Syst. digestarum, addita famil. natur. synopsi. Editio 2da. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris. 16s.
- 93 Aug. de St. Hilaire, Jussieu, et Cambessèdes, Flora Brasiliæ Meridionalis. Fascic. VIII. 4to. Paris. 15s. in folio, fig. color. 3l.
- 94 Redouté, Choix des plus belles Fleurs, &c. Livraison VIII. 4to. fig. color. Paris. 12s.
- 95 Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Cours de Leçons sur l'Histoire Naturelle des Mammifères. 8vo. Paris.
- 96 Descourtils, des Champignons Comestibles suspects et veneneux, &c. Livraison VIII. 8vo. avec planches in folio, color. Paris. Each 3s.
- 97 DuPerray, Voyage autour du monde, de 1822—1825. Zoologie, Livraison VII. 4to. Paris. 15s.
- 98 De Candolle, Mémoire sur la famille des Melastomacées. 1ère livraison, 4to. fig. Paris. 10s.
- 99 Desportes, Rosetum Gallicum, ou Enumération méthodique des espèces et variétés du genre rosier indigènes en France, &c. 8vo. Mans. 4s.
- 100 Werner, Atlas des Oiseaux d'Europe. Livraison VIII. et IX. 8vo. Paris. Plain, each 4s. 6d. coloured each 9s.
- 101 Descourtils, Flore Pittoresque et Médicale des Antilles. Livraisons LXXXV.—XCIX. 8vo. Paris. Each 5s.
- 102 Mémoires de la Société Linnéenne de Normandie, publiés par M. de Caumont, 1826 et 1827. 8vo. Paris. 16s.
- 103 Link, Dr. H. T. und T. Otto, Abbildungen neuer und seltener Gewächse des Königl. botanischen Gartens zu Berlin. 1r bd. 1s hft. gr. 8vo. Berlin. 6s. ditto, coloured, 8s.
- 104 Meisner, Dr. C. F. Monographiæ generis Polygoni Prodrum. Acc. tab. VII. 4to. Tübingen, 9s.
- 105 Tenore, M. Essai sur la géographie physique et botanique du Royaume de Naples. gr. 8vo. Neapol. 12s.
- 106 Wille, G. A. Geognostische Beschreibung der Gebirgsmassen zwischen dem Taunus und Vogelsgebirge. gr. 8vo. Mainz. 9s.
- 107 Wilbrand, D. J. B. Uebersicht des Thierreichs nach natürlichen Abstufungen. gr. folio. Giessen. 1s. 6d.
- 108 Mayer, D. A. F. J. C. Supplemente zur Lehre vom Kreistaufe. 1r heft, gr. 4to. Bonn, 7s.
- 109 Ascherson, Dr. M. de Fungis Venenatis. 8vo. maj. Berlin. 2s. 6d.
- 110 Freiesleben, J. C. Magazin für die Oryktographie von Sachsen. gr. 8vo. 1r heft, Freyberg, 4s. 6d.
- 111 Guimpel, Prof. F. und Dr. F. L. von Schlechtendal, Abbildung und Beschreibung aller in der Pharmacopœa Borussica aufgeführten Gewächse. 1r—4r hft. gr. 4to. Berlin. Each 4s.
- 112 Meigen, J. W. Europäische Schmetterlinge. 1r band. 1r und 2d hft. gr. 4to. Aachen. Each 7s.
- 113 Gaudin, T. Flora Helvetica. Vol. I. et II. 8vo. maj. Zurich. 1l. 18s.
- 114 Zolliker, Dr. C. T. Versuch einer Alpen Flora der Schweiz. 1r hft. gr. 4to. St. Gallen. 4s. 6d.

MEDICAL SCIENCES.

- 115 Dictionnaire de Médecine par MM. Adelon, Brechet, &c. Tom. XXI. 8vo. Paris. 6s. 6d. The work complete in 21 vols. 6l. 6s.
- 116 Tavernier, Manuel de Thérapeutique chirurgicale, ou Précis de Médecine opératoire, &c. 2 vols. 18mo. Paris. 8s.
- 117 Cazenave et Schedel, Abrégé pratique des Maladies de la Peau. 8vo. Paris. 10s.
- 118 Du Olmi, Précis historique-physique d'hygiène navale, &c. 8vo. Paris. 7s.
- 119 Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Médecine. Tom. I. 4to. Paris. 1l.

- 120 Ribes, de l'Anatomie pathologique considérée dans ses vrais rapports avec la Science des Maladies. Tom. I. 8vo. Paris.
- 121 Annuaire Médico-Chirurgical, ou Répertoire général de Clinique, &c. Deuxième année, 1827. 8vo. Paris. 8s.
- 122 Les Médecins Français Contemporains. Livraison I. et II. 8vo. Paris.
- 123 Fée, Cours d'Histoire Naturelle Pharmaceutique. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris.
- 124 Hurtre d'Arboval, Dictionnaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie Vétérinaire. Tom. IV. et dernier, 8vo. Paris. 8s. Avec atlas in folio, de livraisons, each 8s.
- 125 Billard, Traité des Maladies des Enfants nouveau-nés, et à la mamelle, &c. 8vo. Paris. 8s. Atlas in 4to. de 10 planches, 10s.
- 126 Broussais, de l'Irritation et de la Folie, ouvrage dans lequel les rapports du physique et du moral sont établis sur les bases de la médecine physiologique. 8vo. Paris. 8s.
- 127 Bourdon, Principes de Physiologie Médicale. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris. 15s.
- 128 Delpech, Chirurgie Clinique de Montpellier, ou Observations et Réflexions tirées des travaux de chirurgie clinique de cette époque. Tom. II. 4to. Paris. 17s.
- 129 Mongellaz, de la Nature et du Siège de la plupart des affections convulsives, &c. 8vo. Paris. 4s.
- 130 ——— L'Art de conserver sa santé, et de prévenir les maladies héréditaires, ou l'Hygiène appliquée à tous les âges, &c. 8vo. Paris. 8s. 6d.
- 131 Vatel, Elémens de Pathologie Vétérinaire. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris. 11. 7s.
- 132 Devergie, Clinique de la Maladie Syphilitique. Livraison IX. 4to. Paris. 8s.
- 133 Roche et Sanson, nouveaux Elémens de Pathologie médico-chirurgicale, ou Précis théorique et pratique de médecine et de chirurgie. Tom. IV. 8vo. Paris. 5s.
- 134 Regnault, du degré de compétence des Médecins dans les questions judiciaires relatives aux alienations mentales. 8vo. Paris. 5s.
- 135 Henry et Guibourt, Pharmacopée Raisonnée, ou Traité de Pharmacie pratique et théorique. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris. 18s.
- 136 Bresschet, Recherches anatomiques, &c. sur le système veineux, &c. Livraison VI. folio. Paris. 10s.
- 137 Jourdan, Pharmacopée Universelle. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris. 11. 4s.
- 138 Cloquet, Manuel d'Anatomie descriptive du Corps humain. Livraison XXIX.—XXXI. 4to. Paris. Each 4s. coloured 7s.
- 139 ——— Anatomie de l'Homme. Livraison XXXVIII. et XXXIX. Folio. Paris. Each 9s.
- 140 Civiale, Deuxième Lettre sur la Lithotritie ou broiement de la pierre dans la vessie. 8vo. Paris. 3s. 6d.
- 141 Milne Edwards et Vavasseur, Manuel de Matière Médicale, 2de édition, entièrement refondue et considérablement augmentée. 18mo. Paris. 8s.
- 142 Virey, Hygiène Philosophique, ou la santé dans le régime physique, moral et politique de la civilisation moderne. 2 parties. 8vo. Paris. 12s.
- 143 Kern, V. Ritter von, über die Anwendung der Glühseisen. gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 5s.
- 144 Bble, D. B. Ueber den Bau und die Krankheiten der Bindehaut des Auges. Gr. 8vo. mit 3 kupfern. Wien. 13s. 6d.
- 145 Ban, Dr. W. Ueber die Erkenntnis, Entstehung und Heilung der Staphylome der menschlichen Auges. 8vo. Heidelberg. 5s.
- 146 Münz, D. M. Handbuch der Anatomie des menschlichen Körper. 3r theil. gr. 8vo. 11. 13s. 6d.
- 147 Hayne, D. Fr. G. Darstellung und Beschreibung der Arzneigewächse. 4to. 1—3 lief. Berlin. Each 7s.
- 148 Hussian, R. F. Handbuch der Geburtshülfe. 1—3 theil. 8vo. Wien. 11. 4s.
- 149 Doellniger, Dr. J. de Vasis Sanguiferis, quæ villis intestinorum tenuium hominis brutorumque insunt. 4to. maj. München. 3s.
- 150 Soemmering, D. W. Beobachtungen über die organischen Veränderungen im Auge nach Staaroperationen. gr. 8vo. Frankfurt. 4s.
- 151 Barrie, D. E. Russische Bäder, nebst einer Anweisung zu dem zweckmässigsten Gebrauch derselben. 1r. theil, gr. 8vo. Hamburg. 7s.
- 152 Grötner, D. E. der Krampf, insbesondere der Wand Staar Krampf. g. 8vo. Breslau. 3s. 6d.
- 153 Meckel, J. T. System der vergleichenden Anatomie. 3r theil, gr. 8vo. Halle. 14s. 6d.

- 151* *Mémoires; De F. de die Kinderkrankheiten.* 3 tols. gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 11.
 152* Friedrich, D. H. A. Handbuch der animalischen Stoechiologie. Gr. 8vo. Holm-
 stadt. 10s.
 153* Hoffmann, D. H. über die Natur und Heilung einiger chronischen Krankheiten.
 Gr. 12mo. Darmstadt. 5s.
 154 Carus, Dr. C. G. von den Urtheilen des Knochen- und Schälengeräthes. Fol.
 Leipzig. 3l. 15s.
 155 Kramichield, D. Fr. G. G. de dignitate medicamentibus nonnullis restituenda. 4to.
 maj. Berlin. 5s.
 156 Bock, D. A. C. Accurata Nervorum spinalium descriptio. 8vo. maj. cum 7 tab.
 in fol. Leipzig. 3l. 10s.
 157 Engelhardt, Dr. J. Fr. der Croup in dreifacher Form. gr. 8vo. Zürich. 4s.
 158 Krügelstein, Dr. Fr. Chr. C. Erfahrungen über die Verstellungskunst in Krank-
 heiten gesammelt. Gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 2s. 6d.
 159 Weber, Dr. M. J. Elementa der Specullen Anatomie. 1ste Abthlg. gr. 8vo.
 Bonn. 5s.
 160 Carus, Dr. C. G. Lehrbuch der Gynäkologie. 2 tols. gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 2l. 8s.
 161 Himmer, D. C. W. Ueber die Verschleimung als Ursache vieler Krankheiten. 8vo.
 Dresden. 5s.
 162 Rincolini, Dr. C. E. über Gefängnis Krankheiten. 8vo. Bräun. 3s.
 163 Dietrich, J. F. C. Handbuch der Specullen Pathologie. Gr. 8vo. Berlin. 14s.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTS AND SCIENCES.

- 164 Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres de
 Bruxelles. Tom. IV. 4to. Bruxelles. 18s.
 165 Mémoires de l'Académie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Petersburg. Tom. X.
 4to. St. Petersburg. 1l. 11s. 6d.
 166 Vioat, Résumé des connoissances, positives actuelles sur les qualités, le choix, &c.
 des mortiers et cimens calcaires. 4to. Paris. 16s.
 167 Flachet, Histoire des travaux et de l'aménagement des eaux du Canal Calédonien,
 rédigé d'après les rapports de Jessop et Telford. 4to. avec atlas. Paris.
 168 Janvier, Manuel du constructeur des Machines à Vapeur. 18mo. Paris. 3s. 6d.
 169 Encyclopédie Moderne, ou Dictionnaire abrégé des Sciences, des Lettres, et des
 Arts. Tom. XIII. (FI—GYM.) 8vo. Paris. 12s.
 170 Coste, Etudes sur les Machines d'après l'expérience et le raisonnement. 4to.
 Paris.
 171 Michel, Mémorial de l'Artilleur Marin, rédigé suivant l'ordre alphabétique des
 matières. 8vo. Paris. 8s.
 172 Dictionnaire Technologique, ou Nouveau Dictionnaire Universel des Arts et Mé-
 tiers. Tom. XLII. 8vo. 7s. 6d. Planches, cahiers 21 et 22. 4to. 5s.
 173 Description des Machines et procédés spécifiés dans les brevets d'invention, &c.
 dont le décret est expiré. Par M. Christian. Tom. XIV. 4to. Paris. 25s.
 174 Encyclopédie Méthodique, XCIX*. Livraison; Géographie Physique. Tom. VI.
 1ere partie; Manufactures et Arts. Tom. IV. 1ere partie; 2 parties, 4to. 1l. 4s.
 175 Pitare, La Science de la Sétifère, ou l'art de produire le Soie avec avantage et
 sûreté, &c. 8vo. Fig. Paris. 10s. 6d.
 176 Jüchel, J. Neueste Europäische Münz, Maas- und Gewichtskunde. 2 tols. 18mo.
 Wien. 11s.
 177 Heiniaus D. Th. Encyclopädisches Handwörterbuch für Wissenschaft und Leben.
 gr. 8vo. Berlin. 6s. 6d.
 178 Triest, F. Sammlung von Entwürfen, Beschreibungen und Kostenberechnungen
 wichtiger Bauten. 1ste Lief. gr. 4to. Berlin. 15s.
 179 Zimmermann, D. C. die Wieder aufsechtung verworfener Gänge, Bager und
 Flöze, gr. 8vo. Darmstadt. 9s. 6d.

FINE ARTS.

- 180 Geringer, Mariès, &c. L'Inde Française, Collection de Dessins lithographiés, &c.
 Livraison VIII.—X. Fol. Paris. Each 1l.

- 182 Lanson, *Monuments Antiques et Modernes de la Sicile*. Livraison IV. Fol. Paris. 8s.
- 183 *Galerie des Peintres, ou Collection de Portraits des Peintres, avec notices par Chabert*. Fol. Livraison KKV. Paris. Each 1l.
- 184 Filhol, *Musée Royal de France*. Livraisons XI. et XII. (completant le Tom. XI.) grand in 8vo. Paris. each 12s. 6d.
- 185 *Annales de l'Ecole Française et des Beaux Arts, &c. Salon de 1827*. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 24s.
- 186 De Cadalvène, *Recueil de Médailles Grecques inédites*. Tom. I. 4to. Fig. Paris. 1l. 11s. 6d.
- 187 *Isographie des Hommes Célèbres*. Livraison XII—XVI. 4to. Paris. each 6s. 6d.
- 188 Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque dans les Pyrénées Françaises et les départements adjacens*. Livraison VIII. Fol. Paris. 2l.
- 189 *Voyage Pittoresque dans le Royaume de Deux Siciles; publié par MM. Cagniello et Bianchi*. Livraison I. Fol. Paris et Naples. 16s.
- 190 *Cathédrales Françaises, dessinées et lithographiées, par Chapuys*. Livraison XIV. 4to. Fig. Paris. 8s.
- 191 Champollion le jeune, *Panthéon Egyptien; Collection des personnages Mythologiques de l'ancienne Egypte*. Livraison XIV. 4to. Paris. 12s. 6d.
- 192 *Galerie Lithographiée des tableaux de S. A. R. Mgr. Le Duc d'Orléans*. Livraison XL—XLII. Fol. Paris. 1l.
- 193 *Antiquités de l'Alsace, ou Châteaux, Eglises, et autres Monuments des Départemens du Haut-Rhin et du Bas-Rhin, avec texte descriptif par Golbery et Schweighaeuser*. Livraison X. et dernière. Fol. Paris. 8s.
- 194 Laborde, *les Monuments de la France classés chronologiquement, &c.* Livraison XXVIII. Fol. Paris. 1l. 6s.
- 195 Gauthier, *les plus beaux Edifices de la Ville de Gènes et de ses Environs*. Livraison XXII. Fol. 8s.
- 197 *Contemporains Etrangers, ou Recueil Iconographique des Etrangers les plus célèbres*. Livraison VII. Fol. Paris. 12s.
- 198 *Iconographie Instructive, avec Notices par Jarry de Manoy*. 2^de. Série. Livraison II., III., et IV. gr. in 8vo. Paris. each 2s. 6d.
- 199 Blouet, *Restauration des Thermes d'Antonin Caracalla à Rome; 1^{re} livraison*. Fol. Paris. 16s.
- 200 Raoul-Rochette et Bouchet, *Pompéi, Choix d'édifices inédits, 1^{re} partie, Maison du Poète Tragique*. Fol. Fig. color. Paris. 2l.
- 201 Faust, *Vingt-six gravures, d'après les dessins de Retzsch, 16^{me} oblong*. Paris. 2s. 6d.
- 202 *Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture, &c. dessiné et gravé par Reveil, avec texte Français et Anglais*. Livraisons XIV—XXIV. bis. 18^{mes}. Paris. each 1s. 6d.
- 203 Voit, *die Landbaukunst in allen ihren Haupttheilen*. 3 vols. 8vo. Augsburg. 2l. 2s.
- 204 Zappe, D. J. R. *Sechzig bildliche Vorstellungen aus der Bibel*, gr. 8vo. Wien. 1l. 10s.
- 205 Schmid, P. *das Naturzeichnen für den Schul- und Selbstunterricht*. 1^{er} theil. 8vo. Berlin. 8s.
- 206 Gerhard, C. und Th., *Panofka, Neapels antike Bildwerke*, 1^{er} theil gr. 8vo. Stuttgart. 17s.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

- 207 Krusenstern, *Recueil de Mémoires Hydrographiques pour servir d'analyse et d'explication à l'Atlas de l'Océan Pacifique*. 4to. St. Petersburg. 3l. 10s. Atlas II^de partie, folio, 9l.
- 208 Dewae, *Histoire Générale de la Belgique*. Tom. VII. et dern. 8vo. Bruxelles. 9s.
- 209 De Vries, *Hugo de Groot en Maria von Raigersbergen*. 8vo. Amsterdam. 8s. 6d.
- 210 Weydemeyer, *Tableaux Historiques, Chronologiques, Géographiques, et Statistiques de l'Empire de Russie*. Fol. St. Petersburg. 5l.

- 211 *Juste Appréciation et Refutation du Libelle publié contre S. A. S. le Duc regnant de Brunswick, suivie de Plusieurs Mémoires, &c.* 8vo. *Paris.* 7s.
- 212 *Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, Histoire Politique et Militaire du Prince Eugène Napoléon, Vice-roi d'Italie.* (8 livraisons). 2 tom. 8vo. *Paris.* 1l. 8s.
- 213 *Mette-Bran, Précis de la Géographie Universelle.* Tom. VII. 8vo. *Paris.* 13s.
- 214 *Zachokke, Histoire de la Suisse, trad. de l'Allemand par Manget.* 2 vols. 8vo. *Paris.* 12s.
- 215 *Fortia d'Urban (Marquis de) et Miele, Histoire générale du Portugal.* Tom. I. (to form 10 vols.) 8vo. *Paris.* 12s.
- 216 *Walckenaer, Histoire générale des Voyages.* Tom. XIII. 8vo. *Paris.* 9s. 6d.
- 217 *Bathéol, Etudes sur l'Histoire de Napoléon.* Livraisons III. et IV. 8vo. *Paris.* each 2s.
- 218 *Guizot, Cours des Leçons sur l'Histoire Moderne.* 8vo. *Paris.* 14s.
- 219 *Le Spectateur Français au XIX^{me} Siècle.* 8vo. *Paris.* 8s.
- 220 *Salvador, Histoire des Institutions de Moïse et du peuple Hébreu.* 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 8s.
- 221 *Dictionnaire Géographique Universel.* Tom. IV. 2^{de} partie. (GOD—HIG.) 8vo. *Paris.* 9s. 6d.
- 222 *Pigault Lebrun, Histoire de France abrégée, &c. à l'usage des gens du Monde.* Tom. VIII. 8vo. *Paris.* 9s.
- 223 *Dubois, Itinéraire descriptif, historique et monumental des cinq arrondissemens composant la Normandie.* 1^{ère} et 2^{de} parties. 8vo. *Caen.* 15s. Ou avec un Atlas de 44 planches, 2l.
- 224 *Nouveaux Tableaux de Paris, faisant suite à la Collection des Mœurs Françaises &c.* 2 vols. 12mo. *Paris.* 10s.
- 225 *Mazas, Vies des grands capitaines Français du Moyen age.* Tom. II. et V. 8vo. *Paris.* each 8s.
- 226 *Jarry de Mancy, Atlas historique et chronologique des Litteratures anciennes et modernes.* Livraison VIII. Fol. *Paris.* 12s.
- 227 *Nouvel Anacharsis dans la Nouvelle Grèce, ou l'Hermite de Epidaure.* 2 vols. 12mo. *Paris.* 10s.
- 228 *Mémoires d'une Contemporaine, ou Souvenirs d'une femme sur les principaux personnages de la République, du Consulat, et de l'Empire.* Tom. VII. et VIII. 8vo. *Paris.* 19s. 8 vols. complete, 3l. 16s.
- 229 *Vie Civile, Politique et Militaire d'Eugène de Beauharnois.* Par L. R. 2 vols. 18mo. *Paris.* 6s.
- 230 *Rabbe, Géographie de l'Empire de Russie, contenant la Russie d'Europe et la Russie d'Asie.* Tom. I. en 2 parties, in 18mo. *Paris.* 10s.
- 231 *Mémoires Contemporains.* Première Livraison. Mémo. sur la Cour de Louis Napoléon, 1 vol. Mémo. sur l'Impératrice Josephine. Tom. I. 2 vol. 8vo. *Paris.* 1l.
- 232 *Jacob, Notice sur la rareté des Médailles antiques, leur valeur et leur prix, &c.* 8vo. *Paris.* 4s.
- 233 *Excursion dans l'Amerique du Sud. Esquisses et Souvenirs.* 8vo. *Paris.* 4s. 6d.
- 234 *Freyinet, Voyage autour du monde, &c. Relation historique.* Livraison IX. 4to. *Paris.* 16s.
- 235 *Saint-Edme, Description Historique des Prisons de Paris, pendant et depuis la Révolution.* Livraisons 1 à 6. 18mo. (to form 10 livraisons.) *Paris.* each 1s.
- 236 *Napier, Histoire de la Guerre dans la Péninsule et dans le Midi de la France, depuis l'année 1807 jusqu'à l'année 1814.* Trad. revue, corrigée et enrichie de notes. Par le Lieutenant-Général Comte Matthieu Dumas. Tom. I. et II. 8vo. *Paris.* 18s.
- 237 *Klaproth, Magazin Asiatique, ou Revue Géographique et historique de l'Asie centrale et Septentrionale.* Tom. II. No. IV. et dernier. 8vo. *Paris.* Price of the four numbers forming the complete work, 1l. 10s.
- 238 *Dictionnaire Historique, ou Biographie Universelle Classique.* Par le Général Beauvais et autres. Livraison X. (ROC—SOM.) 8vo. *Paris.* 8s.
- 239 *Collection de Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, &c. avec des notices sur chaque ouvrage.* Par MM. Petitot et Monmarqué, seconde serie. Tom. LXV. —LXVIII. 4 vols. 8vo. *Paris.* 1l. 12s.

- 240 Thierry (Amédée), Histoire des Gaulois depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'entière soumission de la Gaule à la domination Romaine. 3 tom. 8vo. Paris. 11. 8s.
- 241 Jourdain, Mémoires historiques et militaires sur les évènements de la Grèce depuis 1821 jusqu'au combat de Navarin. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris. 19s.
- 242 Duperrey, Voyage autour du monde; Relation historique, 1er livraison. 4to. avec fig. in folio. Paris. 16s.
- 243 Edda Sæmundar hins Fróða. Edda Rhythmica seu Antiquior vulgo Sæmundina dicta. Pars III. Continens Carmina Völuspá, Hávamál et Rígsmál. Ex codicibus bibliothecæ regię Hafniensis pergameni, necnon diversis Legati Arnæ-Magnæani et aliorum membranceis chartaceisque melioris notæ manuscriptis. Cum interp. Latina, lectionibus variis, notis, glossario vocum, &c. &c. Accedit Priscorum Borealiū Theosophicæ Mythologiæ Lexicon, &c. 4to. Hauniæ. 3l.
- 244 Finn Magnusen, Priscæ Veterum Borealiū Mythologiæ Lexicon, cuncta illius cosmologica, theosophica et dæmonica numina, entia et loca ordine alphabetico indicans, illustrans, et e magna parte cum exteris, ista contingentibus, comparans. Accedit Septentrionalium Gothorum, Scandinavorum aut Danorum Gentile Calendarium ex Asia oriundum, jam primum expositum et cum variis cognatarum gentium, fastis, festis et solennibus ritibus vel superstitionibus collatum. 4to. Hauniæ. 2l. 10s.
- 245 Res Cyrenensium, a primordiis inde civitatis usque ad ætatem, qua in provinciæ formam a Romanis est redacta. Novis curis illustravit Dr. J. P. Thirge. E schedis defuncti auctoris edidit S. N. J. Bloch. 8vo. Hafniæ. 10s.
- 246 Observations sur les Routes qui conduisent du Danube à Constantinople à travers le Balkan. 8vo. Paris. 2s.
- 247 Constant-Taillard, Les Voyageurs en Italie. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris. 11. 4s.
- 249 De Courcelles, Histoire généalogique et heraldique des Pairs de France. Tom. IX. 4to. Paris.
- 250 Dufey, Histoire des Communes de France, et législation municipale depuis la fin du XI^{me} Siècle jusqu'à nos jours. 8vo. Paris. 7s.
- 251 Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises. Par Buchon. Livraison XXII. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 8s.
- 252 Annales Biographiques, ou Complement annuel et Continuation de toutes les Biographies ou Dictionnaires historiques, &c. Année 1827. 1^{ère} partie, 8vo. Paris. 6s. 6d.
- 253 Histoire politique, administrative, civile et militaire de la Prusse, depuis la fin du règne de Frédéric le Grand jusqu'au traité de Paris en 1815. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris.
- 254 Henry, Lettre à Champollion le jeune sur l'incertitude de l'âge des Monuments Egyptiens, &c. 8vo. Paris. 8s.
- 255 André, Essai sur la Statistique du Canton de Berne. 8vo. Paris. 7s.
- 256 Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne. Tom. LI. et LII. (WIN—ZY). 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1l.
- 257 Andreossi, Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace pendant les Années 1811, 1813 et 1814, et pendant l'Année 1826. 8vo, avec un Atlas in folio. Paris. 1l.
- 258 Description de l'Egypte, ou Recueil d'Observations, &c. faites en Egypte pendant l'Expédition de l'Armée Française. Tom. XXII. et XXIII. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 18s.
- 259 Stan. Girardin, Discours et Opinions, Journal et Souvenirs. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1l. 16s.
- 260 La Contemporaine en Miniature, ou Abrégé critique de ses Mémoires. Par Sevelenges. 8vo. Paris. 10s.
- 261 Jacob, Recherches Historiques sur les Croisades et les Templiers, &c. 8vo. Paris. 5s. 6d.
- 262 Ribeiro-Saraiva, Injustice et Mauvaise Foi de la plupart des journaux au sujet de la question de Portugal, &c. 8vo. Paris. 4s.
- 263 De Théis, Politique des Nations. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 16s.
- 264 Histoire Militaire des Français par Campagnes. IX^e livraison. Campagnes du Nord depuis 1794—1796. Par Viennet. 18mo. Paris. 5s.
- 265 Halevy, Résumé de l'Histoire des Juifs Modernes. 18mo. Paris.

- 266 *Mémoires du Duc de Rovigo, pour servir à l'histoire de l'Empereur Napoléon.* 8 tom. 8vo. Paris. 3l.
- 267 Gallois, *Histoire de Joachim Murat.* 8vo. Paris. 9s.
- 268 *Correspondance de Fénelon, Archevêque de Cambrai, publiée pour la première fois.* Tom. VIII. et IX. 8vo. Paris. each 8s.
- 269 Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas Empire, nouvelle Edition, revue entièrement, corrigée et augmentée d'après les historiens Orientaux.* Par M. de Saint-Martin. Tom. VIII. 8vo. Paris. 8s.
- 270 Salgues, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, sous Napoléon.* Livraisons LXI., LXII., LXIII. 8vo. Paris. 8s.
- 271 Marcet de la Roche Arnaud, *Mémoires d'un jeune Jésuite, ou Conjurateur de Montrouge, développée par les faits.* 8vo. Paris. 9s.
- 272 Saint Edme, *Paris et ses Environs.* Livraison XXVII.—XXXII. 8vo. Paris. each 1s. 6d.
- 273 Dulaure, *Histoire des Environs de Paris.* Tom. VII. 1ère partie. 8vo. Paris. 10s.
- 274 *Rélatons des Quatre Voyages entrepris par Christophe Colomb pour la découverte du Nouveau-Monde, de 1492 à 1504, &c.* par Don M. F. de Navarète, ouvrage trad. de l'Espagnol par Chalumeau de Verneuil et de la Roquette, &c. 3 vol. 8vo. fig. 1l. 7s.
- 275 Arbanère, *Tableau des Pyrénées Françaises, &c.* 2 vol. 8vo. Paris. 18s.
- 276 Maccarthy, *Dictionnaire Universel de Géographie, Physique, Politique, Historique et Commerciale.* Livraison II. 8vo. Paris. 6s.
- 277 Feller, *Dictionnaire Historique.* 7me édition. Tom. IX. X. (to form 20 vol.) 8vo. Paris. each 8s.
- 278 Scheffer, *Histoire d'Allemagne, sous le Règne de l'Empereur Henri IV. et le Pontificat de Grégoire VII.* Tom. I. 8vo. Paris. 9s.
- 278* Lameth (Alex.), *Histoire de l'Assemblée Constituante.* Tom. I. 8vo. Paris. 8s.
- 279 Norvins, *Histoire de Napoléon.* Livraisons XIII.—XV. 8vo. Paris. each 3s. 6d.
- 280 Mariès, *Histoire générale de l'Inde, ancienne et moderne, depuis l'an 2000 avant Jesus Christ jusqu'à nos jours.* Tom. I.—IV. 8vo. Paris. 1l. 18s.
- 281 Balbi, *Balance politique du Globe en 1828, ou Essai sur la Statistique Général de la Terre.* folio sheet. Paris. 8s.
- 282 Montemont, *Voyages dans les 5 parties du Monde.* Tom. III. IV. V. 18mo. Paris. 1l.
- 283 *Biographie Universelle et Portative des Contemporains.* 1re partie, Livraison XXXV.—XLII. 2de partie, Livraison XIV.—XVIII. Paris. each 3s. 6d.
- 284 *Mémoires du Comte Alex. de Tilly, pour servir à l'Histoire des Mœurs de la fin du XVIIIe Siècle.* 3 tom. 8vo. Paris. 1l. 8s.
- 285 *Papiers inédits trouvés chez Robespierre, Saint-Just, &c.* Tom. II. et III. 8vo. Paris. each 10s.
- 286 Galéron, &c., *Statistique de l'Arrondissement de Falaise.* Livraison I.—V. (to form eight.) 8vo. Falaise.
- 287 Raoul Rochette, *Cours de Leçons sur l'Archæologie.* 8vo. Paris. 12s.
- 288 *L'Art de vérifier les dates depuis l'année 1770 jusqu'à nos jours.* Tom. XI. 8vo. Paris. 9s. 6d.
- 289 Ptolemée, *Traité de Géographie, trad. pour la première fois du Grec en Français, par M. l'Abbé Halma.* 4to. Paris.
- 290 Hering, C. W., *Geschichte des Sächsischen Hochlandes.* 3 thle. gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 15s.
- 291 Rauschnick, D., *Handbuch der Special-Geschichte von Baiern.* gr. 8vo. Mainz. 9s.
- 292 Misegaes, E., *Chronik der freien Hansestadt Bremen.* gr. 8vo. Halberstadt. 10s.
- 293 Brhmer, D. S., *Streifen durch das östliche Ligurien.* 8vo. Winterthur. 9s. 6d.
- 294 Buttmann, Ph., *Mythologus, oder gesammelte Abhandlungen über die Jagen des Alterthums.* 1r thiel. gr. 8vo. Berlin. 9s.
- 295 Hild, F., *Altere Militär-Chronik des Grossherzog thums Hessen.* 1r thiel. 8vo. Darmstadt. 7s.
- 296 Spittler, L. T., *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des Papstthums.* 4to. Hamburg. 13s.

- 297 Hall, J. Vander, der Verschworne oder die letzten Regierungsjahre Königs Jacob des Zweiten. 8vo. *Berlin*. 7s.
- 298 Spittler, L. T., Geschichte der Hierarchie von Gregor VII. bis auf die Zeiten der Reformation. 4to. *Hamburg*. 5s.
- 299 ———, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge. 4to. *Hamburg*. 2s.
- 300 Uschold, J. N., Handbuch der allgemeinen Geschichte der Völker mostanten des Alterthums. 1r buch. gr. 8vo. *Sulzbach*. 5s.
- 301 Münter, D. F., die Christin im heidnischen Hause. gr. 8vo. *Kopenhagen*. 3s. 6d.
- 302 Wilder, J. C. J., Lieder und Bilder aus Albrecht Dürers Leben. gr. 4to. *Nürnberg*. 8s.
- 303 Ekendahl, D. G. von, Geschichte des Schwedischen Volks und Reichs. 2 theil. gr. 8vo. *Weimar*. 1l. 10s.
- 304 Hassel, D. G., Allgemeine Handwörterbuch der Geschichte und Mythologie. 1r und 2r bd. gr. 8vo. *Weimar*. each 1l.
- 305 Hörchelmann, D. F., Geschichte, Geographie und Statistik der Insel Sardinien. gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 14s.
- 306 Jäger, E., Mittheilungen zur Schwäbischen und Fränkischen Reformationsgeschichte. 1r bd. 8vo. *Stuttgart*. 8s.
- 307 Mailath, J. Graf., Geschichte der Magyaren. 3 bde. gr. 8vo. *Wien*. 1l. 15s.
- 308 Pahl, J. G., Geschichte von Württemberg für das Württembergische Volk. 4 bdchn. 8vo. *Stuttgart*. 8s.
- 309 Schlözer, A. L. von, Öffentliches und Privatleben aus Original urkunden. 4 bde. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 1l.
- 310 Kirchhofer, M. Bertold Haller, oder die Reformation von Bern. gr. 8vo. *Zürich*. 6s.
- 311 Nösselt, Fr., Lehrbuch der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 10s.
- 312 Wassenberg, J. H. von, Das Volksleben zu Athen im Zeitalter des Perikles nach griechischen Schriften. 8vo. *Zürich*. 8s.
- 313 Wagner, S. Chr., Das Leben des Erdballs und aller Welten. mit 7 Kpfn. gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 14s. 6d.
- 314 Bergius, D. E. T., Ueber die Bevölkerung der Erde im Jahre, 1828. gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 2s. 6d.
- 315 Jenny, R. von, Geographisch-statistisch-topographisches Handwörterbuch von Grossbritannien und Irland. Gr. 8vo. *Wien*. 15s.

POETRY, DRAMA, &c.

- 321 Théâtre d'Eugène Scribe, dédié par lui à ses collaborateurs. Tom. II. 8vo. *Paris*. 9s. 6d.
- 322 Biographisch anthologisch en critisch-woordenboek der nederduitsche Dichters. 6 vol. gr. 8vo. *Amsterdam*. 4l. 4s.
- 323 Poesye Adama Mickiewicza, (Poesies d'Adam Mickiewicz, en Polonsch.) 2 vol. 18mo. *Paris*. 15s.
- 324 Krasicki, Fables Polonaises, trad. par de Vienn. 18mo. *Paris*. 5s.
- 325 Répertoire du Théâtre de Madame. Livraisons XX.—XLIV. 18mo. *Paris*. each 1s. 6d.
- 326 Prosper-Morimée, La Jaquerie, Scènes Féodales, suivies de la Famille de Carvajal, drame. 8vo. *Paris*. 9s. 6d.
- 327 Scribe et de Rougemont, Avant, Pendant et Après, esquisses historiques, représentées sur le théâtre de Madame. 8vo. *Paris*. 4s.
- 328 Sonnet, Elisabeth de France; tragédie en 5 actes et en vers. 8vo. *Paris*.
- 329 Dante, L'Enfer, trad. en Français par Artaud, avec le texte en regard, 2me édit. 3 vol. 32mo. *Paris*. 13s. 6d.
- 330 Beranger, P. J. de, Chansons, anciennes, nouvelles et inédites, avec des vignettes de Duvrier, et des dessins coloriés d'Henri-Mounier. Livraison I.—V. 8vo. *Paris*. each 4s. (To form 10 livraisons.)
- 331 Baron Roger, Fables Sénégalaises, recueillies de l'Ouolof, et mises en vers Français, &c. 18mo. *Paris*.
- 332 Franz, Von Sickingen, vor Darmstadt, Historisches Drama, mit einem geschichtlichen Anhang. 12mo. *Darmstadt*. 3s. 6d.

- 333 Laun, Fr., Gedichte. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 5s.
 334 Furchau, Fr. Arkona, ein Heldengedicht in 20 gesängen. gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 12s.
 335 Schröder, W. G., Gedichte. 8vo. *Cöln*. 4s.
 336 Platen, A. Graf von, Gedichte. 8vo. *Stuttgart*. 9s.
 337 Koch, O. Schelmenstreühe, Ein komisches Gedicht. 12mo. *Hamburg*. 4s.
 338 Dentler, P. F. C., Leonardo Mattaro, Prinz von Sicilien, ein Drama. 8vo. *Denzig*. 3s.
 339 Galson, der Ultra-Oekonom, ein Lustspiel. 8vo. *Prenslau*. 1s. 6d.
 340 Sainte-Beuve, Tableau Historique et critique de la Poesie Française, et du Théâtre Français au XVIe siècle; œuvres choisies de Rousard, avec notice, notes et commentaires. 2 vol. 8vo. *Paris*. 18s.
 341 Müllner, Dramatische Werke. 7 theil, 16mo. *Braunschweig*. 1l. 5s.
 342 Müller, Prof. D. G. Kurze Theorie der Dichtungsarten. Gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 10s.
 343 Kotzebue, Aug. von, Sämmtliche dramatische Werke. 1r bis 24r bd. 1l. 15s.

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

- 344 Varese, La Fidanzata Ligure, Romanzo Storico. 2 vol. 18mo. *Milano*. 7s.
 345 Contes inédits des Mille et Une Nuits, extraits de l'Arabe, par M. de Hammer, trad. en Français par Trebulien. 3 vol. 8vo. *Paris*. 1l. 8s.
 346 Lombard de Langres, Décameron Français, Nouvelles historiques et Contes Moraux. 2 vol. 8vo. *Paris*.
 347 Müller, L'Autocrate de Village, ou l'art de devenir ministre; Chroniques de la Pomeranie Suédoise, trad. de l'allemand. 4 vol. 12mo. *Paris*. 16s.
 348 Baour-Lormian, Duranti, Premier Président du Parlement de Toulouse, ou la Ligue en Provence. 4 vol. 12mo. *Paris*. 16s.
 349 Spindler, Le Juif, Tableau des Mœurs de l'Allemagne pendant le XVe Siècle, trad. par Cohen. 5 vol. 12mo. *Paris*. 1l.
 350 Varèse, Sibille Odaleta, Roman historique, trad. de l'Italien. 4 vol. 12mo. *Paris*. 14s.
 351 Falckh, T., Pater Seraphim, oder Leben und merkwürdige Erfahrungen eines Augustiners. 8vo. *Mannheim*. 7s.
 352 Laun, Fr., Wiederklänge von Leben und Kunst. 3 bde. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 15s.
 353 Santo-Domingo, der Jesuiten-Spiegel. 2 vol. 8vo. *Stuttgart*. 13s.
 354 Egloffstein, H. A. G. Von, Charles Denoi, oder das Vorgefühl des Väterlichen Herzens. 8vo. *Nürnberg*. 5s.
 355 Mächler, K., Kriminalgeschichten. 8vo. *Berlin*. 5s.
 356 Pré, Karl du, Spenden für Geist und Herz. 8vo. *Berlin*. 5s.
 357 Geib, K., Die Volkssagen des Rheinlandes. 1r bdchn. 8vo. *Heidelberg*. 14s.
 358 Bronikowski, Alex., Erzählungen. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 9s.
 359 Laun, Fr., die Hausfreunde, Roman. 8vo. *Berlin*. 7s.
 360 Pitt, Fr., Historisch-romantische Novellen. 2 vol. 8vo. *Berlin*. 11s.
 361 Werneck, K. von, Manuscript eines Clausners auf der Schwäbischen Alp. 2 vol. 8vo. *Augsburg*. 15s.
 362 Chaaté, W. Delia, eine Russische Novelle für Deutsche. 8vo. *Berlin*. 5s. 6d.
 363 Bundes-Ritter, die, von der eisernen Krone oder die gehennin Rächerden. 2 thele. 8vo. *Quedlinburg*. 12s.
 364 Frank, C., Die Treischaar in den Karpathen. 2 vol. 8vo. *Quedlinburg*. 11s.
 365 Hildebrandt, C., Fürst Scanderberg der Unüberwindliche. 2 thele. 8vo. *Quedlinburg*. 11s.
 366 Jördens, G., Amalfried der Thüringer. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 5s.
 367 Leibrock, A., Der verwünschte Ball. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 6s. 6d.
 368 Der Schauerthum im Teufelsgrunde. 2 vol. 8vo. *Quedlinburg*. 11s.
 369 Harring, Harro, Rhonghar Jarr. Fahrten einer Friesen in Dänemark. 1r und 2r bd. 8vo. *München*. 11s. 6d.
 370 Thale, Adalbert von, Margot Stofflet, ein historisch-romantisches Gemälde aus dem Vendeckriege. In 4 akten, 8vo. *Berlin*. 4s.
 371 Hold, K., Der Spanier, oder die Pflegesöhne der Sechzigerr. 2 thele. 8vo. *Hamburg*. 10s.
 372 Kruse, L., Die Strafe nach dem Tode und das verfluchte Hans. 8vo. *Hamburg*. 5s.

- 373 Lange, Ed., Die Eroberung Corinths-Ixenion. 8vo. Berlin. 6s. 6d. .
 374 Lessmann, D., Cisalpinische Blätter. 2 thle. 8vo. Berlin. 15s.
 375 Ferber, O. Heideblümchen. 8vo. Berlin. 7s.
 376 Herlofsohn, C., Die Fünfhundert von Blamk. 8vo. Leipzig. 4s. 6d.
 377 Lorenz, W., Prinz Siegmund von Sachsen und seine Brüder. 2 thle. 8vo. Leipzig. 10s.
 378 Mathilde von Hohenburg. 2 thle. 8vo. Leipzig. 13s.
 379 Penseroso, Die Schwestern im Königssaal. 2 thle. 8vo. Leipzig. 10s.
 380 Richter, M., Die Familie Crevecœur. 8vo. Leipzig. 6s. 6d.
 380* ———, Nikanor, der Alte von Fronteja. 8vo. Leipzig. 7s.
 381 Sächsische Topasen und Böhmisches Granaten. 1r—3r bd. 8vo. Neustadt. 15s.
 382 Römbild-stift. Eine Erzählung aus dem wirklichen Leben. 2 thle. 8vo. Weimar. 12s.
 383 Bührlen, Fr. L. Bilder aus dem Schwarzwald. 8vo. Stuttgart. 8s.
 384 Castelli, J. F., Wiener Lebensbilder. 12mo. Wien. 4s.
 385 Ewald, Sandsteine gesammelte Erzählungen. 4 bdchn. 8vo. Leipzig. 1l.
 386 Fouqué, Fr. de la Motte, der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg, ein Dichterspiel. 8vo. Berlin. 8s.
 387 Leibrock, A., Die Zerstörung der Burg Hohenbüchen. 2 thle. 8vo. Leipzig. 10s. 6d.
 388 Solons, Fr. von, Drei Tage am Bord der deutschen Najade. 2 thle. 8vo. Leipzig. 1l. 3s.
 389 Stahl, H. Otto Schütz und der Auskultator Ewald. 12mo. Leipzig. 6s.
 390 Mosengeil, Fr. drei Freunde auf Reisen. 3 thle. 8vo. Leipzig. 15s.
 391 Heller, J. die Altenburg bei Bamberg. 8vo. Bamberg. 5s.
 392 Veith, J. C. und J. P. Silbert, der Bothe von Jericho. 1r bdchn. 8vo. Wien. 4s. 6d.
 393 Hauff, W. Phantasien und Skizzen. 12mo. Stuttgart. 6s. 6d.

GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS.

- 398 Hisely, Disquisitio critica de fontibus et auctoritate Cornelii Nepotis. 8vo. Delphis—Batav. 7s.
 399 Tiasot, Etudes sur Virgile. Tom III. 8vo. Paris. 12s.
 400 Bibliotheca Classica Latina, curante Lemaire. Livraisons XLVIII. et XLIX. 4 vol. 8vo. Paris.
 401 Geographi Græci Minores; edidit, cum versione Latina, notis, indicibus atque tabulis, a J. F. Gail. Tom. II. 8vo. Paris. 1l. 8s.
 402 Sallustii Crispi historiarum fragmenta ed. Brossaus. 8vo. Lüneberg. 2s.
 403 Leontii Carminis Hermesianactei fragmentum, ed. Riegler et Axt. 16mo. Cöln. 1s.
 404 Tertulliani Apologeticus adversus gentes, ed. D. J. J. Richter. 8vo. maj. Elberfeld. 3s.
 405 Luciani Alexander græce ed. C. G. Jacob. 8vo. maj. Cöln. 5s.
 406 Francii, J. Bavari, Dissertatio inauguralis de Lysia oratore Attico, græce Scripta. 4to. Nürnberg. 2s.
 407 Ausonius, D. M. Mosella, Latinisch und deutsch, herausgeg. von D. E. Böcking. 4to. Berlin. 5s.
 408 Erasmi, Desiderii Roterodami, Colloquia ed. Stallbaum. 8vo. maj. Leipzig. 7s.
 409 Ciceronis, M. T. ut ferunt, Rhetoricorum ad Herennium, libri IV. ed. Fr. Liudemann. 8vo. maj. Leipzig. 19s. Ditto, fine paper, 1l. 7s.
 410 Taciti, C. L. Dialogus de Oratoribus, ed. Dr. E. Dronke. 8vo. maj. Coblenz. 7s. 6d.
 411 Vogel, Dr. E. F. de singulari historiarum studio. 4to. maj. Leipzig. 1s. 6d.
 412 Hermann, G. Opuscula. Vol. III. 8vo. maj. Leipzig. 10s.
 413 Gottschalk, D. C. A. Selecta disceptationum forensium capita. 2 vol. 8vo. maj. Dresden. 14s. 6d.
 414 Isocratis Evagoras ed. Dr. P. J. L. Leloup. 8vo. maj. Mainz. 2s. 6d.
 415 Juliani Imperatoris quæ feruntur Epistolæ, ed. L. H. Heyler. 8vo. maj. Mainz. 15s.
 416 Ciceronis, M. T. Orationes IV. in Lucium Catilinam, ed. Dr. C. Benecke. Gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 7s. .

MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

- 421 Bentivoglio, Cardinale, Lettere di, con note da Biagioli. 3a ediz. 12mo. *Paris*. 6s.
 422 Gamba, Serie dei Testi di Lingua Italiana e di altri esemplari del bene scrivere. 4to. *Milano*.
 423 Confessions de J. S. Quean , depuis 1778 jusqu'  1826, avec portrait. 2 vol. 8vo. *Paris*. 1l.
 424 Coquerel, Histoire abr g e de la Litt rature Anglaise, depuis son origine jusqu'  nos jours. 18mo. *Paris*. 4s.
 425 Villemain, Cours des Le ons sur la Litt rature Fran aise. 8vo. *Paris*. 12s.
 426 Mery, Histoire g n rale des Proverbes, adages, sentences, apophthegmes, &c. Tom. II. 8vo. *Paris*. 9s.
 427 Baron Massias, Influence de l' criture sur la Pens e et sur le langage. 8vo. *Paris*.
 428 Nodier, Charles, Examen Critiqu  des Dictionnaires de la langue Fran aise. 8vo. *Paris*. 9s. 6d.
 429 Qu rard, la France Litt raire, ou Dictionnaire bibliographique des savans, historiens, et gens de lettres de la France. Tom. II. 1 re livraison (CA—COZ). 8vo. *Paris*. 10s.
 430 Le Pas d'Armes de la Berg re, maintenu au Tournois de Tarascon; publi  d'apr s un manuscrit de la Biblioth que du Roi, par Crapelet. gr. in 8vo. *Paris*. 1l. 4s.
 431 Montlivault, Grammaire g n rale et philosophique pr c d e d'un coup-d' il sur la nature et le m canisme des langues. 8vo. *Paris*. 6s. 6d.
 432 Baron de Merian, Principes de l' tude comparative des langues; suivies d'observations sur les langues Asiatiques, par Klaproth. 8vo. *Paris*. 7s.
 433 Mart nez de la Rosa, Obras Literarias. Tom. II. 12mo. *Paris*. 7s.
 434 Chateaubriand, Œuvres compl tes. Tom. XXII. XXV. et XXVII. 3 vol. 8vo. *Paris*. 1l. 10s.
 435 R se, D. B. Herzog Bernhard der Grosse von Sachsen-Weimar, Biographisch dargestellt. Gr. 8vo. *Weimar*. 14s. 6d.
 436 Goldwitzer, Bibliographie der Kirchenv ter vom 1ten bis zum 13ten Jahrhundert. Gr. 8vo. *Landshut*. 8s.
 437 Nicolovius, A.  ber G the, literarische und artistische Nachrichten. 1r theil, gr. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 11s. 6d.
 438 Contradi M. Taschenw rterbuch der Deutsch-Roman Sprache. 2 the. gr. 12mo. *Zurich*. 9s.
 439 Dankovsky, G. die Griechen als Stamm und sprachverwandte der Slawen. Gr. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 5s.
 440 Behberg, A. W. S mmliche Schriften. 1r. bd. gr. 8vo. *Hannover*. 9s.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

- 441 Schott, D. W. Vorgebliche Uebersetzung der Werke des Confucius aus der U sprache. Gr. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 4s. 6d.
 442 Wiseman, Hor  Syriac , seu Commentationes et Anecdota res vel litteras Syriacas spectantia. Tom. I. 8vo. *Roma*. 8s.
 443 Sarchi, Grammaire H braique raisonn e et compar e. 8vo. *Paris*. 16s.
 444 Sauerwein, A. P. L. Lexicon Hebr o-chaldaicum. 8vo. maj. *Hannover*. 5s.
 445 Simonis, J. Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum, ed. Dr. G. B. Winer. Editio 4a. 8vo. maj. *Leipzig*. 1l. 3s.
 446 Johanna en, C. T. Historia Jemane ,   codice manuscripto Arabico. 8vo. maj. *Bonn*. 9s.

THE

FOREIGN

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *Discours prononcé à la quatrième Séance annuelle du Conseil de Perfectionnement de l'École spéciale de Commerce et d'Industrie de Paris, le 12 Août, 1828.* Par M. Adolphe Blanqui, Professeur d'Economie Politique. Paris. 1828. 8vo.
2. *Histoire de l'Exposition des Produits de l'Industrie Française en 1827.* Par M. Adolphe Blanqui. Paris. 1827. 8vo.
3. *Discours de son Excellence le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat du Commerce et des Manufactures, sur le Budget de son Département, Séance du 16 Juillet, 1828.* Paris. Imprimerie Royale. 1828. 8vo.

IF it be true that the mathematical and physical sciences are the conquests made by man's understanding over the *secrets* of nature, it is no less so that industry is the fruit of the victory gained by man's free-will over the *forces* of nature. Placed as it were among a heap of rugged materials, apparently stubborn and unyielding, and threatening them with destruction, mankind are making a steady progress in subduing the whole chaos, and fashioning it anew in their own image. To have taken the lead in this glorious career—to have maintained her distinguished rank among nations by her attention to the useful arts—has been the just pride of Great Britain, and will, we trust, not cease to be the boast of her enterprising and persevering children. The encouragement that education has recently received at the hands of the high and wealthy among us—the establishment of two new universities in the metropolis—the rapid spread of the Mechanics' Institutes and scientific institutions—the formation of a Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the commencement of an exhibition of British arts and manufactures in the metropolis—mark the interest taken by our countrymen of all ranks and parties in the prosperity of the industrious classes, and their sense that the welfare of the latter is identified with their own. For ourselves, we enter cordially into this feeling, and it is simply on account of our wish to extend it somewhat farther, that we think it a part of our duty to notice the efforts which the men of science and the friends of order and peace are now making in

France, to stimulate the working people to exertion, and to supply them with information tending to enable them to better their condition in life. In such labours, indeed, we cannot but take a warm interest, assured, as we are, that every addition to the civilization and comforts of other nations has a sensible effect upon our own; and that the stock of happiness accumulated by any one people will, in the end, as certainly spread itself to others, as water will find its own level. We feel peculiar pleasure that the political situation of Europe has so strongly cemented together the interests of Great Britain and France; and we rejoice at the opinion lately expressed by King Charles the Tenth,—on the occasion of Lord Stuart de Rothsay's presenting the credentials of his embassy—that nothing but the most intimate concord between his Britannic majesty and himself could, at the present juncture, preserve the peace of Europe. We are happy in perceiving, or in thinking we perceive, in the various publications that have issued from the presses on both sides of the Channel within the last few years, with the exception of a little newspaper squabbling, and skirmishes between the *Times* and the *Constitutionnel*, the gradual disappearance of that absurd jealousy, and that stupid prejudice, which so long lingered even in minds of a high order, and the substitution of a tone of mutual good will. From personal observation and communication with individuals, we believe there exists generally in France a desire to know, and a disposition to appreciate, whatever we possess that is good and worthy of admiration. If a measure of commercial policy be in agitation, the minister justifies it by the example of Great Britain—if a grant is demanded for the repair of the roads, he refers to the excellence of communication in England. Is an attack made on the liberty of the press, or an unpopular law attempted to be introduced,—the orator on the liberal side shews that it forms no part of the law of England, and contends that it is therefore contrary to the spirit of a free constitution. Our modes of living, our fashions, and our very absurdities, are adopted with a readiness which shews no hesitation to take examples from us, nor any jealousy of innovation upon their national habits. And of the multitude of English travellers who flock annually across the Channel, there are very few who do not speak with satisfaction and pleasure of their trip, and do not readily acknowledge that they have acquired new information, and perceived something worthy of imitation from our Gallic neighbours.

The more this mutual respect and good understanding are cultivated, the more apparent it will become, that in the present age, which is distinguished from its predecessors by no more appropriate name than that of "the age of industry," it closely con-

cerns us to watch the progress of France in arts and manufactures; a progress that forms as sure an index to the growth of a people in mental excellence, as it does of the increase of the national strength and power.

The speech of Professor Blanqui, placed at the head of this article, was delivered before a very numerous meeting of the patrons of the school established in Paris for the instruction of youth in the principles of commerce, in commercial law, political economy, and the several auxiliary sciences. This institution was formed in 1818, under the patronage of the Count Chaptal (formerly minister of the interior under the consulship of Buonaparte, and the author of a work published some years ago on French industry), of the Baron Charles Dupin, M. Lafitte, the banker, and other distinguished scientific and commercial men. It has been found to be essentially useful to young men destined for trade, who pursue a course of two or three years' study there before entering into business. It is attended by many foreigners, having already obtained a reputation from the excellence of its system and the attainments of its professors. Among these, M. Blanqui (the pupil of M. Say), who fills the chair of political economy, is one of the most eminent, and it fell to his lot to give a history of the progress of French industry since the last meeting of the society. In attempting to introduce our readers to this subject, and to sketch an outline of the encouraging picture of M. Blanqui, we shall adopt his arrangement as the best that can be used to develop the steady progress that the industrious arts have been making in France, from the period of the Restoration down to the present day.

The details of the new inventions and improvements in each separate branch may be found at length in the History of the Exhibition in the Louvre for 1827. Of the utility of these periodical shows to the main body of the manufacturers whose choice productions are thus displayed to public curiosity, some doubts have been entertained even at Paris. It is urged dogmatically in some quarters, that industry ought always to provide for itself by means of a regular interchange of commodities, and not by the temporary excitement of particular circumstances. The tendency of these exhibitions, it is said, is to induce the manufacturers to neglect their regular and productive work for the purpose of executing some curious specimen of ingenuity, that may obtain the prize from the jury, and attract the notice of royalty and the beau-monde of Paris. An instance occurred at this very exhibition, of a carpet being displayed, which occupied two years in making, and contained three or four thousand ostrich feathers—a rarity which has indeed spread the fame of the ma-

manufacturer, but which he will probably not attempt again, unless he wishes to ruin himself. These objections, as M. Blanqui admits, have their full weight; and he reluctantly confesses that their justice has been in a great degree proved by experience at the last exhibition. But he attributes the abuse of the original design to the system of protections and prohibitions, which exists to so great an extent in France. The exhibitor of a curious piece of machinery thinks he is entitled to call loudly for the exclusion of Swedish iron or English copper; the manufacturer of a rich shawl or carpet is equally clamorous against the introduction of foreign woollens; and the improver of the breed of sheep demands the prohibition of any wool but French. These conflicting interests, all asking exclusive protection, believe their best chance of winning the royal favour to be the production of something new, to the invention of which "*la grande nation*" may lay claim; and hence have arisen instances of servility and want of independence among those classes, which, of all others, might be expected to be the most free, and the least regardful of the patronage of the court.

The partial abuse of the spirit of the national exhibition has not, however, prevented its being of great utility in stimulating the enterprise of the manufacturers, and in making known throughout the kingdom what is doing in every corner of it. It forms, in effect, a fair or exchange, contributing to the union of the working orders, by facilitating their intercourse, and bringing them as it were nearer to each other. The sound notions of the more enlightened of them, who know that free competition is in the long run their best friend, will thus, with the aid of their able advocates, M. Dupin, M. Blanqui, and others, supplant the narrow prejudices that are now entertained to so great an extent; and the Louvre will contain a true portrait of French ingenuity and industry, though it may be ornamented with a less curious and a less gaudy frame. M. Blanqui, in the introduction to his "*History of the Exhibition*," enters at some length into the question of the expediency of prohibitions, and thus concludes his observations:—

"I have thought it my duty to submit these considerations to the French manufacturers, who for the most part can see nothing in a great industry but a vast monopoly. This unfortunate notion leads them incessantly to crouch to the government—to humiliate themselves—to compromise their independence; it sufficiently explains why so many of them have merely endeavoured this year to attract notice by whimsical or extraordinary productions, in the hope that they would be bought for the use of the crown, or of some superior dignity. With such prejudices it is impossible to expect that French industry will take any energetic

and durable spring, until people will condescend to work for the world in general, for the public are a far wider market than the court. It is to the public, the supreme arbiter of all commercial destinies, that we ought always to look : the royal munificence is a resource bounded by the civil list, and ministerial favours find their limits in the budget.

“ What ought then to be the object of exhibitions of our productions, and the direction that we should give to industry ? It is to bring forward at periodical intervals the machines, the methods of working, the tissues, the articles of every kind that shall have been brought to perfection, with reference to price and execution ; to proclaim ingenious or original inventions, particularly distinguishing such as are useful. A methodical classification would be essentially necessary to attain this object.”—p. 9.

The restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in 1815 is now the era from which the growing prosperity of France takes its date. The ravages made by the wars of the revolution and of the empire upon her population and wealth, have been estimated, according to M. Dupin, at two millions of men, and 600 millions sterling of English money. Every succeeding year of peace is, however, healing these severe wounds ; private losses have been indemnified ; houses and factories have been rebuilt ; the cattle and live stock are more numerous than before the war, and the population has been augmented in thirteen years by two millions and a half of inhabitants. In adverting to the state of French industry in its several branches, we shall shew that although stripped of its verdure, its life was never extinguished ; but that its winter being past, it put forth fresh shoots in the spring, and is already covered with a profusion of blossoms that promise a rich crop of fruit to its diligent cultivators.

It is the result of the observations of Mr. Jacob, in his Report published in April last, that the agriculture of France occupies one of the lowest ranks of any of the northern states of Europe, being inferior to that of the Netherlands, Hanover, Prussia, Saxony, Denmark, Poland, and even Austria. Although about two-thirds of the population, or twenty-one out of her thirty-two millions of inhabitants, are employed in the cultivation of the soil, the old system of farming has been hitherto but little departed from, and the scientific principles that guide the English agriculturists, though beginning to make their way, are yet by no means in general practice. The average fertility of the soil has led many of its proprietors to rely too much on their natural advantages, and too little on the assistance of art. The protecting duties, which, like those of England, exclude the competition of foreign corn, have likewise, it is to be feared, tended to check the exertions they were designed to stimulate. But the backwardness of agriculture is mainly attributable to the very partial spread of education in the rural districts, there being out of 40,000 communes,

according to M. Dupin, 15,000 destitute of teachers; and out of twenty-five millions of inhabitants who have reached a teachable age, ten millions only able to read. Now as the small independent proprietors of land amount to four millions, and their families to twelve or fourteen millions more, it is obvious that this state of ignorance must, under such circumstances, be attended with far more prejudicial effects upon production than if it existed in England, where the labourers are under the orders of about thirty-two thousand large proprietors, and the success of cultivation consequently does not so mainly depend upon the general diffusion of knowledge. It is gratifying to find, however, that the large proprietors in France are universally desirous for the instruction of the rest, and that societies, rural schools, and model-farms have been established under very favourable auspices. The Agricultural Society of the Seine et Oise, which comprises many extensive landed proprietors, bestows annually medals and prizes on the small cultivators who turn their hereditary estates to the most profit, and upon the hired labourers and servants employed in large farms, who perform their work with the greatest intelligence and fidelity. A model-farm has been lately established at Roville, in the valley of the Meurthe, about six leagues from Nancy, by M. de Dombasle, a skilful practical agriculturist, with the assistance, and under the patronage, of the Dauphin. It comprises land of three different sorts—clay, sand and gravel—and the proper modes of culture are applied to each. By the improvements in ploughs and instruments of husbandry, five horses and nine oxen now accomplish at Roville more work than thirty-five beasts of burthen used to do on the same ground. With the aid of the Scotch threshing-machine, M. de Dombasle beats out, with three horses, three hectolitres and a half (upwards of an imperial quarter) of wheat, and other grain in proportion. Potatoes are cultivated with attention, and a distillery has been established for extracting their spirit. M. de Dombasle has proved what will, we think, excite some surprise—that land of a middling quality, planted with potatoes for fattening beasts, will be more productive than the richest meadow. No stronger encomium can be made on the skill of M. de Dombasle, than the fact that he has more than doubled the produce of the land;—the average annual return of Roville being 59 francs per hectare (of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres), while that of the rest of the department of the Meurthe is but 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ francs per hectare. At Moucey, in the department of the Moselle, the model-farm of M. Bouchotte is famous for its breed of horses. The Agricultural Society of Strasbourg has just commenced an experimental plantation of fruit and forest trees in Alsace—a want observable not merely in that department, but throughout the

whole country, except perhaps Normandy and parts of Brittany. In Franche Comté and the department of Doubs, the government has taken the breeding of cattle under its peculiar care, and established annual exhibitions and prizes. In these parts, as also in Montbéliard, the useless practice of feeding off the land is beginning to be discontinued, it being ascertained that a hectare of inclosed ground produces one-third more if not subjected to this ceremony. The arrondissement of Montbéliard has abandoned the system of fallows in use in the rest of the department, and cultivates with success both flax and the turnip. In Franche Comté the very beggars are becoming industrious; they go about collecting manure till they have accumulated a certain quantity, when they take it to a proprietor, who allows them in return to plant on his soil, and receive the crop of a proportionate number of potatoes. In Picardy the increase of the sheep flocks, and the improved system of manuring, have added to the fertility of the soil. At Nouvion, in the department of the Aisne, the farms have been ornamented by hedges and plantations, in imitation of the adjoining country of Hainault. It is here that the making of *sabots*, and wooden utensils called *bois-jolis*, is chiefly carried on; the supply sent to Paris annually is valued at £17,000. At Origny, in the neighbourhood of Vervins, the children of the husbandmen are employed in fan-making, baskets, &c. of willow, to the value of £40,000 per annum. In Champagne the example of M. Richardot, a small proprietor, has given an impulse to planting, and to a systematic irrigation of the land.

The culture of the vine is a department of their husbandry of which the French have, perhaps, a right to boast more than any other people. The same grape, when tried in countries under the same latitude as the south of France, has never been brought to an equal degree of perfection. The plantations of vines have been and are subject to severe discouragements, but have nevertheless increased by one-third over their extent in 1789. In that year their surface was estimated at 1,200,000 hectares of land; in 1808 it amounted to 1,600,000; and in 1824 it covered 1,728,000 hectares. The vines now occupy about two millions of cultivators, and their annual produce is computed at forty millions of hectolitres; the value of which, at fifteen francs per hectolitre, is six hundred million francs, or about twenty-four millions sterling English money. Great complaints have, however, lately been made of the languishing and depressed state of this trade, and the investigation of its actual condition forms the principal topic of M. St. Cricq's speech prefixed to this Article. The minister appears to have taken much pains in investigating the question,

whether the high duties imposed in foreign countries have brought about the stagnation and want of demand now experienced; and he shews that, with the exception of that of England, the foreign tariffs cannot have contributed much to this effect. He then asks whether it is expedient to adopt any measures to curtail the number of vineyards? as seemed fit to the royal wisdom in 1731, when similar complaints seem to have been prevalent.

"Shall we say that the secret of our evils consists in this, that too many vines have been planted? that it is superabundance which ruins us? that we ought to have, as was the case in 1731, a decree (the terms of which prove that similar ones had preceded it) ordaining, '*that no new plantation of vines shall be made in the kingdom, and that those which shall have been uncultivated two years, shall not, under the penalty of three thousand livres, be re-established without the express permission of his Majesty?*' Surely not, gentlemen! Thank God, we have at this period surer means of preserving the sale of our articles of culture, and of preventing an excessive depreciation of their price. These means consist in the greatest possible developement of labour, and in the increase of consumption which is thereby promoted."—p. 17.

The most effectual method of attaining these ends is, unquestionably, as M. St. Cricq appears to be convinced, the reduction of the internal duties. The wine growers suffer grievously from the pressure not only of the government taxes or *droits généraux*, but of the *octroi*, or municipal tax, which wine pays on entering the barriers of a town, but of which no drawback is allowed on its exit. These town dues are very uncertain, and in some places so excessive, that it is by no means uncommon to find French wines dearer at home than in other countries of Europe. The *octroi* of Paris is twenty-one francs per hectolitre, although the greater part of the wine consumed is not worth more than fifteen francs the hectolitre; and it is a strange anomaly, that those who wish to get wine at a moderate price cannot do it without stepping outside of one of the barriers of the metropolis, where they are at once in the "Islands of the Blest"—in a land flowing with Bourdeaux and Mâcon—in a land which freedom from the *octroi* makes the chosen seat of those votaries of Bacchus who prudently prefer imbibing the divine liquor at places where it can be had at moderate prices. We stated six hundred million francs to be the value of the annual produce of wine in France; of this one hundred millions are exacted by the *droits généraux*, and twenty millions more by the *octroi*, making a total taxation of one-fifth part of the whole—a grievance which we cannot wonder is sensibly felt throughout the kingdom. The proprietors of vineyards have petitioned repeatedly for liberation from these restric-

tions, and in every case where relief has been granted, the increase of consumption has surpassed expectation. At Bourdeaux, where the duty is one half less than at Paris, twice as much is consumed in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as in the metropolis. The further reduction of our duty (now 7s. 6d. per gallon), or the introduction of a scale on the *ad valorem* principle into our tariff—as is the case in America and in several countries of Europe—would be as great a benefit to the French vine proprietors as it would be an acceptable boon to our middling and lower classes, and a certain augmentation of the revenue. This is a subject of some importance, to which we shall probably take an early opportunity of returning.

It cannot be disguised that, with the exception of parts of French Flanders, Normandy and Alsace, the breed of cattle and sheep in France is yet very degenerate. But their improvement, like that of mankind, depends upon their rearing; and if the example of the Roville and other studs be followed, there seems no reason to doubt that the French horses may one day equal those of England or Spain. The company lately formed for recovering the four million hectares of marsh land now uncultivated, and converting them into pasture, will greatly further the amelioration of the cattle, as well as the augmentation of their numbers. Two millions and a half of horses, seven millions of horned cattle, and forty-two millions of sheep and goats, are certainly not a large stock for a country covering fifty-three and a half million hectares of land.

Of the improvements in the quality of wool we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. The most experienced of the agriculturists have shown that the fleeces may be brought to almost any desired degree of perfection. When the merinos of Spain first appeared in France, the partisans of the coarse mattress-wool were continually alleging that Spanish sheep would never thrive in the French climate; their success has, however, been complete. The celebrated M. Ternaux has imported wools of what are called the Electoral race, and has placed the goats of Thibet in his park of St. Ouen, near Paris. The rugged declivities of the Jura have been adorned with the magnificent Naz breed of MM. Girod and Perrault, and their rams are now attesting in New Holland the march of science in the management of flocks in France.

Although the French pigs have excited many facetious observations from travellers, and have not unfrequently been compared to greyhounds, we are assured that the method of fattening them at a small expense is beginning to be better understood, and that

the Chinese and English breeds are getting into use for cross-breeding. The fact that four millions of pigs are killed yearly in France, shews of how great importance they are to the small agriculturists.

We shall allude in their proper place to those branches of agriculture immediately connected with manufactures. The most extensive of these are the culture of beet-root for sugar; of oleaginous plants, particularly at Lille and Dijon; and of the mulberry for silk-worms in Languedoc and the southern provinces. It has been the habit in England to consider the former of these as merely a fanciful amusement of national vanity; but it appears by the amount of its consumption, (between seven and eight million pounds a year,) that at all events it is become an article of some practical magnitude.

The state of the roads and canals of France has hitherto been a serious drawback to the interchange of internal commodities. It has recently attracted the attention of the government, and a commission was appointed at the close of the last session to inquire what sum of money would be required to put the roads into repair. In the southern provinces, and on the Netherlands and German frontier, the cares of the commissioners cannot be employed without benefit, and there are places in the neighbourhood of Paris which in England would not have been suffered to remain long unindicted as nuisances. This evil is the more serious, as the rivers are so much affected in depth of water by the change of seasons, that their navigation is often obstructed—even that of such streams as the Seine and the Rhone; and the canals at present seem to be in a sort of unfinished state. It is alleged that the loans of 1821 and 1822, upon which 129 million francs were raised, are insufficient by 50 million francs to complete their object. The products of Provence are at this day obliged to go round by sea, through the Straits of Gibraltar, for want of an internal navigation to Paris. The late ministry are charged by M. Blanqui with miscalculations and careless management of the grant, and he laments that some of the millions so recklessly squandered within the last forty years, had not been applied to the renovations that are now found essential for keeping up the public communications.

“Happily,” he adds, “the genius of France is more skilful and more persevering in producing, than the bad ministers we have met with are indefatigable in spending. To all the attempts made within the last few years to retard the civilization of the country, our operatives have replied only by a generous confidence in the future, up to the time when we have seen them, not without admiration, with one hand lay at the foot of the

throne the *chefs-d'œuvre* of their industry, and with the other deposit in the political balloting-urn the vote that will repair their wrongs!"

In turning to the department of manufactures, it is obvious that it is here we are to look for the strongest proofs of the extent of resources the French have made available, and of the ingenuity and flexibility of their genius. Since the commencement of the present century more has been done in substantial work for general use, and more profit made from foreign examples, than in the whole fifteen hundred preceding years; and in nothing is this more striking than in the metallurgic arts, to which we shall first refer.

It is somewhat remarkable that the great consumption of iron, copper and lead, during the wars of the revolution and the empire, should not have contributed more to bringing the workmanship of them to perfection. It is only since the re-establishment of their intercourse with England that the French have begun to use pit-coal in their furnaces, and to substitute the instrument called a flattener, or *laminoir*, for the hammer, in beating iron into plates. Since this invention plate-iron has not only become cheaper, but more tenacious, purer, and more free from flaws. The establishments at Creusot and Charenton, of MM. Manby and Wilson, who work a steam-engine of 160-horse power, furnished the exhibition with specimens of an iron mast weighing 63 cwt., and purchased for the navy; the stock of a cog-wheel of 73 cwt., and a section of a rail-way, with an iron carriage—a symbol of the approach of the time when France shall really be traversed by these invaluable contrivances. At Fourchambault, in the department of the Nièvre, 2000 workmen are employed by MM. Boigues; they have ten great furnaces, and their bellows are blown by steam. They ship annually, up and down the Loire, iron in rods and sheets to the weight of 6,000 tons, and consume about 23,000 chaldrons of coal, and 100,000 cords of wood. The factory of Pont-Saint-Ours, on the Nièvre, is famous for its axle-trees, now used by most of the French *diligences*, and of tried strength. The forges of M. Michel, at Corbancçon, are in a very thriving state; the iron is dug on the spot; and though they have not the advantage of coal, the fusion and refining of cast iron is effected with beech charcoal, and the chafing of bar iron by charcoal of chatwood. Three hundred labourers are employed; the great furnace supplies 70 tons of cast iron a month; the forges work at the rate of 13 cwt. in twenty-four hours; and the machinery for bar iron is able to pass 4½ cwt. of iron in twenty-four hours. To shew that this progress is not confined to particular factories, we need only state that the number of tons of cast

iron made in France in 1814 was 100,000; in 1825, 160,000; and in 1827 upwards of 200,000. In 1814 one million tons of coal were extracted from the mines, and in 1825 one million and a half of tons. There are now 400 great furnaces at work; 80,000 men are engaged; and the iron manufactures alone yield an annual produce of three millions sterling.* The mines of the Jura, the Vosges, the Puy-de-Dome, the Pyrenees, and other mountainous districts, furnish an abundant supply of iron; but this, as well as every other of the metallurgic arts, suffers severely from the difficulty of procuring coal. Although France is by no means deficient in coal, but on the contrary large fields of coal and collieries exist in the north-east, in the departments of Puy-de-Dome and Cantal, and thence along the Allier to Nevers, and in many other districts, the difficulty of carrying it away, when raised, renders this sort of fuel almost unavailable, unless it is met with on the spot. The consumption of wood for the fusion of metals takes one-fourth of the whole quantity cut throughout the kingdom—a quantity that covers a surface of 400,000 hectares of land; and as coke is scarcely ever employed, it may well be conceived that wood fuel is every day becoming dearer, and that unless steps are taken to open the mines and facilitate the carriage of coal, the effect upon the iron works must be very serious. On this subject M. Blanqui says in his last speech—

“In fact, at this moment, gentlemen, the question of the price of French iron is reduced to the question of the price of wood. The refining of iron by coal is twice as economical; but where are our rail-roads, our means of communication by land and water, our steam-carriages and steam-vessels to transport the coal? Where in our engines are those English piston bellows which work four or five years without being out of order, and which produce five or six thousand quintals (210 to 250 tons) of cast iron a day? Do we not yet see, in many places, miserable furnaces, with leathern bellows fit only for the forge of a horse-shoeing blacksmith? Is our use of the flattener as advanced as it ought to be, when our iron in bars still costs 63 francs, and English iron only 26 francs? When shall we melt, like our neighbours, 1200 million kilograms (1,200,000 tons) of iron yearly on our own soil?”

The working of steel and of white or tinned iron, which, since the secret of working it was carried out of the kingdom in 1686, by the Calvinists, in consequence of their persecution by Louis the Fourteenth, seems not to have been recovered until of late years, is now going on with great energy and success in many parts of France, particularly at St. Etienne and in the departments of the

* In Great Britain in 1820, 400,000, and in 1827, 690,000 tons of iron were cast; and the value of the iron trade was upwards of six millions sterling, exclusive of fine goods.

Isère, and of the Lower Rhine. Springs for carriages are made in great perfection by Garrigou, of Toulouse, and the jury at the exhibition awarded a silver medal to Sirodot and Co. of Bèze, in the Côte d'Or, for their steel knitting-needles, coins, dies, and stamps. It is true that the hardware factories, in general, use English and German steel, but as it is well known that steel-working depends more on manual dexterity than scientific knowledge, there is every reason to think that the French will ultimately succeed as well in this, as they have in arts of a similar character. Many manufactures of hardware have been entirely created of late years. France used to procure from Germany her scythes and sickles as well as files, and now she is able to supply all Europe with these articles, if they were wanted. MM. Garrigou, of Toulouse, make 100,000 scythes a year, of good quality, at two francs a-piece. M. Saint Bris, of Amboise, (who supplies the navy,) furnished, in 1826, 200,000 parcels of files of the German sort, 50,000 dozen English files, 2,000 parcels of Nuremberg files, and 6,000 bolts from 3 to 10 lbs. weight. Cast iron hinges are selling at six francs a dozen. Nail making has been much improved, and by no one more than M. Sirot, of Valenciennes, who has 200 machines for nails of iron, zinc, and copper, and who has made their use so easy, that a child of ten years old can make 8,000 nails in a day. Wire-drawing is much better understood than formerly; it is performed at Paris, in the departments of the Orne and the Oise, at Valenciennes, and many other places; and tin has been drawn so fine as to be made into under-waistcoats. Twenty years ago, saws had not been manufactured in France, and now they are made in great numbers and perfection. The circular saws of M. Mongin, of Paris, were deservedly admired by the visitors of the Louvre. Steel bracelets and other ornaments are in common use. The most neglected of all hardware are pins and needles: M. Blanqui says, there is only one pin manufacturer in France, M. Fouquet, of Rugles, in the département of the Eure, and absolutely not one engaged in needles—those essential implements of domestic industry. The moulding of iron in sand, in imitation of bronze, for buckles, bracelets, &c. is carried on chiefly in Paris, and is executed with much taste and elegance.

The article of copper is one that has risen into considerable importance within the last twelve years. Several of the great forge proprietors have visited Wales and Cornwall, and made themselves acquainted with the process and machinery of the copper works there, and hence has resulted a material improvement upon the mode of refining this metal for flat sheets and

sheathing, for cauldrons, and cylinders for printing cloths. The two principal copper establishments are those of Debladis and Co. at Imphy, in the department of the Nièvre, and of MM. Frere-jean, at Vienne, in that of the Isère. The former was founded in 1816, and in 1824, by means of a water-engine of eighty-six horse power, produced 600 tons of copper and plates, and 200 tons of iron for plates. Subsequently, by the erection of two steam-engines, on Boulton and Watt's principle, together of 116-horse power, the new factory has produced 2,500 tons of copper and plates, and 2,000 tons of iron. They work annually 12,000 chests of tin, of 225 sheets each; and consume 30,000 chaldrons of coal. Their articles are spread through all France, and her colonies, and extend to Switzerland and the Netherlands. At Imphy, 800 workmen are kept, and its copper and tin plates and utensils not only supply the naval service, but have depôts and warehouses in all the principal towns in the kingdom. The metal is found in considerable quantities in the Pyrenees, and in the neighbourhood of Lyons; but, like iron, a great part of the quantity consumed, is still obtained from foreign countries.

The last seven years have brought the art of fusing and beating lead to great excellence. Twelve leaden tables were exhibited in the Louvre, by Voisin and Co., made entirely by fusion; but of as precise dimensions and of as much solidity as if they had been laminated by the flattener. The ingenuity of M. Lenoble, of Paris, and others, has given a new impulse to this branch of industry, by their method of constructing the longest leaden pipes without soldering, by stretching the metal with an indented or canallated flattener over a rod, and drawing it off afterwards like wires. Sheet lead is now made of as large dimensions as any that can be met with in England. The departments of the Arriège; Finisterre, and others, yield a small supply of lead ore, but the proportion imported, compared with that extracted from the mines, is greater than that of the other metals.

Zinc is used in France for many of the purposes which copper answers with us, as for constructing baths, for sheathing ships, and roofing houses; for which last purpose it is found to be cheaper than slate, and durable for twenty years. The prefecture of Rouen is covered with this metal, as is the case, indeed, with Covent Garden Theatre, and several English edifices.

Platina, hitherto so scarce a metal, has been imported in sufficient quantities to reduce it considerably in price. It is used for crucibles, boilers, and other chemical apparatus. The largest wedge yet seen in France, was exhibited in the Louvre, by Cuoq and Co., and weighed 2,910 ounces.

We subjoin a table of the metals imported into and exported from France in 1826. The kilogramme is equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ English pounds, avoirdupois. The gramme is about 19 grains.

METALS.		IMPORTATIONS.	METALS.		EXPORTATIONS.
Kilogrammes.			Kilogrammes.		
Iron . . .	{	Raw Cast Iron 12,405,146	Iron . . .	{	Cast 1,027,617
		In Bars 14,876,838			In Bars 3,301,033
		Steel, wrought and cast 1,000,000			Steel, wrought and cast 250,000
Copper {	{	Pure Copper 4,982,453	Copper {	{	Pure and in Lumps . . . 300,000
		Brass 750,000			Brass 16,000
		Bronze, wrought and unwrought 140,000			Bronze, wrought and unwrought 24,000
Lead	{	Unwrought Lead . . . 12,177,533	Lead . . .	{	Sulphurated 138,129
					Raw 847,079
Tin	{	Unwrought Tin 1,765,428	Tin	{	Laminated 116,585
					Raw or Beaten 71,000
Zinc	{	In Lumps or Sheets . . 4,000,000	Zinc . . .	{	In Sheets 540,000
					Laminated or Melted . . 8,000
Grammes.			Grammes.		
Platina . .	Platina	387,680	Gold and {	Wrought, Laminated {	2,030,409
			Platina {	or Wire Drawn . . }	

It would lead to too lengthened a detail, were we to particularize the various improvements in machinery that have been effected within the last few years, or even the specimens that were so much admired in the Louvre. The mechanism of pumps has been brought to great perfection, whether for the purpose of irrigation, of exhaustion of canals, ponds, &c. or against fire. The principle of the hydraulic balance has been more effectually than before put into practice by M. Frimot. A pump upon this system has been erected in the dock-yard of Brest, which raises 87 unities of labour, or 260 cubic metres of water an hour, to the height of six or seven metres, and does as much work as 288 men applied to the best naval pumps. Hydraulic presses are in use for packing, for planing, for the making of gunpowder, and the extraction of sugar from beet-root. Much care and attention have been bestowed on the construction of steam-engines, and some beautiful specimens with horizontal and oscillating cylinders, and on Watt's lower pressure plan, excited great applause in the Louvre. They do not yet pretend to equal our engines; but a reference to the undermentioned prices, extracted from the scale published by the makers last year, proves that French steam-engines can be now made at no unreasonable rates.

Price of a steam-engine with oscillating cylinder, of	5.
10-horse power, in 1827	560
Do. of 50-horse power	1,920
Price of a lower pressure engine, on Watt's plan, of	
10-horse power	800
Do. of 50-horse power	3,040

The new machine for drying tissues, the new loom of M. Bergue, and the simplification of the machine called the Banc de Broches, by M. Calla, are much approved by scientific men; the latter, in particular, has been brought into very general use, and has received many flattering testimonies of approbation from the Manchester manufacturers. Several new engines for working wool are in play: the mechanical printing-press of M. Gaultier-Laguionie throws off 2000 sheets an hour; and the wine-press of Revillon, of Mâcon, obtains a twentieth part more juice than the common machines. The distilleries have reaped much benefit from the method they have discovered of distilling and rectifying brandy at the same time; and great hopes are entertained by the advocates of the cultivation of beet-root, from their recent successes in the process of evaporation. The machinery imported into France appears at present to be inconsiderable; the official returns for 1826, valuing it at £73,878, and the exportations at £54,036. The prohibition of the English law now only extends to machinery used in the woollen, cotton, silk, and linen manufactures. The smuggling of these articles from England is not, we have reason to believe, carried on to any great extent, on account of the heavy duties imposed by France on the admission of machinery and manufactured iron of every description, amounting in some instances to thirty per cent. *ad valorem*.

The fabrication of woollens in France has been practised, though in a rough manner, from as early a period as the fourteenth century. It received considerable encouragement from Cardinal Richelieu, and still more from the famous Colbert, who persuaded Louis the Fourteenth to offer a bonus of 2,000 livres for each loom at work, and to permit the nobility to enter into manufacturing speculations without derogating from their rank. In 1669 there were 44,200 wool machines in activity; and the cloth, the fabric of which had been confined to England and Holland, began to be made at Abbeville, at Louviers, Elbœuf, and Rouen. The royal factory of the Gobelins, since so celebrated for the luxury and magnificence of its productions, was also established in this reign. It is only, however, of late years that the introduction of carding machines, and other ameliorations in the system of spinning and weaving, has placed woollen cloths at the command of the population in general. The policy of the French government has been for a long time to encourage the exclusive use of their own wool, by heavy duties on the raw material of other countries, and accordingly nearly four-fifths of the wool consumed in France is of native produce. The prosperity of the wool trade is therefore made mainly to depend on the exertions of the agriculturists to ameliorate the quality of the fleeces. This object has excited the greatest emulation in all parts of the coun-

try; the flocks of the Comte de Polignac and M. Maurel, in Calvados and Ariège; those of M. Portal and the Vicomte Jessaint, in the departments of Aude and Marne; and of M. Bourgeois-Audoux, of Turcoing (remarkable for their whiteness); and MM. Perrault and Girod, in the department of the Ain, have been brought to as great perfection as can well be imagined. The importation of the Saxony sheep, of those of the Leicestershire and the South Downs, and of the merinos, have been successfully practised by the proprietors we have mentioned, by the Vicomte de Bouillé, of Nevers, M. Seillière, the Comtesse du Cayla, and very many others. The career of M. Ternaux is, however, the most splendid, and he is really worthy of the title given him by M. Blanqui, "le représentant par excellence de l'industrie Française." This enterprising citizen, in his double capacity of agriculturist and manufacturer, employs upwards of 5,000 workmen, and has establishments at Paris, St. Ouen, Rheims, Sedan, Louviers, and Elbœuf. He has imported the Saxony rams and crossed them with French merinos, and the fleeces of the sheep thus bred have been found fully equal to the finest and softest Saxony wool. He has also introduced the English long-woolled sheep to a great extent, and has removed many difficulties which prevailed in spinning this kind of wool, as well as camels' and goats' hair. M. Ternaux has lately brought into use a machine for opening and cleaning wool, and others for milling and washing cloth, invented by M. Charbon. The consumption of his cloth and casimir in Paris is said to be prodigious, particularly as he has established tailors of his own to oppose the monopoly which the rest of this fraternity possess, and who are now making coats of the best possible quality at from forty-five to eighty francs each.* Those principal seats of the cloth manufacture, Sedan, Elbœuf, and Louviers, have preserved their repute for cloths, coatings, and casimirs, of every quality and colour. The best superfine blue cloth is selling at the latter place at forty francs the ell, and very good may be had at twenty francs. Nor is it in the north of France only that progress is making; specimens from Castres, Carcassonne, Lodève, and other towns in the south, and from Bourges and Châteauroux in the centre of France, have proved that they are beginning to compete with the northern fabrics in fineness, brilliancy, and substance. The mixed stuffs, gambroons, and flannels of Rheims are in much esteem, and from their cheapness and durability, are an excellent article of clothing for the poor.

* Any of our readers who may be visiting Paris, and wish to try M. Ternaux's cloth, may procure these coats au Magasin du Bonhomme Richard, Rue des Fossés-Montmartre.

The home manufacture of Cashmir shawls is an invention which France owes entirely to M. Ternaux. It is said that the India shawls were brought into use by the officers of the army of Egypt after their return from the expedition so fatal to the Mamelukes, from whom a large quantity was captured. The rage then began among the French ladies for these beautiful articles, but their very high price, as well as that of the wool of which they were made, prevented them for some time from becoming common. The raw material is supplied by the goats which browse on the plains of Khirgiz, whence it is brought to Moscow for sale, and it is calculated that a pound of this genuine wool, which hardly suffices for the chain of a shawl, cannot be imported from thence into France, washed, picked, and spun, for less than 150 francs. M. Ternaux has, after surmounting many obstacles, naturalized the breed of the Thibet goats; and the French wool supplies the place of the oriental so perfectly, that all smuggling from India is at an end. This, however, could not have been effected without the co-operation of the ingenuity of the weavers, particularly of MM. Deneirouse and Gaussen, and of the house of Legrand-Lemor, who have succeeded admirably in striped shawls, and in making them two-sided, or without a wrong side. The palm-trees, pagodas, hieroglyphics, and such eastern designs, have been well imitated by M. Rey and M. de Maupeitit, of Beauvais, and many other manufacturers whose productions graced the exhibition. It is rather curious that the shawls exported to the East are ornamented with flowers after what used to be the French fancy, but those for home consumption sell best with Indian devices, though the novelty of them must now be worn off. Some idea of the extent of the home consumption of shawls may be formed from the quantity exported, which in 1826, was as follows:—

Shawls of silk wadding, about 100,000 kilogrammes.*

Cashmir - - - 3,000 ditto.

Woollen - - - 41,000 ditto.

The fabric of carpets may be divided into five sorts. The first is that of the royal manufactories, called by M. Blanqui "*le genre parasite*," which certainly are creditable to the talent of the workmen, but the length of time required to perfect them, sometimes five or six years, makes their price preposterously high. The carpets of the Gobelins and the Savonnerie are seldom valued at less than 200*l.* or 300*l.* each. The next class are those of Aubusson and Felletin, in the department of the Creuse, of both long and short nap and of the velvet kind. The principal establish-

* A kilogramme is the average weight of one shawl.

ments are those of M. Sallandrouze and M. Rogier, whose choicest productions are actually not more than one-fifth of the price of those of the royal factories. The carpets of Atramlé and Co. of Paris are covered with a bituminous varnish, which makes them resemble the sail-cloth, or oil-cloth that we use. MM. Vernet, of Bourdeaux, work in the common English method; their articles are chiefly coarse, but their price is as low as sixty centimes a foot. At Autun, carpets are made of cows' hair—not very handsome certainly, but both cheap and durable. The competition of these different manufacturers will, in the course of time, bring carpets into as common use as in England; and the royal factories will then be considered as little else than a monument to mark the absurd misdirection that has hitherto been given to capital and industry in this branch of the woollen fabric.

We have mentioned that nearly four-fifths of the wool consumed in France is of home produce, and the rapid progress of this consumption will appear, when it is stated, that in 1812 the whole quantity worked was seventy-seven million pounds, and that in 1826 it had increased to one hundred and ten million pounds; and the value of the cloth manufactures amounted to twelve millions and a half sterling of English money. The total number of sheep kept in France is 29,504,000, of which 4,000 are of the Electoral Saxon breed, 5,500,000 are merinos of different sorts, and 24,000,000 are natives. The value of their fleeces is 4,554,000*l.* sterling, which, according to calculations lately made by M. Ternaux, might be increased to 8,357,920*l.* if proper attention were generally paid to the crossing the breeds of native sheep with merinos. Unfortunately, however, the duty of 33*l.* per cent. that now attaches on the importation of the raw material into France, operates very injuriously to this branch of industry, and her exportation of cloth is naturally diminishing in proportion to the decrease in the stock of foreign wool. The following calculations will illustrate this effect:—

AVERAGE OF THE YEARS 1822, AND 1823.		1826.	
Imports of raw wool, kilog.	7,309,266	Imports of raw wool, kilog.	3,787,579
Manufactured do.	59,082	Manufactured do.	22,674
Exports of raw wool	505,932	Exports of raw wool	492,451
Manufactured do.	1,047,560	Manufactured do.	710,845

M. Blanqui complains bitterly of the inattention of the government to the interests of the wool trade, and contrasts its effect with that of the policy of Great Britain in reducing the duty on foreign wool from sixpence per pound to a penny on

wool above, and a halfpenny on wool below the value of a shilling per pound. In 1826 the quantity of raw wool entered for home consumption in the United Kingdom was 17,868,551 lbs.; and in 1827, 28,111,196 lbs.;* and in those years respectively the official value of the woollen manufactures exported was for 1826, 4,410,276*l.*; and in 1827, 5,024,546*l.*—sums which make the 800,000*l.*, at which the exports of French manufactured wool in 1826 may be estimated, appear very trifling. “France,” says M. Blanqui, “once mistress of the cloth trade, will lose by neglect this lucrative branch of her industrious prosperity; and the productions which we have admired in the Louvre, when surpassed by our neighbours, will only prove, that in 1827 the French could make good things, but that in 1828 they allowed their rivals to make better.” We trust there is no fear of our own ministry yielding to the clamour of the agriculturists for an increase of the wool duty to the old rate; but if any additional argument against its being raised were wanted, it might be found in the mischievous effect of the French duty upon a manufacture otherwise so flourishing. This is the main subject upon which M. St. Cricq declares that the conflicting struggles of the landlords and the manufacturers have rendered inquiry necessary, and which will form the first care of the commission appointed by the king. It would certainly be desirable for our wool growers, if some arrangement could be made that would give greater facilities for the introduction of their produce into France, especially in the present glutted state of the home market. The reduction of the export duty, however, from one penny per pound on shilling wool, and one halfpenny per pound on wool under that value, to one shilling per cwt., has afforded some relief, and was a well-timed measure for many of the proprietors on the southern coast. Since the 10th of August, when this new regulation came into effect, there has been a considerable increase in the shipments of long wool for France, notwithstanding the 33 per cent. duty; and if the French rate were reduced at all events to the same as our duty on foreign woollen cloth, viz., 15*l.* per cent., we have no doubt that the arrangement would be mutually beneficial to both countries.

The spinning and weaving of flax has been the employment of the French peasantry for their own clothing from a very early period. It was first begun in Normandy, and has been chiefly carried on in the northern provinces, and particularly at Valenciennes and Cambray, the stuffs of which latter town are so well

* The quantity imported in those years was, in 1826, 43,837,961 lbs., and in 1827, 15,996,425 lbs.; but the true criterion of the effect of the reduction of the duty is the quantity taken out of bond for home consumption.

known under the English name of Cambrics. The cultivation of hemp and flax occupies about 350,000 acres of the French soil, notwithstanding which, M. Blanqui attributes the slow increase of the linen manufactures, compared with those of cotton, to the scarcity and dearness of the raw material. The fact certainly is, that the coarse linens of more northern countries, as Russia, Germany, Scotland, and Ireland, have always found more customers than the French, from their quality and price adapting them more to general use. The art of making damask and table linen was unknown to France before the peace; it has since been introduced, as M. Dupin thinks, by means of the soldiers who served in the northern expeditions under Napoleon, and the French now successfully imitate the beautiful damasks of Saxony and Silesia. The delicacy and perfection of their Cambrics have long been unrivalled, and many of the specimens in the Louvre proved the perfection to which the linen machinery has been brought at other places. A sample of linen made at Laval surpassed every thing that has hitherto been produced in strength and pliancy, and contained 6000 threads in the chain. The price, however, (forty francs an ell) places such cloth above the reach of ordinary purchasers; and M. Blanqui recommends the manufacturers of Laval to study more the general demand, lest foreign linens should drive them from their ancient markets, as those of Bavaria and Holland have supplanted them in Spain. MM. Boniface and son, of Cambray, have exhibited samples that kept up the reputation of their town; and the linen cloth of Delloye and Co. was excellent, and reasonable in price. The damasks of St. Quentin were equal to any that Germany could produce; and some handkerchiefs made in Valenciennes, and ornamented with vignettes, were allowed to be perfection itself. The thread stockings made at Paris are extremely beautiful, and well suited for such of the belles of the metropolis as have pretty ankles, and can afford 100 francs a pair for them. The whiteness of the French linens is a very great recommendation to them, and they are very ingenious in shading the colour from snow-white to milk-white, and so on. But upon the whole, the linen manufacturers regard too much the patronage of the rich, and too little the means of the public, to extend their fabrics as much as they ought to have been spread; and it is certainly not in this department that her neighbours have any thing to fear from the progress made by France in manufacturing industry.

We do not think that the same can be said of the cotton manufacture. Its increase since the peace has been more rapid and striking than that of any other, as will appear by the returns we shall present, which exhibit more than a threefold augmentation

in 1826 of the quantity of yarn spun in 1812. Its origin in France is very recent: the Swiss cottons were generally used prior to 1786, and after the conclusion of Mr. Pitt's commercial treaty in the autumn of that year, a market was opened to English goods up to the period of the Revolution. According to M. Chaptal, the average value of English cottons imported into France in the years 1787, 1788, and 1789, at a duty, we believe, of 10*l.* per cent. *ad valorem*, was about twenty-five million francs, or rather more than a million sterling. The shutting up of communication by the war, and latterly the continental system of Napoleon, made it a matter of necessity for the French to resort to their own resources, and to put forth their powers of manufacturing for themselves. They so far succeeded, that the quantity of cotton spun in 1812 was equal to the average of that spun in England in the ten years ending with 1797, bringing them to a station as important as that occupied by us thirty years before. Since that period, the factories have spread widely through Picardy and Normandy, and have extended to Alsace, to the department of the Loire, to Tarare, Nismes, and Montpellier, and other places in the south. The trade at present is in various degrees of activity in these different quarters; in the south it has somewhat fallen off, but in the department of Calvados, and especially at Rouen, it is extremely brisk. The latter city is the Manchester of France, and its proximity to Havre-de-Grace, the great American port, gives it the same advantage in point of situation as Manchester derives from being near Liverpool. The population of Rouen now exceeds 100,000, and its cotton factories are nearly two hundred in number, having increased tenfold in the course of ten years. The greater part of these are worked by steam, and employ on an average eighty spinners each, making in the whole about sixteen thousand. There are about thirty thousand weavers who work at home, and including the printers and dyers, it is computed that the cotton trade of Rouen supports from fifty-five to sixty thousand persons. The magnificent premises of that great capitalist, the Barou Vavaseur, and the other spacious establishments that enliven the picturesque valley through which passes the road from Rouen to Dieppe, must be well known to English travellers. Two of the spinning-houses have lately erected power looms on their premises, and commenced the weaving of piece goods by steam; one of these has a hundred, and the other twenty looms at work, and they have produced calico which we have ourselves examined, and can vouch for its being or as good quality as any made in Great Britain. The comparatively high wages of the people employed to attend to these looms, which a child may do, enhance the price of this article. It can-

not be sold for less than seven-pence a yard, while British of the same sort sells at five-pence. The wages are from eight to ten francs a week, being as high as are given at Manchester. The wages of the spinners, however, are only from sixteen to eighteen francs a week, while in England they are thirty shillings for this sort of labour; and the people work thirteen hours a day, being an hour longer than with us. We were vexed to hear that no diminution of this time is made in favour of children, there being no regulation similar to the humane provisions of our act of parliament which limits the employment of young persons to ten hours a day. The operatives, however, manifest no discontent at their labour, and as to a strike for wages, such an idea never enters their heads. The most expensive article of consumption here is fire-wood, which costs a labouring man with a family five francs a week, if he keeps a fire constantly. Coals are beyond his reach, and are very costly to his master, who must pay at the rate of thirty francs a day for the fuel required for a steam engine of twelve horse power, owing, as we before observed, to the difficulty of conveyance that at present exists throughout France. At Roubaix, at Beauvais, Caen, Lisieux, and Turcoing, the number of factories has also increased, and with it the population of those towns has advanced proportionately. Steam has undoubtedly not yet occupied the place of animal labour to any thing like the extent it has in England, but some recent ingenious inventions have caused a very great saving to some of the smaller capitalists. The mechanical loom of M. Bergue, to which we have already alluded, is one of the most successful efforts of art that has been exhibited in the Louvre. It is formed of a single axle-tree, upon which are fixed three pieces, which give motion to the play, to the shuttle, and to the plates which unroll the chain and wrap up the cloth. The set is composed of fifteen frames and of a machine for pasting the threads, and requires the labour of one horse only. This loom is equally intended for cotton, flax, and silk, and its price, according to the various sizes is from 450 to 675 francs. The *banc de broches* of M. Calla, too, is particularly useful in varying the number of the wicks, and is so simple, that the most inexperienced spinner can set to rights any disorder in the machine without the assistance of the engineer. Their advantages over those formerly used are too technical to be detailed here, but the fact of Messrs. Cooke and Higgins of Manchester, the best constructors of the *banc de broches* in England, having adopted the plan of M. Calla, and purchased of him the right of using it, is sufficient testimony to the merit of the invention. The specimens of cotton goods of every description exhibited in the Louvre shew the numerous di-

versities of form which this useful plant has assumed, and the ingenuity and readiness of the manufacturers to adapt it in all shapes to the public wants. The corderoy, velveteen, and fustian of Troyes, well suited for labourers' and for soldiers' clothing, are now at such low prices, that trowsers can be made of them, for four francs and a half. Caen furnished specimens of Cambric muslins, striped muslins, and calico, equal to those of Switzerland. MM. Lachal, of Champetières, in Puy-de-Dôme, exhibited beautiful embroidered muslins at five francs the ell of three-quarters wide; and cotton merinos and cotton cloths, whose brilliancy of dye drew much attention, came from Turcoing, from the Upper Rhine, and from Déville, near Rouen. The green and blue prints of Mulhausen sustained the long-established reputation of that city; and MM. Basile and Co. of Versailles, have rivalled England in printed muslins for dresses, and excelled her in the quality as well as cheapness of worked muslin, with a chamois-coloured ground. The gingham from the department of the Upper Rhine were stout and well dyed; and M. Blanqui recommends the hammocks of M. Lelong, and his cotton clothing for negroes, as articles that answer well for exportation.

Interesting as are the details we have gone through, the rapidity of the progress of the cotton manufacture in France will be better perceived through the medium of the following accounts of the quantity annually spun since the peace. We have taken the British part from the official returns, and the French from the works of M. Dupin and M. Blanqui. The weight is given at the rate of two pounds and one-fifth to a kilogram.

RAW COTTON SPUN.

IN GREAT BRITAIN.				IN FRANCE.			
In 1812	.	.	lbs 61,285,024	In 1812	.	.	lbs 25,191,189
1820	.	.	137,407,498	1820	.	.	48,461,390
1824*	.	.	141,276,443	1825	.	.	67,200,000
1826	.	.	162,889,112	1826	.	.	83,993,210

COTTON MANUFACTURES EXPORTED.

	FROM GREAT BRITAIN.		FROM FRANCE.
	Official value.	Declared value.	
In 1820	£20,704,640	£13,843,569	£1,091,300
1823	24,117,549	13,751,415	1,057,115
1826	21,445,565	10,522,357	1,437,855

The former of these accounts exhibits on the British side an increase of about 270, and on the French of 310 per cent. in fourteen years; and in the second account, the greatest proportionate augmentation is also with France. The possibility of other

* We have rejected the year 1825, as being the year of speculation. We do not happen to have the French account for 1824, and cannot therefore compare it.

nations, besides Great Britain, becoming cotton manufacturers, and supplying their wants at home without resorting to our market, is thus in one striking instance distinctly proved. The advantage that we enjoy from having got the start of the rest of the world, is undoubtedly very great; the superiority of our machinery, and the skill of our operatives, weigh heavily at present in our scale, and we freely admit what indeed we have understood to be the fact,—that the English manufacturer can now beat the French, in the markets of America or any distant land, in the proportion of two to one. The time, however, is within our recollection, when the proportion was as two to nothing—when the sovereignty of Great Britain over the cotton trade was as indisputable as her sovereignty of the seas. We have mentioned some of the improvements that have been effected in French machinery; and it cannot be supposed but that the advance of the French workmen in intelligence, and familiarity with their engines, is likewise progressive. A people that already spin nearly as many pounds of cotton as we did in 1816*—who work side by side with emigrated English artisans—and whom great efforts are making to instruct and enlighten, do not appear to us to be at the contemptible distance they have been represented to linger behind ourselves in the career of industry. An English operative, who is now better worth thirty shillings a week than a Frenchman is fifteen shillings, will stand but little chance, when the experience of the latter renders him equally efficient and useful. We can easily understand how the dearness of labour gives a comparative advantage to those manufacturers whose articles are produced by machinery; but we do marvel to see it asserted with so much confidence in a contemporary Review, that high wages never can be injurious to the commerce of this or any other country. Such a conclusion appears to have been formed in the warmth of patriotism rather than by the temperate application of the principles of economy. High wages and high profits cannot exist together; a maxim which easily explains why the Manchester cotton-spinners cannot make more than five or six per cent. of their money, while the capitalists of Rouen obtain twelve per cent. That a considerable number of English have transferred their stocks to France and other countries is notorious; nor can it be wondered that they should endeavour to turn their capital to the best account. Our object is not now to institute a comparison between the commercial situation of Great Britain and other powers; but, if we were inclined, we might lay some stress on the start the cotton trade has taken in the Netherlands,

* The quantity spun in that year in Great Britain was 86,815,021 *lbs.*

and in the Prussian provinces on the Lower Rhine. We may, however, mention, that there are now eighty cotton factories at Ghent, and that half of that number have sprung up within the last five years.*

It is an observation of Montesquieu, that a power which has established itself by commerce can subsist a long time in its mediocrity, but that its grandeur is of short duration; for when it has arrived imperceptibly at the summit of its career, it has the eyes of all the rest of the world upon it; and other nations then begin to try to deprive it of the advantages it has gained, as it were, by surprise. If Great Britain should ever thus lose her commercial ascendancy, we fear it will be in a great measure owing to her sons boasting too much, and regarding what is going on around them too little. We are truly *English* at heart, though we bear the name of *Foreign*; and we have therefore been the more desirous of communicating what we believe to be the truth, and of stating our conviction that there is no improbability in the supposition, that the French, having supplied their home consumption, will, before the lapse of very many years, manufacture cottons for exportation, the price and quality of which will be such as to enable them to compete successfully with British goods in the foreign market.

In approaching the silk manufacture, we must decline entering into any discussion on the various questions that have divided public opinion for some years on this subject. We must confine our attention to its actual state in France, and only touch upon Mr. Huskisson's measures in regard to their effect upon the French trade. Raw silk was imported for a long time after the introduction of the manufacture; the cultivation of the mulberry for the silkworm in Provence, and the other southern provinces, is chiefly owing to the care of Henri Quatre, and is perhaps the most essential benefit which that monarch conferred on the country that cherishes his memory with so much devotion. The manufacture had made some steps in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, to whose intolerance we owe the establishment of the Protestant weavers in Spitalfields, and the origin of the British silk manufacture. Its main seat in France has always been at Lyons, where the rich and brilliant stuffs used chiefly for furniture are made, and in the neighbourhood of which also the ribbon trade is carried on. Avignon, Nismes, and Tours, are the other towns which furnish silks of different kinds, and the

* The gradual increase of the exports of cotton twist and yarn from Great Britain is remarkable, and may be accounted for in a great degree by the demand for these articles by the continental manufacturers. In 1818 the exports were 14,743,675 lbs.; in 1822, 26,595,468 lbs.; and in 1826, 42,179,521 lbs.

great mart of exhibition and sale is the metropolis. The value of the silk annually worked up in France may now be taken at about six millions sterling; and its increase may be in some measure estimated by that of the population of Lyons, which before the Revolution was only 100,000, and is at present upwards of 150,000. Great exertions have been made to naturalize the worms in France, and more than half of the raw material consumed is of native production. The China worm, which spins the silk so well known for its peculiar and beautiful whiteness, has been introduced, and the French crapes of this colour are rivalling those of the East. An important change in the method of weaving has been effected, by the ingenious modification, by M. Maisiat, of Lyons, of Jacquard's loom, which obtains, by means of the simple play of a shuttle, the most varied designs, and even the most perfect imitations of typography. At the recent exhibition, the wills of Louis the Sixteenth, and of Marie Antoinette, performed in this manner, were mistaken by M. Didot, the great printer, for the actual produce of the press. The canopies, copes, hoods, and other works in the Louvre, designed for ecclesiastical purposes, were executed in a manner worthy of the most splendid edifice; stuffs, apparently embroidered with gold and jewels, were entirely the produce of the looms of Villeneuve and Co., and the same persons had some unrivalled specimens of rose-coloured gauze for dresses. Red and blue embroidered stuffs, of the same kind as are supplied in large quantities to Persia and Turkey, were sent by Seguin and Co. Lyons supplied not only stuffs, but scarfs, handkerchiefs, gauzes, and silk-plush shawls, of which South America consumes a considerable number. The pelerines of silk plush, and those in imitation of plaid, were much admired; and it is probable this light, warm, and cheap substance will, in many quarters, be used instead of fur. The gros de Naples, and damasks for chairs, of green and blue dyes, were, as usual, magnificent; the gros de Naples and gros de Berlin, of the house of Arquillière and Mourron, deserve particular notice from their strength and fineness, and their quality of preserving their lustre to the last; and their scarlet and smooth white crapes were so fine that M. Blanqui says the latter might almost be taken for writing paper. The new attempt of M. Turbé to use silk wadding both in the chain and woof of the stuffs meant for hangings, has been completely successful; the tissue is found to be very close and firm, and the price extremely low. The circular tissues of M. Gregoire of Paris are quite a novelty; they are gradually sloped, so that cloaks and petticoats may be purchased in a single piece, without any necessity of cutting the stuff obliquely at the sides. The town of Nismes has not much dis-

tinguished-itself at the last exhibition; and M. Blanqui gives it a hint that if it had not lost so much time in political and religious dissensions, its industry might now be in a more advanced state. It has, however, exhibited handkerchiefs, scarfs, and silk wadding, fully equal to those of Lyons. At the last meeting of the trade at Lyons, the quality of the articles in general dispelled, in some degree, the fears entertained from the competition of the raw silk of Bengal, and the measures recently adopted by Great Britain. The quantity of silk manufactures exported from France in 1826 was also encouraging. It is as follows:—

Stuffs	366,176 kilograms.	Value	£1,757,644
Crapes and gauzes	46,000 do.	do.	171,649
Ribbons	204,801 do.	do.	963,044
Shawls of silk wadding	100,000 do.	do.	240,000

Total £3,152,337 sterling.

“Let us not, however,” says M. Blanqui, “forget how sharply the English are contesting with us this queen of our industries. We must not overlook the fact, that since they have allowed the importation of silks at a duty of 30 per cent., the British manufacturers have taken a surprising start; so much so that at this moment numerous factories are springing up in Scotland, and threatening to become formidable to us.”

Though we abhor the spirit that views with satisfaction the declension of our neighbours' prosperity, we cannot but express our belief that the fears of the French silkmen are well grounded. The reduction of the duties on Indian raw silk from 4s. to 3d., and subsequently to a penny per lb.; on that of Europe from 5s. 6d. to a penny, and on organzine from 14s. 8d. to 5s. per lb., has been productive of more substantial and permanent benefit to our trade than ever was effected by the old system of prohibitions. The official value of the raw and thrown silk imported into Great Britain in 1826 was £1,276,398. We are not in possession of the precise quantity worked up in France in that year, but in estimating its value, at three millions sterling (of which one half was imported) we are sure we rather overstate it than otherwise. Making an allowance for the excess of the official over the real value and taking the quantity imported into Great Britain at a million sterling, it appears our consumption is equal to one-third of that of France, notwithstanding her long celebrity in this branch, and her great natural advantages. It was mentioned lately by Mr. Huskisson, in the House of Commons, as a proof of the flourishing state of our trade, that British Bandanna handkerchiefs were in the course of shipment to India. In addition to this fact,

we can state of our own knowledge that they are now exporting to France, in no inconsiderable quantities—not merely as samples—but in the regular course of trade. The accounts for 1828 not being made up till the end of the year, it is impossible to give the particulars of what is now doing; but we have obtained the subjoined statement of the exports to France and India in 1827, for the accuracy of which we pledge ourselves, with the exception of its not including the silk goods entered out under the term of haberdashery, which cannot easily be distinguished, but on account of which some addition ought to be made. Bandannas are comprised under the head of silk stuffs.

An Account of British manufactured Silks exported from England to France and the East Indies, for the Year ending 5th January, 1828.

TO FRANCE.			TO THE EAST INDIES.		
Species of Silks.	Quantities.	Declared value.	Species of Silks.	Quantities.	Declared value.
Silk stuffs in pieces, Pieces.	515	£1643	Silk ribbons . Pieces.	50	£ 120
			Stuffs in pieces, do.	355	864
			Shawls . . No.	130	128
			Lace . . Yards.	248	60
Silk twist and yarn lbs.	4090	2290	Stockings, Dozen Pr.	1604.7	4554
			Gauze or crape, Pieces.	50	170
Stuff of silk and worsted mixed . . Pieces.	94	728	Stuffs of silk and cotton mixed . do.	793	1146
			Stockings of do. Dozen Pr.	170	230
			Stuffs of silk and worsted mixed, Pieces.	281	1320
			Shawls of do. . . No.	290	407
		£4661			£8999

If, therefore, we have already commenced exporting to those countries whose productions were very lately prohibited on account of our alleged inability to compete with them, and which possess the raw material on their own soil, there is the most encouraging prospect of British silks extending themselves over a far wider sphere than they have yet reached. As we have not hesitated in stating the progress that has been made by France in rivalling our cottons, we have the greater satisfaction in mentioning these proofs of our advance in this department of industry. When the emulation of nations is guided by principles which lead them not to aim at subverting each others trade, but to resort to every means of cheapening their own productions, the effects cannot be otherwise than highly beneficial to mankind. A foreign rival is an excellent antidote against abuses and monopolies at

home, and the best possible stimulus to ingenuity and exertion. In this light M. Blanqui, and other well-informed Frenchmen, view Mr. Huskisson's commercial policy—a policy of which every succeeding year is demonstrating the wisdom, and which it is the duty and interest of every Englishman to endeavour to uphold.

The ornamental varieties of dress, such as lace, embroidery, artificial flowers and straw-hats, are not undeserving of attention in the list of French manufactures. The latter article was, until lately, imported almost exclusively from Italy, but they have begun to be made in Paris, and at Moirans near Grenoble, which furnished chapeaux-de-paille to the exhibition, in every respect as good as those of Italy. The manufacture of thread and silk lace is in a flourishing condition; the latter branch is carried on at Chantilly, in the departments of the Oise, of Calvados and the North, and gives occupation to 30,000 persons of all ages. It is divided into two sorts, that of Chantilly and what is called heart-lace, or dentelle-de-cœur, of which the former is the stoutest and best. To its manufactures of lace, and light cottons and muslins, is owing the extraordinary rise of the village of Tarare, within a very few years, into a large and prosperous town. One of the first embroidery establishments is that of Chedeaux and Co. of Metz, who employ two thousand females; and with regard to artificial flowers, it is well known that they are brought to greater perfection in Paris than anywhere else in the world.

French furniture is in general cheaper than ours. Its form of course varies with the fashion, but it is always elegant and tasteful. The chairs and tables exhibited by Werner, Bellangé, and others; the bronze ornaments of M. Choiselat-Gallien; the lustres of Ravrio (one of which, as M. Blanqui says, was destined to enlighten the minister of finance*); the lamps of Gotten and of Tilorier; and the cast-iron vases of Benoît, of the manufacture much used in Prussia, are admirable specimens of the many beautiful articles of domestic comfort that are to be found in the Parisian warehouses.

Glass and porcelain are articles in which France is really unrivalled. This has not, however, been long the case, for in 1807 her exportations were only about 150,000 francs worth of glass, and 10,000 francs of crystal; while in 1826 the value of the exportation of those two articles was about five million francs. The glass manufacture has been regularly improving for a series of years, and the specimens of last year's exhibition are almost perfect of their kind. The large size of the pier glasses has

* We believe jokes of this sort are more appreciated in Paris than with us.

created a demand for them throughout Europe; their price is within the reach of the most moderate incomes, and there is scarcely a family in France which does not possess one or two, while, as we all know, they are rarely to be met with in England, except in expensively furnished houses. The glass manufacture—that is, the art of blowing—was introduced into France by Colbert; but the method of melting was invented by Abraham Thevart, a Frenchman, in 1688, so that France may justly boast of the honour of the discovery of the art in which she has since attained such excellence. The first-rate glass-houses are at St. Quirin, St. Gobin, Comentry, and Prémontré, in the department of the Aisne. The last of these was an old abbey, in the midst of a thick forest, and the hamlet round it a short time ago only contained 150 inhabitants. Since it has been converted by M. de Violaine, the mayor of Prémontré, into a factory, the population has increased to 600. M. Violaine exhibited pier glasses of the extraordinary size of 113 inches long, by 76 broad.

The crystals and cut glass of Mont Ceniz, in the department of Saône et Loire, and of Baccarat, in the department of the Meurthe, are the most celebrated. The establishments are on a large scale, and are worked both by steam and water. The last novelty from Baccarat is its wine glasses of all sorts and sizes, among which are Champagne glasses two feet long, called *à la giraffe*, the only advantage of which appears to be to give people an opportunity of exercising their ingenuity in trying to drink out of them without coughing. The crystal manufactories in and near Paris are very numerous; that of Choisy-le-Roi, which makes to the value of £40,000 a year, is well worthy of inspection.

Connected with this subject, though more in the department of the fine arts, is the painting or staining of glass, which great pains have lately been taken to revive in France, and a manufactory of which is at work near Paris, under the especial patronage of the king. The Count de Noé (a peer whose talents and ingenuity are an ornament to the French nobility, and who is a striking instance of the improvement that has taken place among them under the new regime*) has been chiefly instrumental in directing the progress of this beautiful art, and has himself constructed a painted window which many of our readers must have seen in the palace of the Luxembourg. The vivid colours of this specimen are a proof of the correctness of Walpole's opinion, "that the

* This nobleman emigrated from France during the revolution, and for some years held a commission in our Indian military service, in which capacity he accompanied the expedition to Egypt under Sir David Baird. In 1825 he published a narrative of that expedition, under the title of "*Mémoires relatifs à l'Expédition Anglaise partie du Bengale en 1800, pour aller combattre en Egypte l'armée d'Orient*," in 1 vol. 8vo.

colours of the ancients exceed those of the moderns, not so much because the secret of making them is entirely lost, as that the moderns will not go to the charge of them, nor be at the necessary pains, by reason that this sort of painting is not in so much esteem as formerly." We are surprised M. Blanqui has not noticed the revival of this elegant branch of art.

Porcelain has made as much progress as crystals during the last twenty years. The superb productions of the royal factory of Sèvres still contribute to the splendour of palaces, and call forth the admiration of the public. But it is not only for the rich that the porcelain manufacturers now work; that has long been a charge against this as well as other branches of French industry; but a visit to the Louvre in 1827, or to the factories of Paris, would have satisfactorily shown an impartial observer, that utility is now consulted, and that earthenware and china for all common purposes are made in great abundance, and at cheap prices. The same manufacturer who has furnished the emperor of China with vases for the temple at Pekin, supplies plates and dishes within the means of the poorest cottager. A hard white crockery has taken the place of the red earthenware once so generally used, and made at Nevers. The English method of varnishing or plating in imitation of gold, silver and bronze, has been successfully adopted. The addition to the national comforts by these improvements is justly estimated by M. Blanqui.

"In short, he says, "we cannot bestow too much praise on the efforts that French industry has made in the branches we just mentioned; we owe to it the power of having replaced almost generally the awkward glasses of the old régime by magnificent crystals, and the ugly and thick black pottery of the same period, by porcelaine and earthenware as excellent as could be desired. It is thus that civilization conducts nations by a thousand different ways to a better existence, by putting every day within the reach of us all a multitude of new and unexpected enjoyments."

The French are known to be clever in the construction of surgical and mathematical instruments and clock-work. Several new scarifying and bleeding instruments have lately been invented; among which the bdellomètre of Dr. Sarlandière has been much approved. M. Cloquet's siphon for urinary disorders; Dr. Deleau's apparatus for curing deafness; Dr. Montazeau's machine for relieving pulmonary complaints, sore throats, and what is called *phthisie*; Dr. Jalade-Lafond's invalid bedstead for deviations of the spine; Colonel Amords's instruments for gymnastic exercises; M. Nuellen's elastic mattresses, and M. Greiling's lithotritic knives, occupy a prominent rank among the late inventions for the relief of human sufferings. In optical instruments the achromatic

microscope of M. Selligue has been made to magnify 1200 times; the telescopes of M. Chevallier, it was well said, only want the device *sic itur ad astra*; and that of M. Cauchoix, 24 feet long, and including a flint glass of 12½ inches, and a crown glass of 13 inches in diameter, has a greater objective force than any hitherto used in Europe, none having been made in England of more than 7 inches diameter, and the largest at Munich being only 9 inches. The meridian circle for observing the right ascension of the heavenly bodies, and the time of their passing the meridian, has reflected well merited honour on its scientific inventor, M. Gambey. Clocks and watches are become extremely cheap of late years; good watches are selling at 200 francs a dozen, and very superior ones may be bought for 80 francs each. The elegance of the pendules makes them an ornamental as well as useful article of furniture; they are to be found even in cottages in France, and their superiority over our own clocks accounts for the extent to which they are imported into England.* Chronometers have been brought to a great degree of precision.

The jewellery exhibited in the Louvre attracted all the admiration that might be expected from a Parisian multitude. The lower classes as well as the higher appeared to find in it a charm equal to that of music, or some irresistible enchantment. Such is undoubtedly the French taste, and it is not therefore to be wondered at, that the workmanship of their jewellery should have reached great perfection. A large manufactory of paste diamonds has been established by M. Langon, at Septmoncel on the Jura, which employs 4000 persons at from two to three francs a day in making diamonds to be purchased at forty sous each. Ornaments of gold and platina, both for furniture and dress, are made to an enormous extent in Paris and in the suburbs, as may be conceived by the amount of its annual productions of goldsmith's work and jewellery being valued at thirty million francs. M. Blanqui reproaches the exhibitors of cutlery with spending too much time upon *nic-nacs* and the ornamental parts of their trade; with forgetting that there are others besides men of fashion who use razors, and other women besides Parisian belles, who require scissors. Knives are, however, made with more regard to the public demand; M. Gavet, of the Rue St. Honoré, makes good table-knives at a franc and a half each, and exports them to America, where they are quite as much sought for as English

* A provision in a late act of parliament, the wisdom of which we do not perceive, makes it necessary that all French clocks imported should have the maker's name not only on the face, but on the works. As this has not hitherto been the practice of the trade, the regulation has been found very vexatious by passengers arriving from France with clocks not legally marked.

cutlery. Gun-making is well understood, but the best makers are very dear. Colonel d'Espinay has invented a musket in which one priming is enough for fifteen shots, and which are loaded without ramrods; a saving of time is thus effected, but we doubt whether it would not be rather dangerous for the soldiers to load the guns in this manner after the barrels are heated by a succession of discharges.

Musical instruments, though still very inferior to the English, have received considerable improvements. Pianos have gained both in tone and size, but their price is yet quite exorbitant. English pianos are in common use in Paris, for the harpsichords that one hears in the country are absolutely offensive to the ear. The violins are infinitely better, and good copies of the Stradivarius model may be had at thirty-six francs. Harps with a double action have been constructed by M. Challiot, and much approved; and a new seat to prevent the distortion of ladies' shapes in playing, has been found of much service. M. Carulli, by his alterations on the strings of guitars, has added many new notes to this instrument, which, in the degenerate state we see it, both in France and elsewhere, is not much above a Jew's-harp in tone.

Chemical productions are nowhere better or cheaper than in France. The reputation of her operative chemists is as well established as that of her men of science, and the result is as honourable to them as it is beneficial to the public.

"Chemistry," says M. Blanqui, "is a science entirely French; it has risen amidst the storms of the republic; it has furnished us with the first fires for the defence of our territory. At this day, restored to happier destinies, it has become one of the most powerful elements of our national industry; it is cultivated in our manufactories, and as there was always merit in being acquainted with it, there will soon be shame in being ignorant of it."

The principal acids used in commerce have become extremely cheap, and the fabrication of salts has been much extended. The discovery of sulphate of quinine by MM. Pelletier and Caventou is an era in the annals of medicine, and this valuable salt has spread with great rapidity over both worlds. The white lead formerly imported from Holland is now made in France to a considerable extent. At Lille, and at Vazemmes near that city, there are very large factories of it, and the latter supplies 500,000 kilograms annually. M. Souchon, of Lyons, has succeeded in applying to woollens the Prussian blue already used in dyeing silks by M. Raymond; and M. Jaquet, of Paris, has discovered a permanent grey dye, which will resist both acids and alkalies. The refining of glue and cement has been much perfected by M. Grenet, of Rouen, and others. The experiments of MM. Chevreul and Braconnot upon fat substances have introduced improve-

ments in the quality of soap and candles. The refiners of foreign and native sugar are beginning to use Howard's apparatus, and to proceed upon the new method now practised in England. There are seventeen principal refiners of beet-root sugar, among whom is the Duke of Ragusa, at Châtillon, and three million kilograms of it were consumed in 1826. M. Blanqui, M. Dupin, and others, are enthusiastic in their expectations from this native sugar; but we think it questionable whether the abolition of the monopoly that Martinique and Guadaloupe now enjoy, and the admission of all raw sugars at moderate duties, would not be much more beneficial to the country. This is one of the subjects upon which M. St. Cricq's commission is to be occupied, and we have no doubt its inquiries will lead to an arrangement more beneficial to the country at large than the existing regulations, which appear to be calculated for the exclusive profit of the proprietors of these two small sugar islands. It would exceed our limits to enumerate the multitude of useful chemical discoveries which the last few years have produced; we cannot, however, omit the new method of making felt for the sheathing of ships, invented by M. Dobrée, of Nantes. It is said the English are prejudiced in favour of paper, but if we are to credit the reports of the masters of ships inserted in M. Blanqui's History, it answers the purpose of lining copper-sheathing infinitely better than the brown paper commonly used.

The progress of chemistry has had its share of influence on the art of tanning and dressing skins, and on the leather manufactures in general. The smooth calf-skin of Clermont, of excellent quality, was sold at the exhibition at two francs sixty centimes the kilogram. Thirty years ago a prejudice prevailed in France against the use of horse-hides, but they are now prepared with as much ease as cow leather, and are the principal substance of boot and shoe leather. The neglect of the butchers at the abattoirs is said to injure the skins tanned in Paris, but the tanners there, and in France generally, are scientific men, and understand their business well. The chamois leather of Niort is at present in great esteem; French morocco is as good as that of the East, and their Russia leather, though it has been rather neglected within the last three years, is by no means bad of its kind. The saddlers and harness makers, particularly M. Fourcy and M. Huard, of Paris, exhibited some excellent work; and the impenetrable water-boots of M. Delacre-Snaude, of Dunkirk, will be highly serviceable to the sailors and boatmen.

Among the smaller varieties in which the national ingenuity has displayed itself, are the preserved provisions of M. Appert, the portable water-closets of M. Derosne, the impenetrable elas-

tic camblets and stuffs of Verdier and others; economical jacks and stoves, the plating of metals, the hardening of wax candles, Simonin's composition for cleaning prints, and a multitude of other useful inventions, the particulars of which ought to be generally known in England. Lithography—an art which has been introduced since the peace, and which MM. Engelmann, Motte, Noël and Langlumé have raised to such extraordinary perfection—is now employed not only for stamping paper, but for impressing cloth, cotton, silk and porcelain. Its cheapness has the effect of refining the taste of the lower orders, and it is a powerful auxiliary to that palladium of civilization—the art of printing.

We have compiled from the various returns scattered through M. Blanqui's work an account of the value of the principal articles of French manufacture exported in 1826; and to enable our readers to see at a glance the proportionate difference, we insert a copy of the Parliamentary Return of the official value of the chief manufactured articles of export from the United Kingdom in the same year.*

<i>French Exports. 1826.</i>	<i>Value.</i>	<i>British Exports. 1826.</i>	<i>Official Value.</i>
Iron, steel, copper, lead, and other metals, wrought and unwrought	£. †500,000	Iron, steel, copper, brass, lead and shot, tin and wares, wrought and unwrought, manufactured and unmanufactured	£. 1,962,158
Machinery	54,038	Woollens	4,410,876
Woollens, including shawls and carpets	1,065,562	Linens	2,330,442
Cottons	1,398,773	Cottons and hosiery	25,395,288
Silks, including shawls	3,008,340	Silks	107,022
Straw hats	64,322	Hats	154,169
Furniture, lamps, &c.	58,311	Haberdashery	406,599
Glass and crystal	196,995	Glass	121,248
Porcelain and earthenware	132,927	Earthenware	79,976
Leather and skins	245,219	Leather and saddlery	205,205
Hardware, cutlery and arms	213,003	Hardware and cutlery	563,706
Clocks and watches	163,430	Soap and candles	153,936
Mathematical instruments	69,936	Butter and cheese	147,777
Jewellery and plate	340,409	Sugar, refined	924,718
Musical instruments	34,626		
Chemical products, viz. potass, indigo and cochineal	227,821		36,862,520
Sugar, refined	159,683		
Prints and lithographs	64,763	Deduct one third	12,284,140
Books	182,580		
Paper	197,573		
Value	8,378,312	Real value	24,578,380

* It must be borne in mind that the official value is ascertained from the computation of the articles exported at fixed rates established in 1696, and may be now considered as the representative of quantity merely. It often exceeds the real value by more than double, and we find by a comparison of the official with the declared value for 1826 in general, that if we deduct one-third, as a rule to find the real value, we shall certainly not take off too much. From cottons we may deduct one-half.

† This value is not given in the French returns, but is roughly calculated by us. It

It is hardly necessary to remark, that articles of raw produce have been purposely excluded from the above tables, its object being merely to furnish a clue to a just notion of the importance of French manufactures with reference to our own. It is, however, right to observe, that the bulk of French exports have always been its natural productions; that not one-third of the population, even at present, are engaged in trade and manufactures, and that these statements cannot therefore give a just idea of the relative strength of the two nations. With Great Britain it is exactly the reverse; two-thirds of her people depend for subsistence upon her manufactures, or rather, more strictly speaking, upon the exportation of them. The population of France being one-third greater than that of the United Kingdom, her home market is consequently so much more extensive, and her dependence on foreign customers so much less. It is also obvious that the eight millions of exports form a proportion of the whole value of French fabrics, very small compared with that which the twenty-four millions form of the bulk of those of Great Britain.

The great aim of France, at the present moment, is undoubtedly to secure for herself the advantages of being a commercial and manufacturing nation. The means she is using to attain the end are the same as were originally adopted by Great Britain, and by most countries whose trade is in its infancy—those of restriction and prohibition. The minister of commerce deems it his duty to take care that foreigners do not interfere with the sale of national productions in the home market—at the same time professing an earnest desire of enabling the French manufacturers to make their way in countries whose goods are strictly excluded from the French territory.

“No one,” says M. St. Cricq, “complains of being prevented from producing, and that I think well worthy of attention. Many are complaining that they cannot sell, or that they sell at too low prices. This is an evil, undoubtedly; but does the remedy depend on us?”

“Yes, if the want of sale or low price is caused by the division of our own market with foreigners; for it depends on ourselves to reserve it. Yes again, if by rendering our market more accessible to external productions, we ought to secure to our own in foreign markets a vent which would exceed in profit the sacrifice we shall have made at home.”
—p. 4.

Such principles are not, certainly, to be sweepingly denounced as erroneous; though in many instances, some of which we have alluded to, the conduct of the French government does appear

is not easy to compute it without reference to quality and workmanship, and it may therefore probably be erroneous; but as the quantities have been particularized above, any one conversant with the price of metals may estimate the value for himself.

somewhat injudicious. The heavy duties on the raw material used in several of their manufactures; the misdirection of industry at the royal establishments; the government monopoly of the salt, tobacco, and other trades; the little attention hitherto bestowed on the roads and canals; the irregularity and weight of the internal wine duties; and the high tonnage dues on shipping, are but a few of the grievances that are loudly complained against. The tonnage dues were actually raised on French ships, to enable the same amount to be levied on British vessels, after the execution of the late commercial treaty; it having been thereby provided, that the ships of each country respectively were to be placed, in the ports of the other, on the footing of the most favoured nation. There are no tonnage duties now in our own ports, under the controul of the government, and the imposition in question was therefore an illiberal deviation from the spirit of the treaty, and an advantage taken of the necessity of communication between England and the Continent. It would, indeed, have been desirable, if the treaty could have been framed on the basis of that concluded by Mr. Pitt in 1786, which admitted our manufactures into France at from 5 to 12 per cent. *ad valorem*, and charged French brandies and wines with reasonable duties, (the latter at 29*l*. 8*s*. per ton,) and porcelain, glass, cambrics, at rates proportioned to those imposed by France on our goods. But it is easy to see that the benefit of such an arrangement preponderates altogether on the side of Great Britain. Mr. Pitt's reasoning, in answer to the strong opposition made in parliament to the measure, was incontrovertible, and the result proved the soundness of the principles on which it was adopted. The trade between England and France, for the three years following the treaty, was of considerably greater magnitude than it is at present, as the following statements (taken from M. Chaptal, and the parliamentary returns) clearly prove.

Exports from France to Great Britain.			Exports from Great Britain to France.		
1787	value	£1,425,021	1787	value	£2,176,155
1788		1,298,105	1788		2,656,071
1789		1,462,666	1789		2,538,000
1826,	official value,	£1,805,002	1826,	official value,	£1,171,470
1827		1,225,704	1827		1,082,272

It is certainly rather curious, that while we are seeking markets in every corner of the world, our intercourse with our nearest neighbours should be so very small; but if the French, as we have already said, have made up their minds, that it is not their interest to trade with us, (and we are far from saying generally that it is,) there remains nothing for us to do but to pocket the

affront, and endeavour to sell our wares to whoever else will buy them.

In turning from the details we have been pursuing, to take a final glance at the effect which the industry of France is producing upon the comforts of her people, we think it cannot but be admitted, that the charge so long made against her, of aiming at what is dazzling, instead of that which is useful, is every day losing the proofs which have hitherto supported it. The royal factories yet remain, it is true; and the exhibitions of the Louvre contain a variety of articles, the value of which consists in their rarity, rather than their utility. But we have facts enough before us to show that these superfluities are rather the defects in the general character of the national labour—the exceptions to the principle which directs it—than the instances from which a just opinion of its worth can be formed. The pains taken by those intelligent and patriotic citizens, who are constantly impressing on the minds of the manufacturers that their true interest is to study the demands of the whole—not of a few—of the country—not of the court—have already had an excellent effect, and their influence is gradually subverting the errors and prejudices that have so long prevailed in commercial matters. The agriculturists also are beginning to study maxims of practical wisdom; they are introducing the improvements adopted by the farmers of other countries, and are calling in the aid of science to guide the application of their capital.

Property of all kinds in France is in truth now reaping, in tranquillity, the harvest whose seed was sown in the blood of the Revolution, and whose growth has outstood the stormy wars of the Empire. The abolition of feudal tenures—the substitution of general laws for provincial customs—the relief of agriculture from the burthen of tithes, and of commerce from the restrictions of corporations and guilds—equality of taxation and equality of rights—such are the benefits which France has purchased for herself. They have been dearly bought, it is true; but those who can appreciate their value, will hardly think any price too costly for such inestimable advantages.

We are not among those who are disposed to view the re-establishment of the ancient law of inheritance by equal partition, as an evil mixed up with all this good. It has been accused, we know, of a tendency to diminish rural prosperity, to promote litigation in families, and to prevent the accumulation of capital. It has been deprecated by some, as acting as a check to population; by others, as creating too great a stimulus to the increase of population; and it has been stigmatized as the scourge fastened upon France by the Revolution. Our limits do not now permit

us to enter the wide field of discussion which all these objections present, further than to state our belief that the law of equal partition, though it may have contributed somewhat to retard agricultural improvements, has nevertheless tended materially to promote — what indeed ought to be the sole object of every law — the happiness of the greatest number. The fate that attended M. Villele's scheme for the introduction of primogeniture, will prevent the recurrence of attempts to establish a system which the whole nation views with utter abhorrence. The French consider it one of the most unjust of the feudal institutions, and calculated only for the forms of society of the middle ages. The effect of subdivision upon agriculture has, we think, been rather over-rated. If a man comes into possession of a piece of land, which he has not sufficient capital to cultivate, it is in the natural course of things for him to sell it, and betake himself to some other business. An eldest son in England rarely succeeds to an estate unincumbered by portions for the younger children, which of course he must pay off before he can sell the property. When people speak of the English aristocracy as the pillars of the state, and of their honourable condition compared with the nobility of other countries, (which we do not dispute,) they are apt to forget the extreme poverty and degradation of our agricultural labourers. About thirty-two thousand large proprietors are the owners of the soil of England, upon whom the labourers are dependent for their bread; and we think a tendency to pauperism in such a state of things ought to be visible enough to those who see it so clearly in the gavelkind law of France. With regard to the litigation in families, we really do not see how an equal division is likely to create more ill-will between brothers and sisters, than is excited by the whole property being left to the eldest son, and the younger children being unprovided for. And as to the population, it is an incontrovertible fact, that it is in as healthy a state in France as in any nation in Europe; its increase bearing the exact proportion to the rate of augmentation of food and capital, that is justly considered a sign of the well-being of a people.* It should be remembered, that France has no East or West Indies, as we have, to receive our younger sons; and allowance should be made for the habitual influence of our own customs upon our judgment, in looking at this subject. We are fully aware that such sentiments are a little heterodox to the received notions in this country, and that the French feeling is inconsistent with the doctrines maintained by the most able of our political economists. Our limits, however, do not allow us now to take up the cudgels in this ques-

* See a Table of the Annual Increase of Population, Capital, &c. in No. II. of this Review, p. 438.

tion if we were so inclined; and we therefore quit it—merely protesting, that we see other causes both in France and Ireland, and other gavelkind countries, to which the backward state of their husbandry may with justice be referred.

The sovereignty of France nominally resides, as with us, in the king, the nobility, and the representatives of the people. But the influence of the two former is comparatively small, and the real power is vested in the Chamber of Deputies, and by consequence in their constituents. Royalty under the charter has assumed the modest form of an executive magistrate, holding his authority at the popular will; it is but the shadow of the splendour that once dazzled the multitude, resting itself on hereditary right and divine sanction. The noblesse too, of the old regime, have passed away; they have now no exclusive privileges or monopolies; there are no taxes for their particular benefit; they have neither land nor money enough to make them formidable to the crown or the people; their rights are confined to a simple vote in the Chamber of Peers. The commonalty, on the other hand, elect by ballot—uncorrupted by bribery—unintimidated by aristocratic or ministerial influence—the deputies who they know will watch over their laws and their liberties. The result of the last elections sufficiently shows the spirit with which the franchise of the electors is now exercised. An unpopular, though able ministry, has fallen before them, and an administration has succeeded of a more liberal cast, which carries with it the majority of the Chamber of Deputies in yielding to the general voice, and who declare their highest ambition to be to preserve unanimity between the government and the nation.

Can we, then, too strongly deprecate expressions of ill-will and hostility towards a people like this? Can we too urgently insist on the security which the example of a government like that of France affords to the preservation of our own constitutional freedom? We cannot understand what sort of love of their country those persons can feel, who, while they are loud in their eulogies on our own laws, take every opportunity to scatter the seeds of discord between us and that nation whose institutions so essentially resemble our own. In the times when countries were governed by the caprice of princes, one people was instigated against another to gratify the ambitious views of the sovereign; but, in the present day, when the general opinion directs the concerns of civilized nations, the public know, or ought to know, that their welfare can never be promoted by jealousy and distrust of the inhabitants of adjoining states. If a designing minister, either in France or this country, had formed a plan to deprive the people of any part of their rights, his best auxiliary would be to bring

about a war between the two powers, and to turn men's attention from the preservation of their own independence, to the destruction of that of their neighbours. Happily our countrymen are not to be thus deceived; the day when the French were considered our natural enemies has long since past, and we must henceforth behave to them as to those whose friendship we cultivate. To those who think otherwise, we recommend the perusal of the speeches of Mr. Pitt, in 1787—a statesman of whose sentiments the long war would perhaps have led many to think very differently.

“I am surprised,” said that great minister, “to hear from such enlightened men as I have heard speak upon the subject, that France and England are naturally and necessarily enemies. The fact, I am persuaded, is directly the reverse, for however ambition or accident may have embroiled them with each other, still there has always been in the individuals of both countries a disposition towards a friendly intercourse; and the people of France and Britain have each of them virtues and good qualities, which the other has liberality enough to acknowledge and admire. To suppose that any two states are necessarily enemies, is an opinion founded neither in the experience of nations, nor in the history of mankind. It is a libel on the constitution of political societies, and supposes the existence of diabolical malice in the original frame of man!”

ART. II.—*Essai Politique sur l'Isle de Cuba, par Alexandre de Humboldt. Avec une Carte, et un Supplément qui renferme des Considérations sur la Population et le Commerce de l'Archipel des Antilles et de Colombia.* 2 tom. 8vo. Paris. 1826.

It has long been the fashion to consider the West Indies merely as a vast sugar garden, cultivated by slavery, and holding out nothing worthy of inquiry excepting the rapid acquisition of wealth and the degrading influence of bondage. A better knowledge of the subject gives a prodigious extension to these views, and the philosophic inquirer may trace in the western world the history of man in his earliest stages. An ingenious and highly gifted contemporary has recently remarked, that “were the history of Spain, and France, and Great Britain, to perish, as that of the early great monarchies of the world has perished, and only these colonial annals, for the three centuries which have elapsed since the discovery of the islands, to be saved from the wreck, what opinion could posterity form of the nations as to the degree of civilization which they had attained, their policy, their religion, and their arts?” We admit that were this imaginary catastrophe to occur, a very inadequate estimate would be formed of the

civilization, religion, and arts of the parent states; but still it would be found, on a fair investigation of the subject, that these must have been great, powerful, and highly advanced in all the arts of life; and unless the beneficial traces of their influence in the colonies were also swept away with European records, there would be abundant evidence to shew that large uncultivated districts had been rendered productive, that the arts of life had been promoted, that religion had established her benignant sway, that civilization had been set on foot among hordes of naked barbarians, and that although the earlier histories present too many scenes of horror, yet the results have been gradually tending to the welfare of those now considered most oppressed. In short, we are convinced that there would be found much to admire, in spite of the regret which must be inseparable from the history of negro slavery and of the ill-fated aborigines. But as such destruction is at least improbable, we must look at the real case, and we shall find, that although, on a narrow view of the question, there are few ennobling topics in the earlier periods, of late there has passed much in the western hemisphere to command our attention; and if there be little to rival the ages of chivalry, yet there are events which illustrate great and solemn truths, and as such forcibly demand the consideration both of the philosopher and politician. In truth, the political events of recent times so far transcend in magnitude and importance those of the earlier periods, as now to possess an overwhelming interest; and not contented with our school-boy recollections of Buccaneers or Bryan Edwards, we seek to gratify our new wants by searching out other sources of information. Among the first that have afforded us the means of supplying our appetite, Baron Humboldt stands without a rival, whether we consider the extent or the variety of his labours. His numerous works are well known to the public; in them were first unveiled the mysteries of what may, in contradistinction to the United States, as well as to our actual knowledge of them, be termed the New Americas; and the Baron, pursuing his useful career, has lately put forth a statistical account of the island of Cuba, of which we shall give some account, as well as of some of the most interesting topics connected with it.

Cuba was discovered by Columbus in his first voyage, on the 28th of October, 1492, and was considered by him the island of Cipango, which he had imagined to be in those seas. Shortly afterwards he discovered Haiti, and although an enthusiastic admirer of his earlier discovery, abandoned it for the extensive plains of La Vega, influenced probably by the expectation of finding the precious metals in greater abundance in the district

of Cibao. It is a little singular that this great navigator should at last have remained satisfied with the notion that Cuba was a portion of the Aurea-Chersonesus, and have never determined its insular character. Ocampo settled this point in 1508, and about three years after, Velasquez, with three hundred men, firmly established the Spanish authority, and became the first European governor—an office which he retained until his death in 1524. From that time to the present day the island has remained under the rule of Spain, with two short intervals, when it was subdued by the British arms; first in 1669, by the celebrated Sir Henry Morgan, and secondly in 1761. With the various changes that have taken place within the last three hundred and thirty-six years we cannot now meddle, as the present state of the island furnishes as many materials as can be discussed within our limits.

The first volume of the Political Essay contains an analysis of the materials for a map of Cuba, and discusses in succession, 1. The importance of the island of Cuba, as well as of the city of Havana: 2. The extent, territorial division, and climate: 3. The population: 4. The agriculture: 5. The trade: 6. The finances. These disquisitions are followed by some considerations on the question of slavery, and by a personal narrative of MM. Humboldt and Bonpland's residence in Cuba. The second volume is chiefly occupied by an essay on the consumption of sugar in Europe and elsewhere, and the details of various physical observations. A supplement, containing a general disquisition on the continent, as well as the islands of the West Indian Archipelago, terminates the work.

The preliminary analysis is described as forming a part of the materials for a geographical and physical atlas of the equinoxial regions of the new continent, in which the author proposes to determine the internal geography of America by his own astronomical observations, made during his residence in that part of the world, and by those of others subsequently collected. In the map itself, (which is the most correct that we have seen,) ample use has been made of the labours of Robredo, Ferrer, Galiano, Le Maur, Del Rio, Gamboa, Puysegur, Cevallos, Bauza, (who in himself is a tower of strength,) Luyando, Oltmans, and our own De Mayne, whose labours in the West Indian seas cannot be sufficiently valued, without an actual knowledge, such as we have, of his unceasing exertions, for a series of years, in situations the most calculated to exhaust the powers of active industry. From these authorities, collated with his own researches, M. Humboldt has fixed forty-six points in Cuba itself,

and about twenty others in the Archipelago, all in connection with each other. This ready adoption of the experience of others is not only creditable to M. Humboldt, but has substantially advanced the interests of science; for we are satisfied that had he taken a less liberal view of the matter, and founded his calculations exclusively on researches which depended on the chronometer (now in Mexico) which was, we believe, principally used on the continent, the results would have been most lamentably erroneous. The means of correction that have been employed must have counteracted this source of inaccuracy. In the body of the analysis there is a very interesting account of the progress of our geographical knowledge of Cuba, which is well worthy of perusal.

The importance of Cuba is to be estimated (as shall be hereafter more fully shewn) not only from its extent, the fertility of its soil, richness of its productions, or the peculiar constitution of its population, but from its geographical position and its magnificent harbours. In point of extent, it is one-half larger than Haiti; its productions, which have prodigiously increased within the last thirty years, are sugar, coffee, wax, and the most useful objects of tropical growth; its fertility cannot be exceeded in certain districts; and its large population contains at least three-fifths of free men: but it derives its political value from the situation it occupies and the facilities of its ports. The Gulf of Mexico forms a circular basin, having a diameter exceeding 250 leagues; in fact, a Mediterranean sea with two outlets, of which the shores from Florida to Cape Catoche belong to Mexico or the United States; while Cuba, or rather its northern coasts, constitute the south-eastern boundary, allowing only a passage for two branches of the Gulf stream. In the most eligible part of this position stands the city of Havana, with its splendid harbour and defences. M. Humboldt fairly considers that this capital bears nearly the same relation in point of facility of access to the shores of the Gulf, that Cadiz does to the Straits of Gibraltar. Perhaps it may be unphilosophic to think of its value, under the existing revolutions; but it is utterly impossible for an Englishman to enter the harbour, in which the navy of England might lie, and know that the possession of it is an object of greedy desire with France, the United States of America, and at least two of the new republics, without feeling that the British minister who calmly resigned so valuable a station, (now invaluable,) well merited the execrations of his countrymen.

The elongated form of Cuba puts it into ready communication with Haiti, Jamaica, Yucatan, and the southern states of the American Union.

Formerly the Havana was the military port of Mexico, and received from the continental treasury, even as lately as 1808, more than 1,800,000 hard dollars annually. Fortunately, since Mexico has thrown off the Spanish yoke, the liberalised system of trade in Cuba has rendered these supplies not only unnecessary, but has furnished means for most efficiently aiding the mother country. Havana, in fact, now ranks among the first commercial ports in the world. It would be curious as well as instructive to trace the causes of this revolution, but we must content ourselves with observing, notwithstanding the concurrence of political events, and the ports of Cuba being free, that the prodigious results could never have been realized, had it not been for the moderation of the governor, the protection afforded to individuals perhaps obnoxious in Madrid, and the general prudence of the inhabitants.

M. Humboldt very happily describes the Havana itself. He says,

"The appearance of Havana at the entrance of the port is one of the most lively and most picturesque that can be enjoyed on the shores of equinoxial America, to the north of the equator. This situation, celebrated by travellers of all nations, has not the luxuriant vegetation that adorns the banks of the river of Guayaquil, nor the savage grandeur of the rocky coasts of Rio Janeiro, two ports of the southern hemisphere; but the grace which in our climates embellishes the scenes of cultivated nature, is here mingled with the majesty of vegetable forms, and the organic vigour that characterizes the torrid zone. In the blending of such delightful impressions, the European forgets the danger which threatens him in the bosom of the populous cities of the Antilles: he seeks to seize at one view the different portions of a vast landscape, to contemplate the strong fortifications that crown the rocks to the east of the port—the internal basin surrounded by villages and farms—the palms that rise to an immense height—the city half concealed by a forest of masts and the sails of vessels. On entering the harbour of the Havana you pass between the fortification of the *Morro*, (*Castillo de los Santos Reyes*,) and the smaller fort of *San Salvador de la Punta*: the opening is only from 170 to 200 toises in width, and it preserves this breadth about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile. Issuing from this, after leaving to the north the beautiful castle of *San Carlos de la Cabaña*, and the *Casa Blanca*, we reach a basin in the form of the ace of clubs, of which the larger axis from S. S. W. to N. N. E. is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long. This basin communicates with three bights, those of Regla, Guanavacoa, and Atarès, at the last of which there are some springs of fresh water. The city of Havana, surrounded by walls, forms a promontory, bounded to the south by the arsenal, to the north by the fortress *La Punta*. Beyond some sunken ships and the shoal of *La Luz*, the depth of water decreases from eight or ten fathoms to five or six. The castles of *Santo Domingo*, of *Atarès*, and of *San Carlos del Principe*, defend the city to the west; they

are separate from the inner wall, the one 660, and the other 1240 toises. The intermediate space is occupied by the suburbs (*Arrabales* or *Barrios extra muros*,) of *Horcon*, of *Jesus Maria*, *Guadalupe*, and *Señor de la Salud*, which from year to year encroach on the *Champ de Mars* (*Campo de Marte*). The great buildings of the Havana, the cathedral, the palace of the government, the house of the commandant of the marine, the arsenal, the post-office, the manufactory of tobacco, are less remarkable for their beauty than for the solidity of their construction: most of the streets are narrow, and the greater number still unpaved. As the stones come from Vera Cruz, and their freight is extremely costly, a short time before my arrival the extravagant idea was entertained of supplying their place by large trunks of trees, as is done in Russia and Germany in the construction of dykes across marshy ground. This project was soon abandoned, and travellers recently arrived see with surprise most beautiful logs of mahogany sunk in the mud of the Havana. At the period of my stay, few towns of Spanish America presented, from the want of a good police, a more hideous appearance. One walked up to the knees in mud; what with the multitude of *caleches* or *volantes*—the characteristic carriages of Havana—carts laden with sugar, and porters elbowing the foot passengers, the situation of the latter was rendered painful and humiliating. The smell of the *tassajo* (badly dried beef) frequently poisoned the houses and narrow streets. It is asserted that the police has remedied these defects, and that latterly very sensible improvements have been effected in the cleanliness of the streets. The houses are better ventilated, and the street “*de los Mercaderes*” offers a handsome appearance. Here, as in our oldest cities in Europe, a plan of streets badly traced can be but slowly corrected.”—vol. i. pp. 9—12.

There are two handsome walks; one, the Alameda, is close to the theatre, which is tastefully decorated, and possesses a respectable corps dramatique and orchestra; the other, beyond the walls of the city, is chiefly frequented at sunset when the coolness invites to exertion. In the cathedral there is an oval slab, with a meagre Latin inscription, to the memory of Columbus. There is also a small leaden vessel containing the fragments of some bones and dust, that were brought from the city of Santo Domingo, as the last earthly remains of the discoverer of the New World; but it is by no means certain that this was correct, and indeed it is more than probable that they are the relics of Columbus's son. M. Moreau de St. Mery, in his history of Spanish St. Domingo, details some curious facts on this subject, which may be consulted with advantage by those who take an interest in it.

The population of the Havana and its suburbs has increased very considerably since 1791, and it is curious to remark the alterations in the proportions of the different castes between that

year and 1810, which M. Humboldt has given in a tabular form, which we copy:—

Years.	Whites.	Free- Coloured.	Slaves.	Total.	Proportion.
1791	23,737	9,751	10,849	44,337	53 22 25
1810	41,227	26,349	28,720	96,296	43 27 30
Increase	17,490	16,598	17,871	51,967	

Increase of Whites	73	} per cent.
— of Free Coloured	171	
— of Slaves	165	
— of all Classes	117	

In the suburb of Guadalupe the increase of all classes is much greater than that of the whole district, but there is by no means the same disproportion between the different castes. There must of course be a commensurate disproportion elsewhere.

From these materials and various statements of the proportionate increase of population in other American cities, as well as a comparison of the births and deaths, and the numbers cured, in the two principal hospitals, there are some curious topics for consideration with regard to population.

The supplies of provisions are good; but the police is said to be bad, and it has been stated that on an average there are two murders committed daily; but this is not sufficiently proved, and it is, indeed, admitted, by one of the most inveterate writers against the *Havaneros*, that he resided seventy days in the city, and passed every night after nine o'clock three of the most notorious spots, without ever having been interrupted. We always suspect exaggeration in reports to which such a fact may be opposed.

The extent of Cuba, owing to the shallows that surround it, has only been fully developed lately. By documents published by the hydrographic depôt of Madrid up to the year 1807, this has been completed, so that its area has been calculated with more precision than formerly. There is a remarkable resemblance in the form of Cuba to that of Java. Notwithstanding the increase of good data, there are still considerable differences in the estimates made by M. Ferrer, M. Lindenau, and M. Bauza: although they approach more nearly to each other than to the older estimates, some of which were absurdly exaggerated. M. Lindenau has computed the area of Cuba and its dependencies at 4102 square maritime leagues (20 to a degree). M. Ferrer's result is

3648 maritime leagues for the entire groupe; but that of M. Bauza (which is probably the most correct) makes Cuba alone to contain 3520 maritime leagues, and with the isle of Pines 3615; from which it appears that it is $\frac{1}{4}$ less than it had previously been considered; that it is $\frac{1}{100}$ larger than Haiti: that its surface equals that of Portugal, is within $\frac{1}{8}$ of that of England, exclusive of Wales, and equals all the rest of the islands in the West Indian Archipelago.

Little is known of its geognostic relations; but it would appear that $\frac{2}{3}$ of its extent, consisting of lowland, is composed of secondary and tertiary formations, which are sometimes pierced by granite, gneiss, syenite, and serpentine; and it is probable that the auriferous sand that attracted so much attention at its first discovery was derived from the latter rocks. Vegetation is extremely active.

The rivers are few—there not being above ten that are any thing more than streamlets. The climate is precisely what might be expected on the verge of the two zones, and nearly corresponds with that of Calcutta, Canton, Macao, and Rio Janeiro. There are about fifty ports and anchorages.

With the details, of which we have endeavoured to extract the substance, M. Humboldt intersperses some interesting remarks on the conduct of meteorological researches, and on the geography of plants—a subject in which he always delights to revel.

Cuba, like all the other Spanish settlements in America, has ecclesiastical, politico-military, and financial divisions. Our author does not detail the first of these, as there might be consequent confusion; and, in truth, there is less need for it, for since the year 1797 there has only been one *Audiencia*, established at Puerto Principe, which has jurisdiction from Baracoa to Cape San Antonio. This island, together with Louisiana and Florida, formerly depended on the archbishopric of St. Domingo, and contained only one see, which was founded by Leo X. In 1788, Pius VI. divided the island into two sees, adding that of Havana to the original one of St. Jago de Cuba. In 1804 St. Jago de Cuba was erected into an archbishopric. The boundary of the two dioceses passes from the Cayo Romano between the town of Santo Espiritu and the city of Puerto Principe.

In its politico-military distribution, the captain-generalship is divided into two governments, that of Havana, (of which the captain-general is always the governor,) and of Cuba. The actual limits of these do not correspond with the ecclesiastical bounds.

The financial administration extends over three intendancies or provinces, the Havana, Puerto Principe, and St. Jago de Cuba.

The intendant of the first-named district is also intendant-general of the whole Island.

There are forty parishes in the diocese of Havana, and twenty-two in that of Cuba. In the former eighty-six cities and towns; in the latter five cities. We must not, however, attach too much importance to the word *city*, which rather bespeaks privileges than grandeur or extent. The importance of the preceding dry statements can only be understood by a knowledge of the population. Unluckily, the actual facts are few; but scanty as they are, they lead to valuable results.

In 1775 the total population was estimated at	170,862
1791	272,140
1817	630,980

This last was composed of the three colonial castes, in the following proportions:—

Whites	290,021
Free coloured	115,691
Slaves	225,268
	630,980

Allowing for the omissions of the census of 1817, the number of slaves imported, and assuming the increase of the white and free coloured population to be in the same ratio with that which took place between 1810 and 1817, Humboldt supposes that the population at the end of 1825 would stand thus:—

Free Men . .	{ Whites 325,000 }	. . 455,000
	{ Coloured 130,000 }	
Slaves		260,000
		715,000

And on similar principles the number at present would be about 750,000—but we apprehend it to be more: we know that the late intendant-general three years ago believed the number considerably greater.

This total population differs but little from that of the whole of our own colonies, and is nearly double that of Jamaica alone; but the most remarkable point of comparison is the proportion of the different castes. In Cuba the free population composes $\frac{66}{100}$ of the whole; in the English islands it forms scarcely $\frac{10}{100}$; in the whole Archipelago the slaves and free coloured amount to $\frac{83}{100}$.

M. Humboldt therefore considers that Cuba, from the peculiar constitution of its population, is more likely to be exempt from servile insurrection than its neighbours. But as that is a ques-

tion that will be more suitably examined hereafter, we shall reserve our observations for the close of this article.

The remarkable disparity of the sexes is noticed by Humboldt, the number of males being among the slaves on the sugar estates to that of females as 4 to 1; throughout the island as 1:7 to 1; in the towns or small farms as 1.4 to 1; and the city of Havana as 1.2 to 1. This disproportion is owing to religious scruples, which, however ridiculous they may appear to us, prevailed until the latter part of the last century. "The slaves," says our author, "were forced to celibacy, under the pretext of preventing disorder in their morals! The Jesuits and Bethlehemite monks alone renounced this fatal prejudice; they themselves allowed negresses on their plantations."—vol. i. p. 165.

One of the most interesting points connected with the present population is, the local distribution of the free coloured and black portions of it; for on the facilities of concert and combination much would depend, in the event either of combined or merely servile insurrection. In the year 1811, the tribunal of commerce of the Havana formed an estimate, by which it would appear, that at that time, in the western part of the island—that is, in the government of Havana—there was in the towns 11 per cent. of the whole of the free coloured people in the island; in the country, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.: while of slaves there were in the towns $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in the country 34 per cent.; making altogether 58 per cent. of the entire black and coloured races in that province. In the eastern province, that of Cuba, there were in the towns 11 per cent. of the free coloured people, and the same number in the country; of slaves there were $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the former, and $10\frac{1}{2}$ in the latter; making altogether 42 per cent. But this proportion must have varied very much since 1811; for there is no doubt that between this period and 1825, that is, in 14 years, 185,000 African slaves were imported into Cuba, of whom 116,000 were entered at the custom-house of Havana between the years 1811 and 1820.

It is a very curious fact, that the population of Cuba, notwithstanding its absolute extent, should be, relatively to its area, four times less than that of Jamaica; or, as M. Humboldt expresses it,

"If Cuba were as well cultivated as this latter island, or, to speak better, if the density of the population were the same, Cuba would have 3615 (area in square leagues) $\times$ 874 (the population of Jamaica to the square league), or 3,159,000 inhabitants; that is to say, more than is calculated at present in the republic of Colombia, or the whole archipelago of the Antilles."—vol. i. p. 127.

One melancholy fact is developed by the very laborious com-

parisons instituted by our author, of the various censuses that have successively been made, that a most frightful destruction of life among the slaves must have taken place; for although in six years (from 1811 to 1817), more than 67,700 slaves were imported, the actual excess of the slave population, in the last of these years over that of the first, was only 13,300. We hope that there is some error in the estimate, otherwise the sufferings of these unhappy people must be unparalleled, and the boasted humanity of Spaniards to their slaves must have altogether disappeared from Cuba.

The general results of all that has been most laboriously collected are: that the whites increase more in the country than in towns; that the free coloured race, who generally prefer mechanical trades to agriculture, augment with greater rapidity than the other castes; and that the negro slaves, among whom there is not one-third of the number of females requisite for that of the males, diminish at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum.

The commonly-received opinion of the extent of the ancient population is, we have no doubt with our author, exceedingly exaggerated; for the statements are nearly as contradictory as they are numerous. He has fallen into error when he asserts that the aboriginal race has entirely disappeared from the Antilles; for we have ascertained that there are now in the island of St. Vincent at least 200 red and black Charibs, the former being the pure race, and the latter a mixed breed with the negroes; and that in the interior of Dominica there are several families of the pure Charibs. We have seen miniature canoes, bows and arrows, made by the latter, and presented by their chiefs to the Earl of Huntingdon, when governor of that island; and a most intelligent officer, well known for his arduous services during the Peninsular war, and since in Burma, has assured us that he resided some time with these people; whose habits he describes as most simple, probably differing in no degree from those of their earliest ancestors. It would be inconsistent with our limits to enter into a detail of all the facts and reasonings connected with the different castes of the population; but it is with satisfaction that we find from M. Humboldt, that many proprietors employ themselves in the most praise-worthy manner with the amelioration of the condition of their slaves.

The state of intellectual improvement is said to be principally confined to the whites, and society is equal to that of Cadiz, and the most flourishing commercial cities of Europe; but in the small towns and country districts there is less refinement. Custom too may uphold the natural, or rather the obvious distinctions between the different races, but they are not insurmount-

able; for we know that very lately nobility was conferred by Ferdinand on a man of colour at the Havana, and that he was received by the municipality, although some little demur took place among some of its members.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the principal inhabitants for their zeal in promoting every useful object. A patriotic society has been founded not only in the capital, but in the principal towns: there is a university, with chairs of theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and mathematics—one of political economy, another of agricultural botany—a museum, and school of descriptive anatomy; a public library; a gratuitous school of painting and design; a naval academy; Lancasterian schools, and a botanical garden. In short, improvement has its foundations very extensively laid.

Connected with the population is the national force or militia. We have already seen that the white population in both the provinces always exceeds, in a very large proportion, that of the slaves; and when united with the free coloured people, whose interests are, we consider, identified with their own, they stand in the eastern province in the ratio of 195 to 65; and in the district of Havana, where there is a greater number of slaves, in that of 203 to 147; consequently, a considerable number of the small proprietors must cultivate their respective properties without the aid of slaves. We have seen examples of this kind, even in the province of Havana. Men thus habituated to the climate, many of them natives, form an admirable supply of militia; and accordingly we find that they are organized throughout the Island into mounted militia, there called *monteros*: in the towns they form, as well as the free coloured people, regiments of foot militia. The former are described as very daring, well mounted, inured to fatigue, thoroughly accustomed to the climate, completely armed, perfectly acquainted with the country, and so dreaded from these qualities, that the presence of one of them is sufficient to overawe a considerable body of negroes.

The first settlers of Cuba devoted their earliest agricultural labours to the growth of articles necessary for their subsistence. Although that object is easily attainable within the tropics, yet their exertions do not appear to have been directed to the production of other objects at a very early period. Two centuries and a half are said to have elapsed before any considerable plantations of coffee, cotton, indigo, and sugar-canes were established. Enormous herds of cattle rapidly augmenting furnished the only article of commerce until the last century;—to this was afterwards added tobacco, and bees-wax, which had been introduced from the Floridas. These very soon became more important

than the hides, to which were in their turn superadded sugar and coffee; and although the value of the former is by far the greatest, the plantations of the latter largely predominate, owing, no doubt, to the greater facility of cultivation, and to having no manufacture connected with it, as in sugar.

In a table published by Humboldt, we have the progress of the sugar exports, from the year 1760 to 1824, by which it appears that the minimum was, as might have been supposed, on the first of these years, being only 13,000 chests, and that the increase has been since going on, though at no regular rate, until 1823, when it amounted to 300,211 chests. In 1824 it fell off to 243,329, but that was considered a very unproductive year. This table is derived from official records, but it may be calculated that at least $\frac{1}{4}$ more was fraudulently exported, which is an enormous addition to the known quantities. Besides the exports, it is supposed by M. de Humboldt, that the internal consumption in 1825 is not less than 88,000 chests. He also estimates the production of Cuba to be $\frac{1}{4}$ less than that of Jamaica, and institutes some other curious comparisons with the produce of the remainder of the West Indian Islands, together with their areas and population.—He gives a similar comparison with Equinoxial North America and Brazil.

The sugars of Cuba are divided into three classes, according to their purity, which is effected by means of claying. This is done by putting the raw sugar into cones of porous earthenware, with a small opening at the apex; these are then inverted, and a coating of clay (whence the name of the process) spread over the base; this is moistened with a small quantity of water, and the successive filtrations through the loaf of sugar carry off the various impurities. The purest is that immediately below the clay, and is, in fact, white sugar, resembling the lumps of the refiners;—the next, about the middle, less fair, is called *azucar quebrado*;—the apex of the loaf is the least pure, and is distinguished by the name of *cucurucho*. As the forms vary in size, the weight of the loaves is equally various. Generally each of them weighs about an arroba, or 25lbs. The proportions in each loaf of the different qualities are $\frac{2}{3}$ of white, $\frac{1}{3}$ of the second quality, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the worst. The prices, of course, depend on the quality, and are subject to all the variations that must occur in articles so dependent on accidental circumstances, as all tropical produce must ever be. Scarcely any Muscovado sugar is manufactured.

At the actual price of 24 dollars the chest, sugar is still profitable, although more than two-thirds less so than it was twelve years ago.

M. Humboldt details some results of his inquiries in 1804,

which are valuable to those curious in West Indian statistics. He found that on an estate of 50 caballerias, or 1610 English acres (each caballeria being equal to $32\frac{2}{3}$ statute measure) there was produced from 32,000 to 40,000 arrobas (about 800,000 lbs.) But only one-half of the land was appropriated to the cane, the other half being employed in raising vegetable food, or in pasturage. There is considerable difference in the value of land, according to its local advantages. Such an extent of cultivation requires 300 negroes, each of whom may be valued at from 370 to 500 dollars, and whose maintenance costs 45 to 50 dollars each annually.

Three mills, worked either by cattle or water, are necessary; eighteen boilers with twelve clarifiers and traches. It is commonly said that three arrobas of sugar yield a barrel of molasses, and that the molasses meet the plantation charges. This is true, where rum is extensively distilled. Thirty-two thousand arrobas of sugar produce 15,000 casks of molasses, which are converted into 500 puncheons of rum, at 25 dollars each. The results are stated by our author,—

	Dollars.
Price of 32,000 arrobas of mixed sugar at 24 dollars . . .	48,000
500 Puncheons of Rum	12,500
	60,500
The expenses are estimated at	30,000
The capital employed in land	125,000
Cost of Slaves	135,000
Buildings	80,000
Cattle, &c.	130,000
Interest, at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on 470,000 dollars . . .	28,983
	58,983
Clear profit	1,517

We calculate the interest to be allowed for the outlay according to the old Spanish rule, $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which must be admitted to be very moderate. As the large establishments cannot consecutively produce 32,000 arrobas, it is not surprising that the cultivation of rice is occasionally preferred, especially in times of low prices. Formerly the profits were larger, owing, first, to the smallness of the expenses—and secondly, to the higher price of sugar.

It is remarkable that all the improvements in Cuba were immediately consequent on the evacuation of the English in 1764. An impulse was then given, which maintained its influence long after the first cause had ceased to operate. Progressive im-

provements have taken place, and in 1825, on M. Humboldt's authority, we state that there were about 25 steam engines in the Island. The progress of sugar cultivation may be best known by the following statement.

In 1763 there were	70	Sugar Estates.
1796	305	do.
1806	480	do.
1817	625	do.

In addition to the export of sugar, there is a very considerable quantity of rum and molasses.

The dependence of the Cuban proprietors on usurious merchants, who enable them to carry on their works, is as dreadful as in other colonies. Money is so scarce at Havana, that the government borrows at 10 per cent., and Humboldt says private persons do so at 12 and 16; we have it on respectable authority, that 18 per cent. is common on good security.

Next to sugar stands coffee, the perfect cultivation of which may be referred to the years 1796 and 1798, when the ravages of St. Domingo drove many industrious French planters to seek an asylum in Cuba. The quantity produced in 1804 was only 50,000 arrobas; in 1823 it amounted to 895,924 arrobas, but declined in 1824 to 661,674. The real amount would be probably much larger, were the smuggling ascertained. The variations of price are as arbitrary as those of sugar.

The tobacco of Cuba ranks first in European estimation. The internal consumption exceeds 200,000 arrobas, chiefly in cigars; the quantities exported cannot be well determined, owing to the activity with which smuggling is carried on in this material.

Although indigo, cotton and wheat either are, or may be, produced in Cuba, we have no details respecting them, as the first is driven out by the competition of Guatimala, and the last are too scantily cultivated, owing to the greater returns of coffee and sugar. But it is worth recording that the flour is excellent, and the period may be not very remote, when it may be made available to the adjacent islands. Difficulties of a similar kind oppose the cultivation of flax, hemp, and vines. Wax has become an object of moment ever since 1772. The quantities exported since 1815, have varied from 24,158 arrobas to 14,450.—Humboldt remarks that this produce declines in proportion to the increase of cultivation.

The commerce of Cuba is sustained, not only by the richness of its productions, but by its admirable position. These advantages have been used with much judgment by the Spanish government, compared with many of its other acts. The island

exports, regularly and irregularly, produce to the estimated value of fourteen millions of dollars each year. From 1,000 to 1,200 merchant vessels annually enter the port of Havana, amounting from 150,000 to 170,000 tons: the coasting trade is excluded from this estimate. In time of peace, from 120 to 150 ships of war touch there for refreshment.

It is probable that the importations, on an average, amount to fifteen or sixteen millions of dollars, of which about three or four millions are re-exported; for the Havana receives much more foreign manufactures than are necessary for home consumption, being destined for other markets. Humboldt distrusts the reports published by the Consulado, and we deem his reasons satisfactory; so much so, that they ought only to be regarded as approximations to be used in the absence of more authentic materials. When the Essay was published, there was no "*balanza-general*;" but last year one was printed, and at first distributed among the public officers of the local government; it was necessarily more complete than the partial statements that had preceded it, and we regret very much that we have not at present access to a copy of it, as we might then have brought down our details to the most recent period.

Humboldt states a remarkable fact, as to the extraordinary consumption in the island of foreign merchandize, which he determines by the excess of the quantity imported over that which is re-exported: the quantity of provisions, wines, and brandies, is large, and marks the neglect of the production of the articles of first necessity, instead of which the cultivation of objects of export is sedulously attended to. Our author considers this want of subsistence to characterize a part of the tropical regions, in which he says, the "imprudent activity of Europeans has inverted the order of nature." He adds, that it will be diminished, as they become more enlightened to their true interests, and discouraged by the low price of colonial produce: and in a strain of prophecy, predicts the future grandeur of Cuba, as well as its exemption from the present "narrow and pitiful system," as he calls it. This appears to be a misapplication of terms. The present state of cultivation in Cuba is the necessary result of its population, and its relations to the rest of the world. At present, its sugar and coffee give better returns than any other objects of cultivation to the proprietor, who can buy his other supplies more advantageously from foreigners, owing to the scantiness of population. In all societies similarly constituted the same thing must happen, not from design, but from expediency; nor can it be obviated, until the growth of the population be equal to meet all the de-

mands for labour. The destruction of the sugar culture will never increase that of other articles; however certain it is to take place, whenever the planter loses the power of coercing labour.

So far we have spoken of the actual state of trade; we find that its increase has been proportionate to other improvements. So long ago as 1800, the description was flattering, as may be seen in an extract which M. Humboldt gives from an unpublished manuscript: "At the Havana," says the intelligent author, "all the effects of accumulated wealth begin to be felt. Provisions have doubled their prices in a very few years. Labour is so dear, that a negro newly imported from the coast of Africa, by mere bodily labour, (without having learned any trade,) can earn from four to five rials a day. Negroes who exercise any mechanical trade, however rude, earn five to six francs. The patrician families remain in the country; the individual who has been enriched by his own exertions does not return with his capital to Europe: some families are so wealthy, that Don Matèo de Pedroso, recently dead, has left landed property worth above two millions of dollars. Many houses of trade in Havana buy every year ten to twelve thousand chests of sugar, for which they pay from 350,000 to 420,000 dollars. The transactions which take place annually in this city amount to more than twenty millions of dollars." "Such," adds M. Humboldt, "was the state of the country in 1800. The prosperity of the succeeding years has much transcended that which has been described; for, "whenever the Mother Country, disregarding her best interests, has attempted to retrograde, courageous voices have been raised, not only among the *Havaneros*, but even among the Spanish administrators, to vindicate the cause of American commerce." Havana enjoys the rights of an *entrepôt* on the most advantageous terms.

The internal trade is rendered costly by the want of easy communications. To obviate this inconvenience, in 1796, the Conde de Jaruco and Mopox conceived the plan of the canal of *Guines*, which would have connected the city of Havana and Batabano, a distance of eight and a half maritime leagues. The preliminary survey was effected with considerable talent by two able engineers, the brothers Lemaux, (one of whom lately distinguished himself by his gallant and protracted defence of the castle of San Juan de Ulloa,) and its practicability determined; but like many other great projects of Spain, the work was never carried further. The benefits which such a canal would confer on the island are immense, and it would not be the least to set an example of establishing easy communications.

M. Humboldt observes, in speaking of the rapidly advancing improvements that are going on in Cuba, that "at the Havana,

as everywhere else, when trade and the riches it produces have a speedy augmentation, complaints are made of the evil influence which that increase produces on old customs. This is not the place," he adds, "to compare the first condition of the Island of Cuba, covered with pastures, before the capture of the capital by the English, and its actual condition since it has become the metropolis of the Antilles; this is not the place to compare the candour and simplicity of the manners of an infant society, with those that belong to the development of advanced civilization. The spirit of commerce, bringing the admiration of wealth, no doubt leads mankind to depreciate that which is not to be procured for money. But the state of human affairs is happily such, that whatever is most desirable, whatever most noble, and most free in man, depends solely on the inspirations of the soul, and the extent and amelioration of the intellectual faculties. The adoration of wealth, if it could possess an absolute influence over all classes of society, would infallibly produce the evil of which those complain, who see with regret that which they call the preponderance of the industrious system; but the increase of commerce, by multiplying the relations among different people, in opening an immense sphere to mental activity, in directing capital to agriculture, in creating, by the refinements of luxury, new wants, presents the best remedy against the dangers which are supposed to be impending. In this extreme complication of causes and effects, time is necessary to establish the equilibrium between the different classes of society. Must it not be admitted as undoubted, that at every given epoch, civilization, the progress of information, the development of public reason, may be estimated by the *tonnage*, by the value of the exports, or by the perfection of the arts of industry? But nations, like individuals, must not be judged of by one solitary portion of their lives: they only complete their destinies by going over the entire scale of a civilization, suited to their national character and their physical situation."—vol. i. p. 292-3. There is much truth in these observations, and they ought to be seriously considered by all those, who, adopting but one measure of propriety, either among individuals or nations, and forgetting the infinite diversities of temperament, moral and physical relations, regard all deviations from their imaginary standard as violations of an absolute rule of right.

The increase of agriculture and commerce has been productive of a proportional increase of revenue: this M. Humboldt states as high as four and a half or five millions of dollars, or, taking the exchange at four shillings to the dollar, at one million sterling. The custom-house of the Havana alone yields in one

year 3,100,000 dollars, and the whole public revenue of the city and the jurisdiction of Havana, has varied between the years 1820 and 1825, from 3,200,000 to 3,400,000 dollars: if to this be added, the revenues collected in other jurisdictions, the estimate will not be found to be exaggerated. In pursuing this subject some curious comparisons are made, showing that this revenue is considerable, relatively to the state of the colony. The revenue is equal to that of Colombia, and superior to that of the United States prior to 1796, when their population was 4,500,000; that of Cuba, as we have already seen, is about 715,000. The expenses have of late years largely increased, exceeding four millions of dollars, owing to the obstinate contest maintained between Spain and her former colonies on the continent: two millions of dollars have been employed annually in the payment of the troops and marine, rendered necessary even for self defence: a most useless and wanton misapplication of the colonial funds.

From the tables in the work before us, it appears that the custom-house of Havana yielded on an average, from 1769 to 1797, less than 700,000 dollars; from 1797 to 1800 the mean was 1,908,000 dollars; from 1815 to 1819 it was 3,657,000 dollars; and in 1825 the produce was 3,350,300. Thus, from 1789 to 1825, the income has increased five fold. This increase is still more remarkable in the subordinate districts. M. Barutin, as cited by Humboldt, gives the produce of these for eighty-three years successively, from 1735 to 1818. The total produce has gradually risen from 900 dollars to 600,000.

The unfortunate application of the revenue to unproductive military and naval establishments, powerfully retards the improvements that in all probability would rapidly be made were it directed to its more natural objects.

It is curious to contrast the application and produce of the revenue of Cuba at present with what it was according to the archives of Mexico, which are detailed by M. Humboldt. At the beginning of the nineteenth century New Spain sent annually to Havana the following sums:—

		Dollars.
Marine	{ For the squadron, the dock-yards, and all the necessary service of the navy	700,000
	{ For the naval establishment of the Mosquito coasts	40,000
Army	{ For the land service at the Havana	290,000
	{ For the land service at St. Jago de Cuba	146,000
Fortifications		150,000
Tobacco.—The purchase, &c. for Seville		400,000
Total		1,826,000

To this may be added upwards of a million that now devolves

on the public charges of Cuba, though formerly furnished by Mexico. We have already noticed the causes of this increase of revenue; it is only necessary to add, that the free trade was conceded in 1809.

With this topic Humboldt concludes the statistical part of his work; but he makes a series of general observations, of which some account, however brief, is necessary: the principal topic of these is slavery, the horrors of which are depicted in very glowing terms, and perhaps the facilities of ending them at once may be overrated. But M. Humboldt has done ample justice to the lenient spirit of the Spanish laws, and to the liberal spirit displayed by individuals as well as corporate bodies in Cuba on various occasions. He cites a passage illustrative of this, so very remarkable, from a representation made by the Municipality, Consulado, and Patriotic Society, on 21st July, 1811, that we cannot refrain from following his example.

“ ‘ In all that relates to changes to be introduced into the condition of the *servile class*, our fears are less excited as to the diminution of agricultural wealth than for the safety of the whites, so easily compromised by imprudent measures. Those who elsewhere accuse the Municipality and Consulado of an obstinate resistance, forget that from the year 1799 these same authorities have in vain proposed that the state of the blacks in the island of Cuba should be taken into consideration. Still more; we are far from adopting maxims which the nations of Europe, that pride themselves most on their civilization, have regarded as irrefragable; for instance, that without slaves there can be no colonies. We declare, on the contrary, that without slaves, and even without blacks, colonies can exist; and that all the difference would be in the amount of profit, in the more or less rapid increase of produce. But if such be our firm persuasion, we ought also to remind your Majesty, that a social organization, into which slavery has been once introduced as a constituent, *cannot be changed with inconsiderate precipitation*. We are far from denying that it was an evil contrary to moral principles, to drag slaves from one continent to another; that it was an error in politics not to listen to the complaints which Ovando, the Governor of Hispaniola, made against the introduction of so many slaves among a small number of freemen; but since these evils and these abuses are already inveterate, we ought to avoid rendering our situation, and that of our slaves, worse by the employment of violent measures. That which we ask, Sire, is conformable to the wish expressed by one of the most ardent protectors of the rights of humanity, by the most decided enemy of slavery; we wish with him, that civil laws should deliver us at once from the abuses and the dangers. ’ ”—vol. i. p. 329—331.

The abuses and the dangers form, in point of fact, the real matter at issue; and M. Humboldt very truly says, that nothing short of the concurrence of the local authorities (whatever may be their designation) with the proprietors resident in Europe and

the entire body of freemen in the colonies, can effect these desirable objects. But there are infinite difficulties in effecting this union, and we believe with him that civilization alone will prepare the minds of men for future events; but that to produce great changes in the social condition, certain coincidences must concur, the period of which cannot be calculated beforehand.

We must not, however, trust too much to the chance of favourable events; for as certainly as we do so in such matters, so certainly shall we be involved in irremediable disappointment. The "*quantillâ sapientiâ regitur mundus*" of Oxenstiern is no doubt quite true wherever the frame of government has been once arranged; but when revolutionary impulses are given, a complete change takes place, and the difficulty arises, not merely of selecting the best course in urgent and pressing circumstances, but of guarding against the explosion of the fiery elements which are then in combustion. We think that too much caution cannot be used in the management of slave colonies, nor too much circumspection in the adoption of measures which are unsanctioned by the resident proprietors, however promising they may be made to appear by their theoretical advocates.

To complete this very interesting Essay, some details were necessary of the circumstances under which M. Humboldt and his distinguished associate, M. Bonpland, obtained or rather collected their information. These are given in a sort of personal narrative, which by blending a variety of objects, is rendered amusing as well as instructive. Disappointed in joining Capt. Baudin, as had been originally arranged, by some erroneous intelligence, Humboldt, it appears, had resolved on settling in Cuba, but that determination was subsequently altered:—yet during his residence he made some excursions, the details of which he has consigned to this portion of his work. On no occasion, perhaps, was M. Humboldt's zeal in the pursuit of science more conspicuous than in his first voyage from Cuba. He embarked at Batabano, with his distinguished associate, in one of the smallest class of schooners, with a cabin as hot as human nature could well sustain; yet he calmly observes, that they had been prepared for it by previous abominations. The voyagers visited many of the keys, some of which were found to be interesting from their productions; among others, the *Jardimillos*, celebrated in Columbus's time as the scene of a remarkable kind of fishing. The Indian fishermen were accustomed to tie a sort of fish called, by them, *revés*, (a species of *remora*) by the tail, and let him down among the largest turtles, to which he attached himself so firmly by his tenacula, that on being drawn up, he brought the turtle with him. It seems that this was considered a traveller's tale, when

first told in Europe; nor can we wonder at it, when we read the marvellous narration of Anghierra, who gravely states, "Non aliter ac nos canibus gallicis per æquora campi lepores insectamur, incolæ (Cubæ insulæ) venatorio pisce pisces alios capiebant."—A good specimen of a free narrative! Our traveller, in the course of this short voyage has collected many valuable physical facts, for which we cannot do better than refer to the work itself; for were we to do more, we might transcribe the whole of the narrative, with satisfaction to ourselves and amusement to our readers. After visiting the city of Trinidad, the travellers were conducted by the municipality to the mouth of the River Guaurabo in a handsome carriage, and to increase their embarrassment, the clerical poet of the place, clothed in velvet, notwithstanding the heat, celebrated in a sonnet their return to the Orinoco. Gratifying as this ceremonial was intended to be, it yielded in interest to a sight that attracted their notice on the road. The plants and foliage were covered with phosphorescent insects, the intensity of whose light varied at their pleasure. In a hut of the poorest inhabitants, a dozen of these insects, in a perforated calabash, serves as a night-light.—It is only necessary to shake the vessel violently to ensure a strong light. Death alone destroys the luminous quality, and a small quantity of sugar-cane affords abundant nutriment to the insect.

A favourable breeze carried our travellers from the coasts of Cuba, and our author's reflections on the occasion, are at once just and agreeably stated, though we cannot follow him in all his alleged facts.

We have now concluded a very imperfect sketch of the "*Essai Politique sur l'Isle de Cuba*," and before touching on the remaining contents of the work, we shall discuss some collateral topics that present abundant materials for reflection, though they do not fall within the scope of our author's plan. And the first of these topics is naturally the probable future fate of this noble island.

It is not to be wondered at, that various speculations should be hazarded on the subject. Some suppose that independence as a separate state must take place; others that it must pass into the hands of some other European power, than that of Spain: and a third set of politicians assert that it must become a member of one of the American confederations. Although these schemes appear abundantly futile to one conversant with facts, yet they are worthy of examination for the sake of those who in such matters are naturally swayed by the authority of great names.

The independence of Cuba as a distinct state, is a question that we think may be easily set at rest. The extent and consequent exposure of coast, the smallness of the population compared

with the area, the difficulty, or rather the impolicy of drawing the attention of the inhabitants from the soil to the formation of military forces for self defence, and lastly, the certainty that this independence would give birth to civil warfare, and afford a plausible pretext for foreign interference, presents obstacles that cannot be overlooked. But these are not the only impediments: Cuba, as has been already shown, owes the prosperity of its finances to a free trade, which would inevitably be destroyed in the event of the destruction of public confidence; which again would be the sure consequence of a state of warfare.

The only two great powers of Europe that could pretend to the occupation of Cuba, are Great Britain and France; there is no probability that either will concede the possession to the other, even were Spain content to surrender this most valuable of her remaining American territories: and we are not aware that any one has been so absurd as to suggest a joint tenancy. But were the diplomatic politeness of the day to induce either of these powers to wave any objection in favour of her rival, we apprehend that the cabinet of Washington would enter a most formidable protest against the establishment of any new European power, almost within her bounds, and in a situation that would, in the event of a war, impose a most irresistible check on her.

The difficulties that oppose the change in the European masters of Cuba, equally present themselves to any transfer to the United States, and may at present be deemed insurmountable. They also apply, to a certain extent, to the union with any of its continental neighbours, though in a more limited degree, owing to the common origin, common language, and institutions of the people. But these fade away, when compared with those that offer themselves from a consideration of the actual state of the newly-established governments, as well as the internal interests of Cuba itself. The fact is, that it would lose everything and gain nothing by such an association. Supposing that every general difficulty were smoothed away, let us inquire in the first place, what are the advantages and disadvantages of a political connexion with Mexico; and, secondly, with Colombia.

Now what are the benefits held out by the first to Cuba? Independence (a word by the way that has been more perverted in its application than most words); supply of sugar on the cessation of the slave trade; that of flour and grain; the consumption of the insular productions on the continent; and protection from the confederating states. These we take in succession. The independence would only be nominal, for what could the small number of Cuban deputies do in opposition to those of the continent, whose united interests would naturally bend those of the

minority to suit the purposes of the majority. This is human nature, and a very strong case of community of interests must be made out before we can concede the point. Besides, there is much truth in the maxim, that unequal alliances are injurious to all parties, but most especially to the weakest. The supply of sugar, flour, and grain, is an equally untenable ground of alliance. Mexico is well known to be divided into two great districts, the *Tierra Caliente*, or the low hot regions, and the elevated plains which, as it were, cluster around the great central plateau of *Anahuac*. In the former of these, tropical productions are cultivated, and in the latter, the *Cerealia*, and other fruits of the temperate zone. Although sugar was formerly produced to a considerable extent in the state of *Vera Cruz*, the manufacture has nearly ceased, and the few canes that are cultivated are employed in the manufacture of an inferior rum, called *Chingirito*. Sugar is only produced, to any extent, in the neighbourhood of *Cuernavaca*, about twenty leagues to the south-west of the city of Mexico. At this last place, notwithstanding all the reputed advantages, the price is more than 6*d.* per lb. Now to bring it to the coast would augment the charges very much, as mules afford the only means of transport; waggons not having been generally introduced, and canals being, in our opinion, impracticable, from the nature of the country. After this additional and unavoidable charge, there would be freight, and all the mercantile charges superadded; so that before Mexican sugar could be furnished to the consumer at Cuba, it would cost at least six times what it can be produced for on the spot.

The objection to supplies of sugar applies with even greater force to those of flour, and the practical illustration of the absurdity of such a notion is, that on the coast of Mexico, flour can be brought from the United States and sold at eight dollars per barrel of 200lbs., while the same quantity of Mexican flour costs more than ten dollars at the capital, to which, in order to complete the comparison, must be added the carriage to the coast, and of course freight and other charges would still further enhance the cost in Cuba.

As to the consumption of Cuban produce on the continent, a very simple statement will set this at rest. During twenty-five years, when Mexico belonged, as well as Cuba, to Spain, the entire value of all the exports from Cuba only amounted to 51,008,190 dollars, or a trifle above 2,000,000 a year, (about 400,000*l.* sterling,) of which about 1,700,000 dollars were vested in European manufactures and products, and only about 300,000 dollars, or about 60,000*l.* a year of indigenous Cuban articles, chiefly wax. But if even this trade were as valuable as it has been

represented, can there be a reasonable doubt on the mind of any man conversant with the affairs of America, that in the face of all the decrees of the Mexican Congress, wax will be sent from Cuba to Yucatan and Vera Cruz, whenever it may be wanted? We know that notwithstanding the apparent interruption of intercourse between the two countries, the communications between Yucatan and Cuba are as regular and open as ever.

Last of all, let us examine the value of the protection that can be afforded by Mexico. There are some persons who appear to estimate the power of protection merely by the extent of surface over which they have been poring on the map, and to disregard with sovereign contempt or indifference passing events. Before Mexico can aid any of her neighbours, she must be enabled to protect herself. She has declared her own insolvency, by the non-fulfilment of a single engagement with her public creditors. The moment the funds retained out of the original loans for the payment of the earlier dividends were exhausted, she literally stopped payment. Money she has not, and as she cannot borrow, any union with Cuba would be most disastrous for the latter. It is quite clear that were this brilliant scheme to be realized, all the produce of the prudent and wise measures of the insular government would be appropriated to Mexican purposes. Nor would this be the only danger; for from what is universally known of the talents and acquirements of the practical statesmen (if the term may be so profaned) of New Spain, there cannot be a doubt that on finding Cuba productive, their inordinate itch for legislation would entail on her (in addition to her own) all the horrors of Mexican mal-administration of revenue. The fable of the golden egg would be realized, and the consequences would be injurious to all. The military and naval protection so much talked of is as little to be depended on as the rest of the imaginary benefits. Recent occurrences show that Mexico is very far from being perfectly tranquil, and the small military force that she can keep up must be fully employed in mere police duties; independently of which, we very much question the fitness of the Mexican soldiery for service beyond the limits of their continent. They are, in fact, merely nominal soldiers, with scarcely an officer,—even including the very few renegade Europeans and North Americans,—capable of commanding a single battalion. Protection from such an undisciplined rabble is not to be thought of with any degree of seriousness. The dilapidated state of the Mexican marine (now, we believe, laid up in ordinary) is also a powerful antagonist to the paternal scheme to which we refer; for we find that even the vaunting Porter has been obliged to abandon the service. In truth, the want of money has been followed by a very natural want of men, and all the munitions of war.

The whole of what we have already said may be urged with even greater force against Colombia. She has been proclaimed bankrupt by her dictator, and her internal commotions are likely, for a very long time, to afford her abundant occupation at home.

In addition to the total absence of all advantage to Cuba from any connexion with either of her continental neighbours, there are certain matters connected with the constitution of the island, that are little calculated to further any revolutionary project. These are the preponderance of the Spanish party, whether composed of old Spaniards, or Creoles; and the existence of slavery.

The proscription of the Spaniards, both in Mexico and Colombia, is fully as impolitic as that of the Moors was in old Spain, for in their hands nearly the whole capital, and, we may add, nearly the whole of the integrity of the country, were concentrated. The loss to the countries that have acted so harshly and unwisely, is irremediable to themselves, not only in its immediate effects, but also in rendering them suspected of a readiness to extend their oppression whenever they may have the power. We know that an apprehension of this kind established the republican government in the Spanish portion of Saint Domingo. In 1821, a demagogue of the name of Nunez effected in the city of that name, a revolution in favour of Colombia, and nominated himself president of the new confederating state. But such was the dread of the Colombian government, entertained by most of the old Spaniards and white Creoles, that notwithstanding their natural horror of the alternative, they invited the black government to take military possession of, and to annex this beautiful portion of that splendid island to the new republic, which was accordingly done. The same feeling prevails in Cuba, and would undoubtedly raise a most formidable opposition to any similar schemes among the wealthiest and most influential members of the community, —an opposition that would be more effective, as the body of the people have few or no wrongs to complain of, as we shall presently see.

The abolition of slavery, as a necessary consequence of annexation to states which have abolished that condition throughout their territories, would obviously present a difficulty of no ordinary kind. According to Humboldt, as we have already seen, three years ago the slave population amounted to about 260,000. Their value at 300 dollars a head is 78 millions of dollars, which, at 4s. per dollar, is equal to 15,600,000*l.*, a sum not likely to be thrown away by men deriving actual wealth from its employment, for a doubtful advantage. It may be urged in opposition to this view of the question, that the newly-emancipated negroes would, in the event of such a change, be ready to labour

for wages. We candidly avow, that however desirable and however pleasing such expectations may be, we consider them under the peculiar circumstances of tropical cultivation, quite out of the question. Our opinion is not formed on speculative foundations, but on facts. Haiti presents an admirable exemplification of the chimerical nature of any hope of voluntary labour among a scanty and barbarian population, where the climate makes exertion painful, where the soil is almost spontaneously productive, and where artificial wants, either moral or physical, have not yet been excited. The entire destruction of industry, properly so called, in that once flourishing island, is a speaking lesson that must command conviction, except to those who are deaf to the suggestions of experience, and blinded by delusive speculations.

Such being the most prominent obstacles to any of the current schemes of regenerating Cuba, it may be well to look at her actual condition. We have already seen what her unrivalled advantages are in point of commercial situation, and that great advantage has been taken of it for the welfare of the colony. It is a natural inference that a change of political relations could only be productive of evil, while a quiet adherence to the parent state is decidedly the wisest, safest, and best course to be pursued.

Notwithstanding the persecutions in Spain, there has long been a practical tolerance in political matters in Cuba, such as may be deemed almost without parallel in any country. The governors appear to have learned that persecution uniformly fails to produce the intended effect, whether in religion or politics; and as their existence, comfort, and independence in point of fortune, depend on the maintenance of their authority, they have guarded the general interests of the community while engaged in the pursuit of their own, and have avoided all harsh measures; so that even the expatriated constitutionalist, who fled from Europe with all the horrors of Ceuta staring him in the face, may, if very moderately prudent, take up his abode here in peace and quietness, and enjoy his property in perfect security. In truth, it may be considered the resting place for the unfortunate Spaniard. Similar causes have operated even in the council of the Indies, in producing a relaxation in all matters of financial arrangement. Were the exclusive system of old Spain to be restored, commerce would be ruined, the revenue reduced so much as to be unequal to the payment of the functionaries, and the colony sink into its former condition of being literally a drag on the mother country; instead of which we have already seen, that a free trade has been followed by results beyond the hopes of the most sanguine theorist. We know that after meeting all the ordinary and extraordinary disbursements, including the maintenance of very large military and

naval forces, which have been successively equipped since 1810, there has been a large surplus of revenue applicable to local purposes, or to the more general objects of Spain; and it is to be regretted that this fund should have been applied by Ferdinand to his European wants, instead of the establishment of some beneficial institutions which were contemplated in the island.

Thus, as far as the enjoyment of practical liberty of opinion, freedom of action, and exemption from oppressive taxation, can render life valuable, the resident in Cuba may be considered as peculiarly favoured: so much so, that he would be little less than mad, were he to forego his present positive enjoyments, for others of a more specious, but less practical description. The advantages now possessed are of too high an order to be rashly thrown away, and we do not believe that they are likely to be hazarded, but that Spain is likely to retain her possession, both of Cuba and Porto Rico, in spite of all the scheming of her enemies; thus realising, in despite of herself, the advice of the Conde d'Aranda, in 1783, to which we alluded in our last number. This distinguished diplomatist, it will be recollected, advised the establishment of tributary sovereigns in Mexico, Peru and Terra Firma, and the retention of Cuba and Porto Rico as colonies. Had that advice been adopted, it is more than probable, that we should never have had an opportunity of speculating on the various contingencies that may emanate from the successive revolutions that have been enacted on the vast continent of Spanish America.

The blot in the colonial administration of Cuba, which must be pointed out, equally with the favourable topics, is unquestionably the continued traffic in slaves: there is too much reason to fear that it meets with encouragement, where it ought to receive very different treatment. Humboldt adverts generally to the mischievous consequences of this most unhallowed trade; but we derive our principal information respecting it from the correspondence of the British Commissioners at the Havana with the Secretary of State, in which most important disclosures have been made. From this source, we shall give what is necessary to illustrate our subject, and point out some of the evils to the colony itself, arising from the continuance of a traffic, at once repugnant to the general principles of morality and productive of the worst consequences to those engaged in it.

The reports made by the gentlemen to whom we refer, (of whose zeal, integrity and exertions, it is impossible to speak in too high praise,) are full of most damning matter on the indirect protection afforded to the slave trade in Cuba. The eagerness with which it has been pursued and upheld has been most scanda-

lously active. In 1825, it was known that thirty-two vessels had sailed for the coast of Africa, notoriously on slaving voyages; of these, fortunately, only fourteen are positively known to have returned in safety. The zeal displayed by our navy, and the consequent failure of many of the enterprizes, reduced the number in the following year to fifteen, of which, up to the 1st of January, 1827, only five had returned in safety. In 1827, there seems to have been a revived activity, for by the report of the British Commissioners, it appears, that no less than seven vessels sailed from the port of Havana alone, on slaving voyages, in the month of September.

The grounds of complaint against the authorities in Cuba on this subject, are very distinct; and although, at one period, the ill success of the adventures disheartened the sordid speculators, yet it does not appear, that the views of the British Government were ever heartily seconded by the Spanish Government, or, at all events, by its insular representatives. Vessels, notoriously slavers, sail from the Havana without notice. If the British Commissioners receive intimation, that a vessel of that description has entered the port, and represent the same to the Governor, he refers the matter to the Admiral, who in his turn refers to some other officer, and in the end everything is reported as having been perfectly as it ought to have been. This system of waiving responsibility is very naturally complained of by the British officers, and forms, in our opinion, a well-grounded charge against the good faith of the Cabinet of Madrid, or its officers; all the orders of that Court are disregarded, and there is too much reason to fear, that even the clergy are not honest in their exhortations. The British Commissioners are quite explicit on these grounds, and say without reservation,—

“Unfortunately, the information which we are enabled to communicate reaches us too late to be of much avail for the detection of delinquents; for it is not until the suspected vessel actually enters the port, after unloading her cargo of slaves, that we are in possession of any ostensible fact upon which to found a representation!” and they add, (what was afterwards verified,) “we are convinced that a cargo of slaves might be landed on the public wharf, and marched through this city, at the most public hours, without any one person consenting, from disinterested motives, to bear the odium, and incur the personal danger to which he would certainly be liable, by coming forward as a witness to the transaction.”

The correspondence of those very active and intelligent officers, Mr. Kilbee and Mr. Macleay, teems with statements of unavailing remonstrances; and it seems that their zeal had operated unfavourably against them; for the Spanish Minister (Conde de

Alcudia) actually preferred charges against them to the British Secretary of State, which however proved to be most ineffectual, and they had the gratification of finding their zealous conduct fully approved of by His Majesty; while the complainant, to speak in the mildest terms, shuffled out of his charges in no very equivocal way. The complaints of malversation, or at least, of desperately hard winking, continued to the close of 1827.

As an instance of the means by which the representations of the British members of the mixed commission were rendered nugatory by the Spanish authorities, we shall select the case reported by these gentlemen to Mr. Canning, on the 13th of August, 1827. The substance of their communication is shortly this:—On having ascertained that some British sailors, who had come from Africa in a Spanish slave-ship, were in Havana, they sought after and found these men with considerable difficulty: and received their depositions on oath, which stated, that they had belonged to the brig *Salisbury*, from Liverpool to Bonny; that Thomas Bryant was their master; that they were wrecked off Cape Mount, on the 1st of June preceding the date of the despatch; that on abandoning their vessel, they were received on board the Spanish schooner, "*Tres Manuelas*," then at anchor. At Gallinas, Bryant, with fourteen men, quitted her in his boat, which could not convey the remaining seven, who were left under the protection of the Spanish captain: some days after, between 180 and 190 slaves were embarked, and the schooner immediately sailed for Vares, a small port to the westward of Havana, where the slaves were landed. The depositions of four of these seven concurred in these facts; the remaining three made none, one being a foreigner, and the other two having sailed for Marseilles.

As it was clearly proved that the *Tres Manuelus*, then at anchor in the harbour of Havana, had been engaged in the slave trade, and had landed a cargo of negroes in one of the out-ports, the Commissioners addressed a note to the Governor-General, stating the facts, inclosing the confirmatory affidavits, and giving directions where the deponents could be found. A very brief acknowledgment by the Governor-General was the only answer given. And we find from a despatch to Earl Dudley, dated 30th September, that the Commissioners had heard that his Excellency had referred the matter to his assessor, who had given it as his opinion that it was not within the power of the British Commissioners to take depositions, unless when acting in conjunction with their Spanish colleagues; and that consequently those which accompanied that representation were entitled to no consideration whatever, "*more particularly as they were at variance with the depositions of the Spanish master and crew, taken in a legal manner before the com-*

patent tribunal." On this the Commissioners remark with much truth—

"We were enabled, by a combination of circumstances not likely to occur again, to furnish the Captain-General with depositions, upon oath, of four individuals who had actually come from Africa in a Spanish slave-vessel, and had witnessed the disembarkation of her cargo of slaves in a port of this island; and we apprised his Excellency where those individuals were to be found, should it be judged necessary that they should undergo an examination before a Spanish tribunal. *No attention was paid to the depositions; no such examination has taken place; the parties concerned in the transaction remain unmolested; the vessel itself has been allowed to sail under the same master, beyond the possibility of a doubt, for the purpose of again engaging in the same traffic; and no reply has been given to the representation which we made upon the occasion, but that of merely acknowledging its receipt.*"

There is but one inference from these facts, and it is most lamentable that it should be so discreditable to a man so generally esteemed as General Vives happens to be.*

If Spain, after having been paid to be humane, still persist in her career, we ought to urge all the European states, as well as those of America, to declare slave-trading an act of piracy; and the vigorous enforcement of such a law would certainly do more than all the diplomatic correspondence, with which the Parliamentary Returns are loaded, has hitherto been able to effect.

The impolicy of increasing the cultivation of articles daily decreasing in value, and of strengthening the slave population by fresh importations, ought to strike the colonists themselves; for if they still go on, the value of their properties will be gradually diminished, and the risk of successful servile insurrection hourly increased. If they will not listen to the dictates of humanity, they ought not to be deaf to the suggestions of prudence.

The last point we shall notice, is the probability of any successful insurrection among the slaves of Cuba. We say successful, because partial movements do take place, and cannot be avoided in slave communities, where fresh importations are going on to such an extent as to check the progress of improvement, and at the same time to excite the vindictive passions. The facts that reduce the risk of successful rebellion are strongly marked. The most important is the excess of the free population over the slaves, which we have already seen to be as

* While this sheet is passing through the press, the *Times* journal of December 9, presents us with the following evidence that the same nefarious system continues to flourish under the protection of the Cuban authorities. "New York, November 18. There are upwards of fifty vessels, belonging to the port of Havannah, now on the coast of Africa after slaves: among them a ship of 32 guns, which carries her guns under deck like a frigate, and is capable of transporting from 300 to 400 slaves."

64 to 36; whereas in the French part of St. Domingo, before the revolution, the slaves exceeded the freemen in the proportion of 87 to 13, and 5 of the last were oppressed people of colour. Nearly a similar disproportion exists throughout the whole of the West Indies. The distribution, too, of the different castes adds much to the security of the island, especially that of the "*mou-teros*," who can so readily over-awe any tumultuary proceedings, as we have already stated, and the constant presence of a large military force, such as has been latterly assembled in Cuba, would essentially conduce to the same end. In aid of these circumstances may be adduced the liberality with which the free coloured people are treated. Experience teaches us that all mankind cling most naturally to that which confers respectability, and we are persuaded that, consistently with this principle, the free coloured class will join their white relatives in the event of danger, unless goaded into a contrary conduct. This is a circumstance worth attending to in our own colonies; but more so in those of France.

The facilities of emancipation afforded in numerous ways, and the frequency of it, together with the natural decrease of the slaves, owing to the large excess of males, while the two other castes are rapidly augmenting, afford further grounds for considering the risk of another explosion similar to that of Haiti exceedingly improbable. But perfect immunity from partial risings can never be ensured, even though the slave trade should immediately cease, which it ought unquestionably to do.

M. Humboldt has included in the "*Essai Politique*" an interesting essay on the consumption of sugar, some of the results of which are abundantly curious. By his estimate 9,744,000 cwt. of sugar is introduced into Europe and the United States from the Western World alone. The data as to what is derived from India are too vague for any correct statement, but it is certainly considerable. Great Britain, France, and the United States consume more than one-half of the whole. The consumption of Holland, Italy, and the other states of Europe cannot be determined, as it is confounded with what is re-exported. In Great Britain it increased six-fold between 1808 and 1822. In France it has also largely increased, as well as in America. The relative consumption of these three countries are in the above order—5, 4—2, 1—1, 0. We cannot pursue this subject further without exceeding the limits that we have assigned to ourselves. It is, however, entitled to minute consideration from all who are interested in statistical researches connected with the colonies, and if thoroughly pursued, would probably throw considerable light on some branches of financial legislation which have not hitherto been suf-

ficiently understood,—we mean the question at issue between the East and West India sugar-growers.

The Supplement consists of a series of considerations on the present state of the countries in America, including the islands, preceded by some short notices of their previous condition. The extent of each, the area, population, productions, trade, facilities for communicating by canals between the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean, and other matters of interest, are in turn examined with our author's wonted ability; but as even an imperfect analysis of that examination would involve us in too extensive a digression, we shall content ourselves at present with referring to the work itself, premising that though a few errors may have crept in, the perusal of this part will amply reward the inquisitive reader.

In this work Baron Humboldt fully sustains the reputation which he has long since established by his researches into every branch of science. Of him it may be truly said, that he has approached philosophy in all its departments with a success almost inconsistent with the bounded faculties of humanity. No praise from us can add to his laurels; neither can any suggestion of ours of possible error on his part detract from them. We have no hesitation, then, in saying, that probably owing to his ignorance of the extent of party feeling on certain subjects in this country, he has in many instances adopted, as correct, the statements of partizans, which, if they had ever been subjected to his powerful alembic, would have been cast away as useless products. The question of slavery, into which he has largely entered, is the most important point to which we refer. And though he admits the efforts of proprietors in easy circumstances, who have shown a noble solicitude for the amelioration of the condition of their slaves; yet he occasionally throws out general insinuations, which prove that he cannot have had an opportunity of knowing correctly the positive improvements of recent years, at least in the British colonies, nor of witnessing the tone of feeling that pervades the great mass of proprietors, whether resident in Great Britain or the colonies. Lord Seaford is cited as an authority for many statements by Baron Humboldt. Had the latter pursued the subject further, and wished to ascertain how far the spirit of improvement in our Western colonies had gone, he might, without difficulty, we are convinced, have obtained from the same source some important information. And of this we are sure, that the school-fellow—the college companion—the parliamentary friend and private associate of George Canning, would not have led him astray. To have enjoyed, indeed, that intimacy through life, is evidence of a kindred spirit, and justifies our confidence in the survivor. Al-

though the distinguished wit, poet, orator, and statesman has ceased to be a living example, we believe that his spirit still sheds a moral influence over those who were hallowed by his friendship; and that even where all his inspiration has not been transfused, there will be found among those who loved him in life and honour him in death, the same decided regard for truth, the same undeviating integrity, the same undisguised contempt for cant, whether in politics, in humanity, or in (the mightiest of human affairs) religion. The present work is characterised by the same faults and beauties which distinguish Humboldt's other publications. It is full of important matter, treated in a most elaborate manner; the tables are clear, and satisfactory wherever the data are to be depended on: but there is a prolixity of detail, a multiplication of proofs, and a constant repetition of facts, which although they show the author's zeal for accuracy, fatigue and perplex the ordinary reader. M. Humboldt's familiarity with matters which exact a painful effort fully to understand, is undoubtedly the cause of this accumulation of evidence. The style is, upon the whole, clear; and the occasional bursts of feeling are forcible and natural. Whether old predilection for our traveller (founded on an intimate knowledge of his zeal, talents, and devotion to science) may have any share in the opinion expressed, we pretend not to say; but we refer to what he has done in vindication of its justice. And we confidently hold him up as the best living model for all who devote themselves to the service of science. Even in those whose means of extended observation may be restricted by pecuniary wants, his indefatigable industry, his profound research, should excite unceasing zeal: for although few can hope to rival his brilliant career, all may imitate at an humble distance.

ART. III.—*Esprit, Origine et Progrès des Institutions Judiciaires des principaux pays de l'Europe*. Par J. D. Meyer, Chevalier de l'Ordre royal du Lion Belgique, &c. &c. &c. 5 tom. 8vo. Paris et Amsterdam. 1823.

It is difficult for a literary journal to keep anything like even measure with the progress of contemporary publication, unless by renouncing the ambitious character of original authorship, and condescending to revert to the humbler office from which we derive our institution. Without, however, venturing to estimate the loss which would accrue to the world of science, from being all at once deprived of the lights so long afforded it by our brother-critics, we may at least be permitted to question whether a Review

devoted to Foreign Literature, may not answer the purposes of utility better in adhering strictly to its professed object, than in aspiring to teach or to legislate; and if on any subject it is desirable for our readers to be informed of what is thought, and spoken, and written, at Paris, Berlin, or Vienna, rather than what *we* (reviewers) cogitate, or might feel inclined to utter as the result of our own meditations, it is on the great topics of national improvement and political science that they are assuredly most interested in demanding to be so instructed.

Under this impression, we lately noticed the work of M. Rey, as the estimate formed by an intelligent foreigner, (certainly not bigoted in favour of *any* existing institutions,) of the comparative merits of France and England in respect of their judicial establishments; and we shall now pursue the same course in the account which we propose to give of a work, more extensive in subject, higher in point of celebrity, and anterior in date, to that of the "*ancien magistrat de Grenoble*," and one which we believe may be justly regarded as a text authority in the science of legislation.

Before we proceed to a survey of its contents, it may be necessary for the information of some of our readers, just to advert to the controversy, which has long subsisted among foreign jurists, between the partisans of (what is called) "*Codification*" and their adversaries;—a controversy into which we feel no disposition to enter, except only to remark that we consider ourselves, as Englishmen, no further concerned in it than as it may be a question with some, whether the great work of reform in our own laws, now admitted on all hands to be indispensable, ought to be conducted on a systematic plan, or to be still left (as has hitherto been the case) to the gradual operation of accident and necessity. It has long been a favourite maxim of our statesmen and lawyers, "*to leave,*" as they say, "*well alone,*"—to seek for no remedy till some partial evil has grown to such a height as absolutely to force itself on the notice of the physician, and even then to admit it only to the extent of the actual exigency. A more provident and philosophical spirit has begun to make itself manifest; and if in contributing our humble efforts to its encouragement, we resort to the works of foreign jurists as the vehicles of instruction, we shall pursue this course with the less reluctance, as the writers to whom we refer are, one and all, proud to acknowledge their obligations to an English prototype, to whom they bow with the reverence due to the founder of a new science, which is justly regarded as such in every country except that in which it originated. *Here* indeed we have still a few among our lakes and mountains, and some perhaps even in our courts of law, who affect to ridicule everything

that appears to militate against their interests or prejudices, and who think by a pun or a nickname to check the rapid progress of improvement in legislative science—ignorant of the revolution, which the lapse of a few years has made in the wants as well as the habits of society—that our insular position, though it saved us from the horrors of military invasion, has proved no bulwark against the introduction of new manners and new opinions, and that England is now no more the England of half a century since, than France is the France of Louis the Fifteenth and his mistresses. Whether for better or worse, a great and systematic change has begun and is still in progress. Our venerable friends, the Roger Dodsworths of the day,* may arrest it just as much as a fly can stop the course of a chariot wheel. Work it must and will, in spite of them, to its completion; and a far wiser plan of conduct would be to watch, and now and then try to direct its movements, than to sit by and whine about the “*bon vieil temps*,” which has passed by for ever.

M. Meyer having been often referred to, both by “codificators” and their opponents, as an authority in support of their rival doctrines,† we think it will not be inexpedient if we have recourse to his own exposition of his principles, and of the design of his work, that our readers may be enabled to judge which party has most right to claim him as a champion on its side of the controversy. After observing, that of all the monuments of historical knowledge, the most important and interesting are those which are presented to us in the laws and judicial institutions of nations—that these constitute the purest source of the philosophy of history—but that the science of legislation is itself scarcely more ancient than that philosophy, and its application of even still more recent adoption—that from the time of the Emperor Adrian and his “perpetual edict,” everything known by the name of Code was no more than a mere digest or compilation, admitting but, at most, of a few partial modifications from the hand of the legislator—and that several countries of Europe are still without any systematic provision in respect of laws, while others have been

* “Yes, sleeper of ages, thou shalt be their chosen;
And deeply with thee will they sorrow, good men,
To think that all Europe has, since thou wert froen,
So alter'd, thou hardly wilt know it again.”

Odes upon Cash, Corn, Catholics, &c.

† Great pains have been taken, at least on one side of the question, to raise this dispute, which we very much suspect is one of mere words, to the dignity of a serious controversy; and since these sheets were in the press we have seen the announcement of a work dedicated to the exposure of “THE HUMPHREYSIAN CODE!!!” which we have moreover heard oracularly pronounced to be something quite conclusive in bar of all Codes, past, present, and to come! Until we shall have read the book, we must beg leave to doubt the infallibility of the Oracle.

subjected to various experiments, resulting from the acknowledged incoherence of existing usages, and attended with various success in the operation of them,—he proceeds thus to state the question:—

“Is it more advantageous to possess systems of legislation, codes of law introduced simultaneously, or is it better to follow usage only? This is a question which might appear to admit of no doubt, and which is nevertheless a subject of controversy between the most learned authors. The partisans of systematic legislation have abundance of arguments in support of their opinion; they rely on the contrast which necessarily exists between the phenomena resulting from acts of occasional legislation, and those produced by usages, the origin of which is connected with a state of manners quite different from those of the present time; they allege that the laws ought to harmonize with existing circumstances, and that ancient customs cannot suit modern times; that a jurisprudence which has its basis in laws and usages exclusively appertaining to past ages, cannot march with the age, and that if it lags behind, we are exposed to see barbarous decisions in the midst of liberal institutions, and judgments tinged with the ignorance of other days, and marked by prejudices to which the present state of society is superior. On the other hand, those who are opposed to new systems of legislation, refer to the experience of ages and the small success of the greatest portion of new laws; they assert that it is impossible to impose on a people laws which are at variance with its manners; that a nation rejects such as are foreign to its actual mode of existence; that systematic laws are always insufficient, and cannot provide for all cases, while usages founded on the habits of those who practise them, provide for every kind which can occur; that the Roman laws, those of the ancient Germans, the customs of the provinces of France and the Netherlands, the common law of England, the principles most generally admitted in Germany, all derive their merit, and the duration of their obligatory force, from the single reason that they are the epitome of usages consigned to writing; that custom purifies itself by time, and that the dispositions of the Roman law, especially those of the *Digest*, have been in all ages acknowledged as written reason, solely because they were not made at once, but have been produced by the habits of an eminently wise people, and collected together in the works of juriconsults who were fully sensible of the importance of their task.*

“But is it necessary to admit this diversity of system in theoretical and practical jurisprudence? Perhaps the distinction exists less in reality than in the different points of view in which legislation is considered. If, on the one hand, it is true, that ancient usages cannot, without serious inconvenience, become the sole and exclusive basis of law, that the disparities resulting from it would be such as to shock the understanding, and that laws ought to vary with the spirit of the times; if, on the other hand, new systems of legislation have not fully answered

* This is the system advocated by Savigny in his work *Ueber das Befugnis unseres Zeit-alters zur Gesetzgebung*.

the expectations of those who wished to have them adopted; if those nations on which they have been attempted to be imposed have rejected them, or have only waited the first favourable moment to return to their ancient usages, we think it would be easy to reconcile these different opinions, or rather to demonstrate that they are not so opposite as they appear."—*Introduction*, p. vii—xi.

The steps by which he attempts the task of reconciliation, are such as, in our judgment, to afford the advocates of neither the one nor the other opinion the triumph of a victory, while they are such also as to render the dispute worse than trifling, inasmuch as it tends to divert the attention of the combatants from the great principle of practical utility, which ought alone to guide and regulate their efforts. The ground taken by those who oppose systematic legislation, (M. Meyer means of course its *rational* opponents—there are others with whom it would be vain to argue,) is, that the necessary amendments of law are sufficiently indicated by the changes of time and of the corresponding habits of society, which prepare the way for, and force them into adoption. Let us pay all respect, says our author, to customs and usages—let us be tender even to prejudices, the result of long-cherished habit; but let us at the same time allow that the alteration of laws, even though left to be indicated by the progress of society, is not less the province of the legislator, whose duty it is to sanction the innovations of custom, by guarding against confusion, and to ensure order and regularity in the progress of abolition as well as of new enactment. This, he adds, is no other than the course pursued under Justinian in his Institutes, and in the compilations of the Code and Digest—the very examples on which the detractors of systems place their reliance; whilst they, in like manner, forget the intimate connection which exists between the separate branches of legislation, and that it is in vain to attempt the substantial reform of any, without a perfect understanding of its dependencies upon the whole body of which it forms a part.

Every country possesses something of a system of legislation—even those in which laws and customs are least in unison, having been introduced in succession, and without reference to any fixed principles. However different in their origin, they are bound together by habit, and made to amalgamate; and it is as much the duty of the legislature to watch over every partial alteration of such a system, as over those more general changes of the entire fabric which great political events sometimes bring about, and of which our own times have furnished us with so many examples. Whether the object in contemplation be of great or small dimensions, utility is still the pole-star which ought to guide us; but the mischief is, that men are apt to overlook the importance of

particular laws, which are often passed hastily and without combination or foresight; presenting points of contradiction to others which are still retained, or overturning in their execution the application of general principles till then regularly followed, and on which it is probable that the makers of the law never once reflected.

"Wherever, therefore, the detractors of theoretical legislation declaim against the abuse of systems which offer just and beautiful combinations in theory, but want the sanction of experience, they have but too much reason for their inculpations, when the projected systems are taken at random; but if it would be unpardonable to lose sight of the manners, usages, and peculiar circumstances of a nation, merely for the sake of supporting a consistent and well-combined theory, still less is it prudent to regard each object separately, without looking to the harmony which should subsist between the parts of one whole, without endeavouring to prevent the rubs which the introduction of any novelty whatever must always occasion, without avoiding the subtilties into which we necessarily fall in seeking to apply laws not proceeding from the same principle, and making institutions march in the same file with others of a wholly opposite tendency. Practice and habit finally reconcile things which are most dissimilar in appearance, and time makes the want of conformity, which might at first exist between such dispositions, be forgotten; but the just application of the theoretical science of legislation may tend to preserve harmony between the parts of the same system; it may effect by anticipation what experience can only give after a considerable lapse of time; it may prevent the inconveniences which habit alone is slow in removing. The whole question is reduced, therefore, to the knowledge of how much the legislator ought to allow to theory, and how much to the usages of the nation for which his laws are destined.

"He who would give laws to a people, which should in process of time contribute to their prosperity, and prevent the inconveniences to which new laws and institutions, whether general or partial, must give rise, ought therefore to be well acquainted with the laws, usages, and habits of that people; but he must not confine himself to their present dispositions only; he must catch their spirit, and consequently inform himself thoroughly of their origin, the circumstances which produced them; the modifications they have undergone, the different stages of jurisprudence at which they have arrived; he should know the revolutions which the nation itself has passed through in its government, its customs, its relations during peace and war with its neighbours; he ought to look to the character of the sovereign and his councillors; to the state of internal peace which the people have enjoyed, or the troubles which have agitated them during such and such a reign; to the state of the finances, which may from their derangement excuse or necessitate measures otherwise imprudent, or by their flourishing condition authorize such as would be otherwise impracticable; the national resources; the commerce; in a word, he ought to study deeply the history of the people, in order to understand completely the changes which may have

taken place in their legislation, with their causes as well as their effects; and it is in this sense that Montesquieu said '*qu'il faut éclairer les lois par l'histoire.*'

"To be enabled to profit by the experience of ages, in a matter so delicate as that on which the happiness of mankind in a great degree depends, we must not confine our inquiries solely to the country for which a new system of laws is destined; we must extend our observations to the legislative systems of other nations, and especially of such as in their situation, connections, wants and resources, present the greatest resemblance to that to which we have devoted the results of our knowledge. It is by a sedulous study of the progress of their laws, and an attentive examination of them, that we succeed in collecting the results of the experience of all these nations on the different points of legislation.

"The labour which we demand is immense; the information required is almost boundless; the research, probably, beyond the powers of any single individual; but they are indispensable preliminaries to the undertaking of the most glorious task to which a man can devote himself, a task which the ancients reserved exclusively for their gods, or for those who were favoured with their immediate inspirations. What recompense is not due to him who succeeds in establishing, by a good system of laws, the happiness of a whole nation? A happiness so much the more real, that it is connected with every action, even the most trifling, every social relation, every tie which attaches man to all that is most dear to him! But on the other hand, what a serious responsibility rests on him who abandons the welfare of a whole nation to chance, who runs the risk of poisoning the very well-spring of all their rights, of all their actions, of all their habits! A new system of laws is always an extremely dangerous experiment; it requires to be thoroughly examined and well combined, previously to placing the social body and individual citizens under its sway: there is no labour, no care that can be considered too great, with reference to an object of such importance: there is no prize too high for the deserts of him who ensures the great object of all society—the liberty, security, and tranquillity of every one of its members."—*Introduction*, p. xvii—xxiii.

We have indulged in some length of quotation; but the high character of the work renders it an object of no small importance that the opinions of its author on the general subject of legislation—a subject of such vital and pressing interest to ourselves—should be accurately known and well considered. His great maxim seems to be, that in all plans of reform, experience should be our guide, and utility our object. He adopts in its full force the doctrine of Montesquieu, who inculcates the intimate relation and mutual dependencies of law and history; and if he does not suffer himself to be cited as an authority in support of the dreams of theoretical and abstract perfection in the art of legislation, still less is he liable to be called in aid of those who maintain the in-

violability of existing institutions, or the timid policy of half-measures, in the great work of amendment.

From discussing the general principles of legislation, M. Meyer goes on to estimate the relative importance of its several branches; and in this part of his introduction the observations he makes are no less deserving the attention of those who, though well-wishers to the cause of reform, and zealous to promote its accomplishment, are alarmed by the magnitude of the object, and uncertain where or how to begin in so extensive a field of operation.

"Nevertheless," he observes, "all parts of legislation, though forming a complete whole, are not equally interesting in their consequences, nor equally dependant on historical association." "Generally speaking," he continues, "those laws to which the citizen is left free, whether he will or will not subject himself, call for the least immediate attention—such are the civil and commercial systems—those, for instance, which regulate succession in case of intestacy." "Accordingly," he says, "we have seen frequent examples of nations adopting, in these respects, the entire institutions of foreign countries, with which they have nothing else in common;" and he instances "the reception (universal with the exception of England) of the Roman law among all the nations of Europe, the commercial laws of Rhodes, the customs of Oleron, and the usages of Catalonia, known by the name of *Consulatus Maris*." From this general remark are to be excepted those laws which affect the rights of *persons* only.

Next to civil laws, in the ascending scale of interest and importance, he places the penal—a position which he acknowledges may be taxed as paradoxical, but which he undertakes to defend upon principles both of theory and experience. Penal laws affect directly the interests of but a small number of individuals, and those (for the most part) of least weight and influence in the state. All men are free to keep out of their reach; and, notwithstanding the vast importance which has been assigned them in the writings of some whose zeal (let it be remembered that it is M. Meyer whose sentiments we are recording) "does more honour to their philanthropy than to their penetration"—notwithstanding the interests of humanity, the circumstances which often make us lose sight of the criminal in contemplating the unfortunate—notwithstanding the immediate influence of the state of society upon punishments, and of punishments upon morals—notwithstanding the undoubted right of every individual to the protection of the state of which he is a member—all which form abundance of motives for assigning to this branch of legislation a rank superior to that before treated of—yet experience teaches that neither is this essentially connected with history; "that its changes are

quite independent of the variations which nations undergo in their forms of government; that it has advanced or retrograded with the manners of the age, but has always been a stranger to the great revolutions of empires."

Of far more immediate importance to society at large than the actual dispositions of either the civil or the penal code, are the forms of *Procedure* necessary to the attainment of justice. Here it is that one at least of the parties in every litigation finds himself compelled by the act of his adversary to submit his rights to the restriction of certain arbitrary rules, from which he cannot withdraw himself; and that without any fault or neglect of his own, and without any privilege or exemption in respect of wealth, station, or probity. Here every citizen of the state is alike interested in the attainment of a system calculated to afford security against the effects of unnecessary delay on the one hand, and of undue precipitation on the other: and here also we find experience come in aid of theory, it being seldom that a nation has undergone any considerable revolution in its political existence without its consequences being perceptible in the state of its laws of procedure; while history may be ransacked in vain to produce any instance of a people which, without the loss of its own national independence, has adopted those of a foreign country. And it is to this principle that our author ascribes the introduction of the canon law, as a general rule of procedure among the several nations of Europe which adopted the principles of the Roman civil law, without its forms, but which all equally acknowledged the authority of a clergy forming a separate power, and connected by one common interest, throughout Christendom.

But whatever may be the relative importance of the several branches of legislation already noticed, they all must yield, in point of vital interest and intimate connection with the whole frame of government, to the judicial establishments of a nation—"meaning, by its *judicial establishments*, those which the laws have instituted for the administration of justice—the measures taken to enable every citizen to exercise all his rights, and to exact all his dues." The form of the tribunals—the extent of their jurisdiction—their relations with constituted authorities as well as with private individuals—such are the weighty considerations which fall within the province of this head of inquiry. It is difficult to become thoroughly acquainted with these institutions, unless we also examine the forms of procedure which fall within their immediate influence; and it is impossible to acquire a knowledge of these without that of the other branches of administration to which they are placed in constant relation. But they possess a still higher claim to our veneration, when we reflect how closely

they are incorporated with the constitution and character of a people, inasmuch that history records not a single example of any nation which, without actual subjugation, has ever adopted the entire judicial system of any other; and in whatever cases transplantation has been attempted, the exotic has either not taken root, or has soon totally degenerated—a result of experience, observes our author, which confirms the necessity of examining these institutions by the light of history—illustrating the failure attendant upon a contrary line of experiment by the recent example of the introduction into France of the English trial by jury, and by the more ancient one of the adoption of the French “*ministère public*” by the Dukes of Burgundy for the administration of their dominions in the Low Countries, both which attempts resulted in the formation of institutions wholly dissimilar to those on which they were modelled.

“Nevertheless,” he continues, (and here we must be pardoned another quotation, in consideration of the importance of a subject on which it is so desirable that there should be no misunderstanding.)

“we are no believers in the impossibility of making a nation participate in the acknowledged benefits of an institution established among its neighbours; but the attempt requires great caution, and a perfect knowledge of everything connected with the novelty sought to be introduced. To naturalize it in a foreign country, it is indispensable to be fully informed as to its real spirit, and the relations existing between the habits and the government of the nation possessed of the institution, as well as the laws which relate to it; it is equally indispensable to know exactly to what part of the system an institution is attached for which another is desired to be substituted, in order to modify the latter so as to retain its essence, and at the same time preserve the threads of ancient usages which continue to subsist, and unite them with the new forms desired to be substituted for the previous ones. It is only by taking these precautions that one can hope for any success in a projected innovation. As a gardener ought to know the nature of the twig which he means to engraft, as well as of the tree on which it is to be grafted; to distinguish and preserve the tubes by which the sap circulates from the stock to the graft; and to carefully extirpate everything which could obstruct or pervert this communication—a legislator who seeks to impart to one nation the benefit of the institutions of another, ought to be thoroughly acquainted with those he wishes to introduce, as well as those for which they are to be substituted; he ought to know what habits are favourable to this introduction, and what are opposed to it; he ought to encourage the first, and make the last be forgotten. The usages of a people are not the fit subjects of regulation; manners yield no obedience to written laws; but nothing is more easy to him who really deserves the name of legislator than to bring them quietly and imperceptibly to the wished-for point; to concede mildly such articles as are not essential to

the proposed measure ; to sacrifice some of the accessaries ; to admit unimportant modifications ; to carry the semblance of yielding to customs in externals, without giving up a jot of strict principle, without ever losing sight of the essential object ; and in this manner to succeed in procuring the adoption of, and in naturalizing an institution which he could not have established without these precautions.

"Of what use would experience be in matters of legislation, if we were forced to abandon ourselves blindly to custom in what relates to the most interesting part of the laws, if it was previously admitted to be impossible to transmit from one age or from one country to another institutions calculated to improve its condition. The task of a legislator is extremely difficult, and if new laws are frequent, that frequency is probably a sign of the want of vocation of those who pretend to the title. The true legislator, anxious to give really useful and permanent laws, desirous of doing good, but aware of the difficulties opposed to him, who appreciates the danger of every experiment, and is fully sensible of the importance of his undertaking, is a rare character: he is slow in determining, he does not take up this or that institution by chance, he adopts no system beforehand, he belongs to no party ; but he corrects system by experience, and arranges the results of experience according to theory. He will be very frequently tempted to give up his task, but never will he give up anything to the circumstances of the moment, never will he precipitate his labours, never will he dishonour them by base adulation ; whatever may be the state of a nation, he will know that although its laws may be defective, it is better to retain them for any length of time, than to augment confusion by substituting another system of legislation equally unsuitable, or entangling it by partial alterations."—p. xli—xlv.

The age in which we live, he proceeds to observe, is peculiarly interesting in this point of view. Ancient customs are everywhere subverted or shaken ; their defects are no longer attempted to be concealed ; and even in England, the country of all others most distinguished by attachment to habit, nobody any longer makes a mystery of entertaining these sentiments. "On crie tous les jours à la réforme, et on tente plus d'une innovation."

It is needless to follow our author any further in his introductory essay, after having so fully made known by our extracts the general scope of his reasoning ; and it would be impossible, within the limits of a review, to present an analysis of the first and succeeding volumes, in which, after tracing the origin and progress of those existing institutions which he subsequently examines more in detail, and deriving them from the ancient Germans—in opposition to some very ingenious writers,* who have preferred seeking their source in the civil law of Rome,—he goes on to examine successively those of England, of France under the ancient monarchy,

* Among these it would be unjust to neglect the opportunity of complimenting the learning and industry manifested by our countryman, Mr. Spence, in his "Inquiry into the Origin of the Laws and Political Institutions of Modern Europe."

of the Netherlands, of Germany, and of France since the Revolution. It is impossible, we repeat, that any analysis can give a correct or useful view of the contents of such a work as this, which calls for, and demands, the undivided attention of all who are desirous of studying legislation as a science, and forming their opinions with reference to that subject, which is, of all others, most important to the happiness and welfare of man in his civil capacity, on the broad basis of philosophical experience; and contenting ourselves with earnestly recommending the diligent perusal of it (especially of the second, third and fourth volumes) to such as are so minded, we shall occupy the space now remaining to us with a brief abstract of the fifth and concluding volume, (being the third part of the treatise,) in which the author professes to give "the result of the principles to be deduced from the historical parts; to examine separately each of the institutions which strikes him in the light of greatest utility; to attempt the development of its advantages and disadvantages; to discern the causes which have favoured or impeded its consequences, the daily habits and usages of the people, or the parts of the administrative organization to which they are attached, and by which consequently the introduction of any new measure ought to be modified. This third division," he adds, "which contains the application of the two former, partakes of the science of legislation; it is the part most essential, the true object of our labours: the historical division, and that in which history and jurisprudence are mingled, are only the proofs of those facts of which the results are here developed."

We now proceed to present our readers with a short summary of those results, following the order in which the author has marshalled them.

I. Of all moral sciences there is none of more extensive utility than that which teaches the relative duties of the sovereign and his people. Legislation, in its widest sense, comprises all those relations. It regulates the limits of authority and obedience; prescribes the mode of administration, the functions of the magistrate, and the rights of the subject; the extent of the sacrifices necessary for the maintenance of order and of public tranquillity, the nature of the penalties required to enforce it. It ascertains the degrees of relationship, and the duties arising out of the marriage contract; establishes the rights of property, and provides the means of ensuring to society collectively, as well as to individuals, the free exercise of whatever is permitted. The excellence of any system of legislation depends on the degree of accuracy with which it defines the objects within its scope, and on its conformity with the habits and character of the people for whose use it is destined.

The task of the legislator is one of extreme difficulty, owing to the absence of anything like mathematical precision in the principles of his science. Certain it is, that no system of laws, however perfect in itself, is a fit subject for transplantation to a soil not prepared for its reception; and in every case which can arise, it is a question of the greatest nicety and importance, whether to any, and if any to what, extent, the institutions of one nation can be safely and beneficially made the rule of conduct for another. The great danger is that of becoming disgusted with the failure of experiments, perhaps injudiciously attempted, and of too hastily arriving at the conclusion, that to form a good system of legislation is an achievement beyond the scope of human ability—a grievous error, and one which results only from having set out with an improper estimate of the difficulties to be surmounted.

“The legislator is not the slave of circumstances; he is able, and it is one of his most important functions, to model the form of the government and the habits of the nation after the prototype of his own formation; he may improve that which is bad, supply actual deficiencies, retrench what is superfluous, substitute a wise and well-understood economy for a necessary complicated redundancy of means; conceal what ought not to be publicly exposed, and make public what is unseasonably enveloped in mystery; in short, bring everything up to the idea of perfection which the human mind ought always to have before it. It is impossible to point out beforehand the exact road which he, who is desirous by a new system of laws to improve the situation of his fellow-citizens, ought to follow. When he finds himself called to these august functions, at one of those moments of trouble and agitation at which the most apparently solid foundations of empires are shaken; when principles which had never been before doubted are brought into question, and established notions overturned: or even at one of those later periods, when the dawn of tranquillity still leaves in vagueness and uncertainty the new relations to which the preceding revolution has given birth—he may boldly proclaim his designs; he has less reason to be apprehensive of falling short of, than of exceeding, the bounds desired; and the spirit of innovation is a powerful spring at his disposal. If, on the other hand, legislation is attempted at a season of peace and tranquillity, the legislator can only introduce even the most useful changes with slowness and prudence; he must carefully conceal his progress, and study appearances to the utmost; he must beware of shocking existing interests; the inertia of tranquillity will be opposed to any bold attempt; he ought to be deeply impressed with the truth, that ‘*le bien est l’ennemi du mieux*’; he need have no fear of being carried beyond his mark, but he may not be able to reach it, and his task will be only so much the more difficult.”—pp. 11, 12.

II. The first and most arduous duty of the legislator is accurately to define, and carefully to observe, the distinction between the several branches of sovereign authority. The legislative, executive (or administrative), and judicial functions are each of

separate origin, and perfectly distinct in their nature and objects, to confound which is to inflict on the community one of the greatest mischiefs it can sustain. The right of modifying the application of law may, indeed, be delegated by the legislator; but it is indispensable to the due exercise of this important privilege, that the competent authority be clearly designated, and its limits accurately defined. One of the most obvious examples in illustration of this axiom is to be found in the privilege of *pardon*—a branch of the royal prerogative sufficient, in the opinion of Blackstone, of itself to constitute a principal advantage of monarchy over every other form of government; since in those, (as, for instance, democracies,) where no other authority is acknowledged than that of the magistrate by whom the laws are administered, the power of pardoning must either have no existence, or must centre in the person of the judge, and produce the very confusion which is so much deprecated.

Another matter, which we would ourselves suggest as deserving of very serious consideration, and falling expressly within the present division of our subject, is the power assumed and frequently exercised by our English judges, of framing and issuing general orders for the regulation of the forms of proceeding in their respective courts; extending in some instances so far as to involve questions of positive right, and which can scarcely be abridged, altered, or varied, in any important particular, without a direct encroachment on the province of the legislature. At the same time, the question, to what extent the principle of practical convenience may be admitted, in such cases, to prevail over theoretical consistency, is one certainly of extreme nicety, and which we are far from presuming to decide; but, at a period in the history of legislation, when that division of the legal system, which we may be allowed to designate *generically* as “the Code of Procedure,” has been elevated by the universal consent of jurists to a point of importance which, in ruder ages, it was seldom, and very imperfectly, understood as possessing, we feel that it is not enough, in order to justify the retention by judges of a branch of duty so widely different from, and inconsistent with, that which is their immediate and acknowledged province; to appeal to the example of former times, and to say that, in regulating the forms of procedure of the courts over which they preside, they only follow in the steps of their predecessors, by exercising the privilege of modifying those rules which they perhaps introduced and sanctioned.

We add no more than for the purpose of summing up this important division of the subject, in the words of the author.

“If the legislator never concerns himself with regulations of a particular or limited nature; if the administrative authority never takes upon itself either to make general laws, to modify those in existence, or

to regulate the rights of individuals; if the judge never pronounces any judgment except upon the case immediately before him; if he yields the obedience which he owes to the laws; if he examines the extrinsic validity of the allegations submitted to him, without pretending to the specific value of acts of authority, and without seeking to give effect to incompetent ordinances; the government will never experience those inconveniences which are the inseparable result of conflicting powers."—vol. v. p. 58.

III. In proceeding to inquire into the nature of law itself, with reference to the principles to be observed in its construction, the first which presents itself is the grand requisite that every system of law should be plain and intelligible to those whom it is intended to bind to the observance of it. Here, however, our author draws a distinction, which places him a little at variance with some of those most profoundly versed in the science of legislation, but which we think quite consonant to the dictates of practical good sense and experience. It is not, he observes, necessary that the law should be so minute in its details, or so obvious, in every particular, to the most ordinary capacity, as that, without any previous knowledge or application, every individual may be enabled at once to comprehend all its dispositions and intendments. That which is really requisite is that the law should be intrinsically well adapted to the object in view—that it should comprise the general features of every case without descending to specific enumeration; and, above all, that the legislator should himself be at the pains of understanding the subject on which he is about to legislate. Law, it is rightly added, is not meant to supply the defects of gross ignorance or culpable inattention. Precision and brevity—a scrupulous regard to the constant use of the same words in the same acceptation—an equally scrupulous avoidance of the use of pleonasm and synonyms, and of all vain repetitions, especially if accompanied with unmeaning variations in the expression; these are the observances which the citizen has a right to demand, and which, if they are sufficiently kept in view, are such as to leave him without a pretext for disobedience.

Mr. Meyer again differs from Bentham on the point of definition, which he regards as wholly beyond the scope of legislation, except where the act prescribed or prohibited is one which depends on the mere will of the sovereign. On this subject, he holds to the doctrine that "*omnis definitio in jure civili periculosa est; parum est enim ut subverti nequeat.*" Thus, he says, what end would it answer to preface a code of matrimonial institutions by declaring that marriage is the contract between man and wife, or that the intention of marriage is the procreation of

children. No definition of the legislature can alter the moral nature of the institution. But put the case of homicide—unintentional or premeditated—justifiable or merely excusable—these are distinctions which the law itself creates, and which every body at once sees the necessity of accurately defining.

“Law is not a treatise on jurisprudence; its province is only to dictate what the subject ought to do or to abstain from doing; it was never designed to analyse the science, or to render it comprehensible to those who wish to study it; it lays down rules of conduct accessible and applicable to every individual; divisions, distinctions, and limitations, are not within its jurisdiction, at least, not unless they are prescribed by the legislature. In all cases when divisions depend upon the law, it is indispensable that they should be precisely indicated; but when they are traced by the hand of nature herself, when they arise from a pre-existing relation, which the legislator can neither change nor modify, the law has nothing to do with them.”*

IV. The next principle established is that which our author designates by the very intelligible compound phrase, *non-retro-activity*—a principle which, however simple and undeniable in point of justice, is not unfrequently attended with considerable difficulty in the execution. In its application, for instance, to contracts, the question of pre-existence must necessarily be often one of great nicety and refinement. The date of the contract may be easily ascertained to be prior to that of the new enactment; but it may be attended with many posterior consequences, and it is too much to say that the new law shall have no effect on the consequences, however remote, of a prior contract. Under this head also falls the consideration of all dispensing powers and privileges—and that of the interpretation of laws defective in point of precision or clearness;—with reference to which last class of possible cases, as well as to obviate a continual recurrence to the fountain head from which the law has emanated, the French code declares that the judge who shall refuse to decide on pretence that the law is hurtful, obscure, or imperfect, is guilty of a dereliction of duty, which requires him to supply by reasoning and analogy such omissions as he thinks himself to have discovered. This remarkable provision is not, indeed, intended to absolve the judge from the duty of pointing out to the

* “It seems that the Emperor Justinian, when he inserted new dispositions in the institutes, and gave them the force of law, set an example to future legislators of composing treatises of law endowed with obligatory qualities: yet the constitution which sanctioned these institutes, gives ground to imagine that his intention was never to attribute to them the character of positive law, but merely to compose an elementary treatise, destined for a basis of legal study, and clothed with the imperial approbation, necessary to its being received in the schools, according to the terms required by I. Sect. 12. Cod. de veteri jure enucleando. In proof of which, the confirmation of the institutes is in fact addressed to the Students of Law.”

legislature the nature of the difficulty he has experienced; on the contrary, we find no principle more strongly enforced than that of giving every facility to a free intercourse between the judicial and legislative branches of government, with regard (among others) to this very object. But, that the sovereign authority may not be exposed to incessant importunity on the subject of unfounded or frivolous objections, it seems indispensable, (in the words of our author,)—

“ in the first place not to admit any necessity of interpreting laws except where the highest tribunals, whose decisions are unassailable by the ordinary methods, are at variance as to the meaning of the expressions which the legislator has made use of;” 2. “ that the opposition should be reiterated; every body of persons, like every individual, is liable to error, and may have considered the same thing in a different point of view from that which led to the formation of the opposite opinion; a re-examination, deeper and more considerate than the first, and made with special attention to the arguments which formed the motives of the former decision, may often lead a judge to retract an erroneous opinion, by giving him an insight into the true meaning of a mistaken law;” 3. “ where a diversity of opinions has repeatedly manifested itself only between the same two individuals, or bodies of persons, (which may be the effect of obstinacy or prejudice,) it seems right that at least some third party should be consulted, to the end that the sovereign may not be compelled to have recourse to legislative interpretation, embracing the avowal of a defect in redaction, solely because two judges, or two tribunals, of different opinions, have obstinately persisted in retaining them. From all which it follows that, to create a necessity for an authoritative interpretation, there must be a diversity of opinion, repeatedly manifested, between several different judges or tribunals, whose judgments are unassailable by the ordinary methods of impeachment.”—p. 88.

In other words, the imputed defect should be of such nature as to be incapable of being set right on appeal to a superior tribunal; it should not be founded on a solitary instance of misapprehension, which might, in like manner, be rectified or explained upon a more mature and deliberate examination; nor should the legislative authority be resorted to as an umpire to decide between two conflicting judgments, until recourse has been had to a third judge or tribunal, and that aid proved ineffectual.

V. Not only must the law be general, and applicable only to future cases; it must also be *uniform* in its operation, and extend over the whole territory subject to the same government. Local circumstances may point, indeed, to some diversities in the general system, especially in a state which, like the Russian empire, embraces a vast assemblage of people of all climates and of every possible variety of character and origin. The theory of Montesquieu has been adduced in support of the principle of adaptation

to these and the like external features of dissimilarity; but that theory may be pushed far beyond the bounds of practical utility; and the general reception of the Roman law, which serves as the foundation of every system in Europe, (our own island excepted,) is a standing proof of the futility of the doctrine so largely interpreted. M. Meyer appears to have found the true distinction when he observes that, in exacting uniformity, it is not meant to exclude circumstantial differences; all that is required being, that the general principles should be the same, that the diversities be such only as are immediately and intimately connected with local circumstances, and that the law itself clearly indicate them.

On the great question of substituting a new and uniform system of legislation in the place of laws discordant or absurd in their origin, but rendered familiar, and perhaps venerable in the eyes of the people, by immemorial usage, we have already seen what are the principles which our author professes. Recurring to them in this place, he freely admits the dangers which the legislator may expect to encounter in the attempt, but adds, that the evil to be apprehended can be of no more than momentary continuance, and is, in most instances, the consequence only of unwise precipitation on the part of the innovator.

“By acting with mildness and prudence, especially by making the nation acquainted with the means taken to ensure the excellence of the new institutions, by openly exposing them to the public, and by seizing the lucky moment, a new system of law may be introduced without opposition. We cannot hope to eradicate habits founded on long-established usage, by rejecting all that is ancient and substituting new laws in its place; but it is by exhibiting to the eyes of the nation itself the defects of existing institutions, by proposing improvements, by allowing and inviting every body of persons and every individual to communicate their ideas, by the most free and public discussion of them, and by adopting no new system until it is acknowledged to be preferable to the old, that we can render favourable to the proposed arrangements the minds of those who are susceptible of being convinced. There are always some individuals—and this is still more the case with corporations—who, without yielding to this conviction, either from a spirit of contradiction, of opposition, or of ill-humour, or from a want of the activity necessary to examine that which is unknown to them, are obstinate against every innovation; they can never be brought to approve of any disposition whose recent date in a manner commands their reprobation; but a sovereign, anxious for the general weal, should wholly disregard their opinions, and the law should treat them with the greatest severity.”—vol. v. p. 96—98.

“*Le bien est l'ennemi du mieux*”—is a maxim which we find repeated in this and other works on legislation; and to no age or nation is it more immediately applicable than to our own: yet it is but a culpable indifference, a selfish apathy, which in-

duces us to neglect the means of improvement. Besides, that which we pronounce good, because it is habitual, is often only endurable in a state of national repose and inaction; as soon as ever a change of external circumstances occurs to derange the machine of government, the evils of the system become apparent, when the want of opportunity renders the attempt to remove them impracticable. Hence, public discontent, insurrection, and violent revolution—miseries, from the actual agency, or imminent peril of which we have escaped too recently to permit our adverting to them as the mere warnings of historical recollection. May our statesmen look to them rather as the signs of a tempest of which the ingredients are even yet lurking in some, perhaps unsuspected, region of the political atmosphere!

It is very possible that an innovation may not be an improvement—that experience may render serviceable the results of even an erroneous theory—that we may have too late to acknowledge the superiority of an old usage over one which we have substituted in its place—that it may be wiser in short,

“————— to bear the ills we have,
Than fly to others that we know not of.”

Such is the character of the reasoning usually opposed to projects of amelioration by those who want either the courage to overcome obstacles, or the perspicuity to discern between what it is meant to suppress, and what to substitute. It is true, that we cannot always calculate the consequences of a new regulation with infallible precision—that there is no such thing as mathematical proof in affairs of legislation—that we must rest satisfied with probability as opposed to experience. But to push this reasoning to the extent of condemning all endeavours at legislative improvement as merely experimental and visionary, is as false as it is mischievous, and calculated to mislead only the most weak and the most ignorant of mankind. The argument is undoubtedly of weight sufficient to teach moderation, caution, and a long and dispassionate calculation of probabilities, both favourable and adverse to the measure in question. But to reject it, however deliberately approved of, merely on account of the danger of disturbing some settled usage, is at least as irrational as it would be to adopt it, without examination, merely on account of its boldness and novelty.

If, however, this vague dread of innovation is the most open and inveterate among the foes to reform, the spirit of crude and imperfect legislation is hardly less inimical to solid improvement; and it requires the more to be watched and guarded against, as it not unfrequently assumes the insidious garb of friendship.

"It requires," says our author, "an exact knowledge of the whole system to which we wish to attach a particular law, as well as of that from which it is borrowed, in order to succeed in an undertaking so delicate, and which demands so great a degree of caution."

And he sums up his views on this part of the subject in language so remarkable for good sense and moderation, and so applicable to our own present circumstances, that we should hold ourselves inexcusable in using any words but his own as the interpreters of his sentiments.

"Every change in the law is in itself an evil; it is a movement in what ought to be the most stable; it is a shock which shakes the foundations of the social edifice, and its most solid compartments; it is an event which renders doubtful what had previously inspired the blindest confidence; and however good the new law may be, whatever may in the long run be its advantages, the first moments of its introduction are pregnant with serious inconveniencies. Great precaution, therefore, ought to be used before a new law—much more a new system of laws embracing all the interests most dear to us—is adopted; not that the evils attendant on the state of transition ought to restrain a sovereign who is sincerely anxious for the welfare of his subjects, and possesses the courage necessary to overcome real and imaginary obstacles; but it forms an additional motive not to risk too lightly the introduction of new regulations which have not yet obtained the sanction of experience; a bad law, or an unsuccessful experiment makes a second change necessary, in order to substitute for it a disposition more conformable to the proposed object."—pp. 106, 107.

VI. It is not enough to have established the principle of uniformity of law, without providing securities for the uniformity of its application to individual cases; and M. Meyer remarks that there is only one country in Europe where it has not been found necessary to adopt specific measures for the purpose. Here, the authority of precedent, the restriction of the higher judicial offices to a small number of persons concentrated in the metropolis, and able to consult together on the occurrence of points of novelty and importance, are peculiarities of the system, which, to render available for the purpose of such security, requires all the blind respect that we habitually entertain for the authority of judicial decisions; added to which we are destitute of a body of written laws, while we possess a bench of judges, venerable in respect of learning and character, amply remunerated, irremovable, few in number, and brought into constant communication with one another by the very nature of the institutions which they are called upon to administer. Wherever any of these circumstances are wanting, recourse must be had to other means of attaining the same degree of security; and to avoid confounding the judicial with the legislative and ministerial functions, it is manifest that

in the first alone must be lodged the power of controuling and regulating its own operations.

VII. The *publicity* of all judicial proceedings constitutes the first and most obvious, as well as the most indispensable, of securities, and that not only for the impartiality and diligence of the judge, but for the honour and integrity, the learning and assiduity, of the advocate, the attorney, and, in short, of all whose duty it is to assist in the administration of justice; and fully as this great principle has been recognised and established in the institutions of our own country, yet instances are not wanting in which even we appear to have forgotten it, so far at least as to render it expedient, that we should be reminded that its importance is not confined to the period of the *actual hearing*, and adjudication of causes, but extends, in a greater or less degree, to the whole course of the preparatory proceedings. "Not only," observes our author, and we wish particularly to draw attention to the words he here uses, "not only ought the public to be admitted to the chamber where the tribunal holds its sittings, but in its presence ought all the operations be performed, which tend to inform the judge of the true state of the cause; the preliminary operations, the examinations, the interrogatories, the pleadings, finally, everything which can enlighten the tribunal ought to be open to the public, and so contrived that the public may know what is going on; and that every individual who has taken the trouble to follow the steps of a trial may be enabled to form his own opinion of it, and of the conduct of the judge who tried it."—p. 131.

This is a subject which indeed, of all others, opens the way to, and affords room for, abundance of most salutary reflection; but it is one also which does not admit of being treated in a loose or cursory manner; and the best we can now do is to remark it as one deserving the most serious and elaborate consideration of the very learned persons composing the commissioners, now sitting for the purposes of legal reform—especially that which has the conduct of, and proceedings in, our common law actions for its immediate object.

VIII. "We have already explained," says our author in the ensuing section, "what we mean by *publicity of procedure*—not the mere formality of opening the doors of a court of justice—but the actual admission of the public to a direct and immediate acquaintance with all that is laid before the judge for his instruction as to the state of the cause. It necessarily comprises a system of verbal pleading intelligible to every understanding, a public reading of every written instrument, a public hearing of parties and witnesses, publicity of the reports made, if any are necessary

—publicity, in short, of everything that is destined to have any share in forming the judge's conviction." To this it follows, as an immediate consequence, that the judge be required to state, with equal publicity, the grounds upon which he forms his judgment, to cite the express law upon which it is founded, whenever the law, *being written*, is capable of being so dealt with, and to refer to the precedents by which he is guided whenever (as in the case of our own *unwritten law*) he is left to the exercise of his reason from the analogy of past decisions. A consequence of thus requiring from the judge a full and clear exposition of the *motives* of every judgment, may perhaps be the resignation of office by such as feel themselves incompetent for so arduous a task—a benefit in itself of no small advantage in countries where the judges are numerous or ill-selected. On the other hand, it affords (when coupled with publicity) the best possible security against partiality or corruption, as well as against the encroachments of separate and conflicting judicatures—advantages which must far outweigh, in every just estimation, the casual mischief (sometimes objected to it) of furnishing a litigious or discontented party with the grounds of attacking the judgment by which he loses.

IX. Nevertheless, publicity, and the exposition of motives, however important their efficacy, are not of themselves sufficient to keep judges within the precise bounds of their duty. In cases, for instance, where the law happens to be at variance with rational habits or prejudices, publicity, so far from a restraint, may operate as an encouragement or temptation to the judge to disregard or transgress it. Hence that worst of judicial evils, the want of uniformity in decision; and hence, also, the obvious expedient of a supreme tribunal—a single court of appeal, or cassation*—so organized as to guarantee the wisdom and impartiality of its final decisions. The composition and organization of this high court are objects, undoubtedly, of the very first importance. Its judges should be persons entitled, in the most eminent degree, to the public esteem and confidence; to ensure

* It will be readily understood that we employ these expressions disjunctively; a court of appeal differing from a court of cassation, inasmuch as the one undertakes to decide, and finally dispose of, the entire case, both in law and in fact, upon which the inferior court has in the first instance to pronounce judgment; while the office of the other is to revise the previous decision, when complained of, in point of law only, and, if dissatisfied with the grounds of it, to remit the point to the court below for its correction. The necessity of one single and central court of appeal from every court of inferior jurisdiction throughout the country, is a point in which all writers on legislation so fully concur, that it may be thought a waste of argument even to advert to it. Nothing approaching to the great requisite of uniformity of decision can be attained upon any other system; though, even with it, absolute uniformity is still not to be secured, so long as the law to be administered is the *Lex non scripta*.

which they should be carefully selected from among the most eminent practitioners at the bar, and perhaps not without having previously passed through some of the minor judicial offices. Whenever, that which *must* sooner or later come to pass, a revision of our own system of appellate jurisdiction shall be found incapable of being any longer postponed or averted, we trust that no obstinacy of national pride or prejudice will intervene to prevent our availing ourselves of the full benefit which may be derived from foreign examples. At present—and we believe we may appeal to no less an authority than that of Lord Redesdale in support of the assertion—we are miserably defective in point of security for the great principle of uniformity of decision.

X. The main point being established—that is, the necessity of a supreme court charged with the duty of superintending, regulating, and maintaining the uniformity of law in its application, the next thing to be considered is, in what manner its intervention ought to be introduced and regulated. The first observation which occurs on this head is, (according to our author), that it ought not to be rendered too easy of access.

“The *recours en cassation* is, from its very nature, an extraordinary means; it is a last remedy, which ought not to be granted with too much facility; it always presents a more or less serious imputation of the judge who has pronounced the sentence appealed from, either as violating the forms which protect an innocent party, or as a false application of the law, the execution of which it ought to restrain; it must not, therefore, be allowed but at the last extremity, and it ought to be refused so long as the laws of civil or criminal procedure afford the ordinary means of rectification.”

And again—

“A regulating court has occupations too important and too various to be taken up with the complaints, even though well-founded, which any pleader might choose to prefer with the sole view of revenging himself upon his judge; because, the law having granted him the means of obtaining a revision of the sentence, there is no necessity for such a proceeding. The court itself, alone in the state, elevated above all other tribunals, charged with the duty of watching over and keeping them within the bounds of their respective jurisdictions, ought not to be invoked except in the event of a failure of the ordinary means of obtaining justice; it ought not to be prodigal of its intervention; it ought not to censure but with discernment, so as not to deaden the effect of its decisions, either upon the minds of the judges or upon public opinion; it ought to strike seldom, but surely, and with an equal degree of severity towards all classes of those who transgress the law; to be sparing of its decrees of cassation; even to pass lightly over mere irregularities and unimportant errors, which it may be enough barely to glance at, so as to reserve the full force of its authority, to be employed in counteraction of flagrant excesses in the exercise of inferior jurisdictions.”—p. 183—185.

no doubt is expressed before his tribunal; if he is to suspect collusion between persons who state facts, or opposing claims, where could he find the basis of that certainty on which his sentence must be grounded?"

"One of two things must happen: either the exercise of the judicial authority must be limited to an inquiry into the only points in litigation between the parties; or all rules of certainty and moral conviction must be abandoned: certain it is, that legislators who have attempted to establish official inquiries, who have committed to judges the examination of a pretended absolute truth, have only thrown back the point of the inquiry: they have all ended in admitting as true, that which the parties interested have acknowledged to be so."—p. 248.

The argument, from the possible inattention or ignorance of parties, is not more conclusive than the preceding. How is the judge to determine whether an admission has crept in from negligence, or has been made designedly? If one man gains an advantage over another by greater caution or watchfulness, it is one to which he is morally entitled, and which he ought not to lose upon a mere speculative principle of abstract right. The judge possesses not even the means of ensuring the execution of his own orders, since they may be dispensed with by the party entitled to take advantage of them.

"In a word, it is by the free will of the party that a cause is commenced, prosecuted, or suspended, it is that which settles the points in discussion, which obliges the judge to pronounce precisely on any subject, and which acts on the sentence delivered; the judge is only occupied with the interests of the parties before him; and the latter are better acquainted with their own interests than any one else can be; they only know what they have to do. If there are considerations of public interest to be brought forward, it would be to intrench on the judge's impartiality to make him the instrument, and the public ought to nominate a functionary, who may act as its organ."—p. 254.

XVI. XVII. From this last clause of exception we are led immediately to the institution of that class of functionaries which is known to foreign jurists under the designation of "*Ministère public*"—constituting in most countries a peculiar and separate branch of government; which whilst, among ourselves, it is represented by an attorney and solicitor general, with a few other crown officers of eminent station and dignity, who combine, for the most part, with their public functions, the exercise of a private profession, exhibits in France, on the other hand, the spectacle of a vast crowd of individuals, of various degrees of rank, composing a body, wholly distinct in its organization, and pervading the entire system of the judicial establishment. Of an institution, comparatively recent in its origin among the continental governments, and little known, or imperfectly compre-

handed, by ourselves, it will not be amiss if we present our readers with a short sketch in the words of the author before us.

"From the moment that every citizen is absolutely independent as to the method of turning his rights and interests to the best advantage, and that the judge is deprived of all spontaneity, it is necessary that there should be a means of submitting to the judge's decision all that concerns society in general, without directly interesting an individual. If the property which forms the patrimony of the state is concerned—if it is necessary to support public order, threatened or injured by crimes more or less serious—if society is deranged by disturbances of minor importance—if it wishes to lend a helping hand to those whose weakness calls for special protection—finally, if the public establishments which are connected with the whole society are endangered:—it is equally the interest, the honour and the duty of the state not to remain an indifferent spectator; it may and ought to make itself a party, and watch over the maintenance as well as the application of the laws."

To which he adds—

"Whenever therefore it happens that the whole body of society has certain rights to vindicate, it ought to have a representative before the judge, and this is the origin of a new magistracy recognised by the constitutions of several countries, and designated by the name of *Ministère public*."—p. 258.

The question as to the necessity of separating this class of functionaries from all others connected with the administration of justice, is nevertheless, one of great delicacy, and not perhaps to be disposed of altogether by the mere consideration of the inconveniences attached to the combination (as amongst ourselves) of private practice as advocates with the performance of the duties of office. Those inconveniences are indeed frequent and palpable; but the institution of a distinct order of magistrates, directly dependent on and amenable to the state, and acting, or at least having every opportunity to act, as spies on the conduct of the bar and the bench—an office for which, however invidious, the insularity of their position between both, together with the merely occasional nature of their peculiar vocations, may be expected pretty strongly to incline them—is a measure, the policy or expediency of which admits of some hesitation, and does not appear to us to have been weighed by M. Meyer with the attention which it deserves. It does not tend to diminish the apprehensions which we should be disposed to entertain as to the consequences of the adoption of such a system, that M. Meyer has actually devoted one of his chapters to the subject of the "Dependency" of this office, which, he argues, ought to be absolute and unqualified in the character of subjection to one supreme magistrate. Uniformity in the administration of law, is the principle upon which this dangerous (or, at best, doubtful) subserviency

is recommended or justified; nor are we disposed to deny this great advantage. But it must not be forgotten that France; which is the country where the system is allowed to have attained its greatest perfection, and where the members of the *Ministère public*, scattered through its different tribunals, are said to amount to an army of no less than 45,000 disciplined soldiers, all under the command of one general-in-chief, the *Garde des Sceaux*, is that also where (at present) the judicial office inspires the smallest degree of respect, and the character of advocate is treated with the least portion of public esteem and confidence. We question whether the great sovereign, conqueror, and legislator, whose name will remain through all ages incorporated with the institutions of that nation, would not, if questioned as to which of them he had most pride in, on account of its high imperial policy, have referred to the "*Ministère public*" as the most successful effort of his creative, or, rather perhaps, his adoptive and perfective genius.

We have examined little more than half the contents of the volume; but our space does not admit of our pursuing the same course of minute analysis through the remainder. We must content ourselves with merely adverting to some of its principal topics.

Under the head of "*Instruction préalable*," after mentioning with due praise our institution of a grand jury, and comparing with it the "*Mise en accusation*" of the French code of procedure, M. Meyer discusses at some length the principle of proceeding by interrogation of the party accused—a mode which, as practised by our neighbours on the continent, always forcibly strikes us as at variance with one of our most established maxims of criminal law—"Nemo tenetur accusare seipsum"—but which, if kept within the bounds here prescribed, would not only lead to no such violation of justice, (natural or conventional,) but tend most essentially to the benefit of the accused, who is necessarily the weaker party; and entitled to every fair advantage with which the law can support his feeble condition. Its only proper object, he contends, is to inform the party of the nature of the charge brought against him, and of the proofs in support of it—and thus to guard him against surprise and intimidation, at the same time that it serves to enlighten the judge's mind as to the actual circumstances of the case, and the line of defence which will probably be adopted. To this end, he adds, that (except in a very few cases) it ought to be conducted in public, with the utmost care not to invite or force confession, and with an understanding that it is not to be pressed, or renewed at different intervals, except at the request of the accused party. All argument in favour of

interrogation, with a view to discovery by means of avowal, inevitably tends to the justification of torture.

From the acknowledged principle that imprisonment before trial is merely provisional and preventive, it follows that, wherever the purposes of prevention can be attained without actual coercion, imprisonment should be avoided. The admission to bail ought consequently to be regarded as the rule, rather than the exception; and imprisonment should be resorted to only where it must be supposed that the dread of conviction is superior to any other restraining motive, or where the condition of the party is such as to afford no means of security. Banishment for life, confiscation of property, and loss of reputation, united, will, in most instances, be found motives more than equivalent to the fear of standing a trial. It need hardly be added, that all severity of imprisonment, beyond mere coercion, is wholly inadmissible as applied to persons who must be presumed innocent till found guilty, or (which is still more indispensable) that all possible freedom of external communication must be allowed them, consistent with the prevention of evasion.

The dispute as to whether a single judge, or a plurality of judges, is to be preferred in the administration of justice—a dispute which still divides the jurists of the continent, and on which Feuerbach decides in favour of plurality, against the more prevailing opinion, which is that long since maintained by Bentham—is, we think, wisely left by M. Meyer in a state of ambiguity, or rather as fit to be governed in each particular instance, by the habits and circumstances of the country where it arises. In other respects M. Meyer seems to us to be somewhat too favourable to the actual state of England, in the view which he takes of the great question of judicial organization. The appointment of judges should, he thinks, remain with the sovereign; and in this we do not differ from him. That their independence should be secured by making them irremovable, except by promotion, or by deprivation, the consequence of public trial and conviction, we also consider as a point not to be questioned. Whether or not they should be capable of promotion, and that too at the will of the sovereign, although a question sometimes much argued, and affording great scope for popular declamation, is one on which we have again no great difficulty in concurring with our author when he combats, as we think very successfully, the arguments against this honourable species of *amovibility*. But when he maintains the principle of upholding the dignity of the judicial office by restricting the number of tribunals and salarifying the judges at a rate inversely proportioned to their paucity, we find it necessary to advert to another and far more fundamental prin-

ciple—the accessibility of justice to every class of subjects—an accessibility, to which cheapness and proximity are indispensable requisites, and which is almost irreconcilable with a system which acknowledges only one central focus for the diffusion of justice throughout an extensive and populous empire.

Chapters XXII. to XXV. inclusive are devoted by M. Meyer to the consideration of the subject of *juries*, under the following distinct heads: *Sous le rapport Judiciaire—Sous le rapport politique—De la composition du Jury—Des attributions du Jury.*

In treating of the jury in its character of a judicial institution, he successfully combats the notion of subjecting the force of evidence to certain fixed rules, (after the mode of Bentham's celebrated scale,) which he justly considers as inconsistent with the very nature of human testimony, and as containing its refutation in the very maxim of one of its most distinguished continental assertors, Professor Glöbig, who says "*Ipsa probationum estimatio non spectat ad disciplinam jura; a logices mutuata regulis, lucem præferens jurisperito, decisiones suas non ad æcæum arbitrium sed ad certam normam exacturo.*"—"Can logic then," asks M. Meyer, "be subjected to the pleasure of the sovereign, or should it be taught by the legislator? Are its precepts capable of receiving a legal sanction?"—p. 366, note.

The necessity of the judge who has to decide upon a question of fact himself seeing and confronting the witnesses, is urged with force and propriety. There can be no *appeal* (properly speaking) from any such decision. The same, or a different judge, may *rehear* the case as often as the law allows—but, even at the very last rehearing, it is upon the facts themselves, and not upon the validity or invalidity of any preceding judgment, that he has to pronounce; and this is a distinction which, however clear and obvious, is seldom duly attended to.

As no man can be required to assign *reasons* for his conviction as to a point of fact resting on evidence, it follows that the security supposed to be derived from the judge being required to state the grounds of his judgment (see before ch. viii.) must in this class of cases be wanting. Its place, however, may be amply supplied (over and above the great defence of *publicity*) by a rigid adherence to established forms of procedure, and by the concurrence of a number of equal and independent persons having participation in the judicial authority. Again, from the frequent impossibility of separating the law from the facts of a case, has arisen, among ourselves, the useful invention of special verdicts, to an imperfect comprehension of the nature of which is to be mainly ascribed the comparative inutility of the jury system.

in France, and the little progress it has made in public opinion in that country. Hence also the necessity of a presiding judge to explain to the jury the law of every case, and the manner in which it may be brought to bear upon the points in evidence. To guard against encroachment, in this part of the system, upon the proper province of the jury, must be admitted to be among the most arduous of legislative tasks. On the other hand, opinion frequently and strongly marked on the part of juries against any existing law or usage, ought to be well attended to, and will often be found the safest ground to proceed upon in the work of revision and alteration.

Of juries, considered in a *political* light, it is well observed, that the example of one honest jury-man protecting an innocent person from condemnation is far more extensively beneficial than that of a judge refusing to lend himself to the passing an unjust sentence. There is always a possibility that the judge may, on some future occasion, suffer himself to be corrupted—or that means may be found to remove him, if inconveniently inflexible. But the seeds of resistance sown by the jury-man will spring up and flourish in future juries. The great political end of the institution is, however, the admission which it affords to a direct participation in the administrative functions of government by the mass of the people—a benefit of incalculable importance—which we, as Englishmen, ought to feel ashamed of estimating at any less magnitude than as it strikes the eyes of a foreigner, but which we may in some measure learn to appreciate from the indisputable fact, that it can have existence under no form of government but that, with which we ourselves are blessed, of a *limited monarchy*.

The requisites which our author lays down for the *composition* of a jury, are, *first*, that it should be formed exclusively of natives—a position which he considers as necessarily flowing from the political considerations last noticed, and not contradicted by the privilege we assign to foreigners of trial by a jury *de medietate lingue*, an usage founded on false principles, and having its origin in times of barbarism: *2dly*, that it should be restricted by some certain qualification in respect of property, as a security against utter ignorance and incapacity: *3dly*, that it be chosen *purely by lot*: *4thly*, that the number be neither too large nor too small for the convenient discharge of its duties, having regard to the objects of the institution—a rule which he considers as sufficiently observed by our venerated *Twelve*: *5thly*, that the decision be unanimous—a condition which he considers as generally indispensable, notwithstanding the contrary system adopted in France, as well as by other nations, in their respective modification of the

institution; but which he purposes to limit, in criminal matters, so far as to allow of *acquittal* by a simple majority, and of power in the judge to summon a new jury after a certain period of irreconcilableness to a verdict of conviction: 6thly and lastly, the existence of a right of *challenging*, without assignment of motives, in like manner limited, however, to a certain number of instances.

In describing the functions which are properly attributable to a jury, the great question as to the utility of the institution in civil cases comes necessarily into discussion; and M. Meyer agrees with (we believe) the majority of modern jurists in excluding it from such cases, especially when of a merely private nature between individuals, unless for the purpose of assessing the quantum of damages. He argues still more strongly against the preliminary inquest in criminal cases, familiar to ourselves under the name of the grand jury, and adopted by the French (but with great differences) under that of "*Jury d'accusation*;" and it is difficult not to feel the full force of the objections which present themselves to the whole form and character of such an institution. At present, however, we can do no more than refer thus generally to the subject.

Our contracting limits in like manner preclude us from any further notice of the contents of the few remaining chapters than their titles afford; and from these it will be seen that they relate more to particular branches of the judicial establishment than to general principles affecting the whole machine—not that we mean to undervalue the high importance of the several heads referred to by them; each of which, on the contrary, deserves and demands a treatise far more extensive than the pages we are able to devote to the entire subject. They are the following:—*Tribunaux criminels et correctionnels*—*Tribunaux de commerce*—*Restriction de la preuve testimoniale*—*Serment judiciaire*. *Contrôle*—*Admission restreinte du Jury au civil*—*Execution des jugemens*. *Huissiers*—*Ordre des Avocats*—and, lastly, *De la Conciliation*—which last, when considered in all its bearings, is a point in itself requiring the very fullest investigation, and which, with all our respect for M. Meyer, we think he has not treated with sufficient attention in devoting to it one of the shortest chapters in his volume, and deciding against it (as a branch of judicial administration) upon grounds which, however plausible, we cannot but hold inadequate to found the conclusions he builds on them.*

* Bentham considers the institution of a tribunal of conciliation to be recommendable only as an expedient for preventing the ruinous consequences of a defective system of procedure. "Amend your procedure," he says, "and there will no longer be any need of such an expedient."

We have thus given a rapid, and necessarily very imperfect sketch of the contents of this important volume; a sketch which, hasty as it is, may, we fear, prove tedious to the generality of our readers, but which, if it disposes any to seek an acquaintance with the first principles of the science of legislation, established (as it may now be considered to be) among the jurists of the continent, and as yet little comprehended among our own, will have fully answered the end we proposed to ourselves in attempting it. To recapitulate those first principles, so as to impress them more strongly on the minds of those who may be so inclined to receive them, it is, in the first place, essentially requisite that the several branches of government—the legislative, judicial, and administrative—should be kept perfectly distinct, and never allowed to encroach on each other's respective provinces. The laws themselves must be general, succinct, and clear—either imperative or prohibitive—never descending to particular cases—accessible to all—having no retro-active operation. They must be uniform, both in form and in application, throughout the extent of the country which is subject to them, or, in case of any local exceptions being admitted, they must be clearly defined, and their limits accurately distinguished. In order to maintain this uniformity, and to keep the courts of justice within the bounds of their duty, recourse must be had to publicity—a great and important feature, not less on account of its judicial than of its political incidents—to the public expositions by the judge of the grounds on which his decision is founded, and to the establishment of one central court of appeal or cassation, in *dernier resort*, from every species of inferior tribunal. In respect to the conduct of causes, the judge must be merely passive—leaving the parties at perfect liberty on what to insist and what to abandon—deciding only on the facts, real or supposed, which are placed before him—having nothing to do with the mere abstract truth except as it happens to be presented to him—exercising no voluntary or independent jurisdiction—and relinquishing to an inferior class of magistracy (the notariate) the duty of authenticating facts or instruments in the absence of any actual litigation. To defend the interests of society, taken collectively, a distinct order of public functionaries is now, universally on the continent, held to be necessary; hence the establishment of the *ministère public*, which, it is farther considered, must be kept in a state of dependance on one supreme head, himself the immediate instrument of the sovereign, and holding a station altogether separate and apart in the distribution of government offices. Amovibility at the will of the sovereign is the necessary incident to all this class of functionaries, as inamovibility, except by deprivation consequent on public trial before a

competent tribunal, is that of the higher order of judges. The admissibility of private prosecutions, which under certain qualifications it seems fit to retain notwithstanding the existence of this public ministry, should be accompanied with an extreme degree of caution and strictness as to the forms of procedure, especially in all that concerns the preliminary measures, (*instruction préalable*;) the reasons for which are obvious, but must be here left to the reader with the reflection that "this is perhaps the most interesting subject of legislation, one upon which the greatest number of truths has been said, and the greatest number of abuses practised." The composition of the judicial body, important as it is, must be placed altogether in the hands of the sovereign, who must be left absolutely free and unshackled in the exercise of this the gravest branch of the prerogative. The judge, once appointed, must be wholly independent; not so the tribunal itself, which ought to be wide in its extent of jurisdiction, and secured against the influence of that *esprit de corps* which mixes itself with all petty local establishments. No law can determine the comparative value of different degrees of human testimony. Every person endowed with the gift of ordinary understanding is capable of estimating the proofs which are laid before him. Hence the utility of juries, whose impartiality should be secured and maintained by being placed under the direction of a judge competent to the task of properly instructing them. The institution of a jury recommends itself not only as a means for securing impartial justice, but also as the surest method of silencing all complaints against the administration of it, as a pledge for the safety of the subjects, and as a tie which unites them to their native soil and to the government under which they are placed.

"The very nature of the best of governments—a constitutional monarchy—points to the jury as the completion of a just division of power between the sovereign and his people. The people may and ought to have a share in every branch of authority; thus the legislative power is partaken by a national representation, the administrative by a municipal administration, and the judicial by a jury." . . . "And this last institution thus becomes an essential part of such a monarchy, is in fact almost incompatible with any other form of government, and possesses a political tendency which renders it the most intimate bond of union between the state and its citizens."—p. 595.

From this view of the station and character of a jury, it seems to follow that it must be composed wholly of citizens of the state to which it belongs, and admits no participation of aliens; that it must be chosen out of an order of society so far elevated above the lowest as to prove a sufficient safeguard against ignorance and incapacity; besides that their daily occupations must be of a

description not to suffer from the temporary interruption of their civic duties, which operates as an exclusion of day-labourers and manufacturers; and these are the only general grounds of exclusion which ought to be admitted. The right of challenge flows from the same principle which prescribes the appointment by lot, and not at the nomination of any individual or class of society—the absolute necessity of inspiring confidence in the impartiality of decision. The number of which the jury is to be composed must moreover be fixed, so as to render the charge upon every individual the least burthensome that may be found consistent with this first principle; and the requisite of unanimity of decision appears to attach itself to the same foundation. We need not in this place again recur to the question (which demands a separate discussion) as to the utility of juries in civil cases, or as to that of the “jury of accusation.” Both are points of the highest importance, but neither can be considered so settled as fit to be laid down, whether in the affirmative or in the negative, among the fixed principles of legislation.

The humane and salutary division of crimes into those of a nature to attach infamy to the commission of them, and those which merely subject to correctional discipline, may be conveniently followed by a similar distinction between the tribunals and modes of procedure. Not so, however, with the courts and forms of proceeding instituted for the adjudication of civil rights. In these, if any distinction were admissible, it would be such as might accommodate itself to all the various wants and habits of different ranks of society. But to effect this purpose, if it were possible to be effected, would be to produce confusion and conflict of jurisdiction the most deplorable. The uniformity of legislation, so essential to the well-being of a community, must inevitably be sacrificed; and the very existence of a court of appeal, before which may be brought, in *dernier resort*, cases of each of the several descriptions for which different primary tribunals are assigned, is enough of itself to demonstrate the inutility of the division, and the impossibility of reducing it to any regular and consistent system. From these premises it is forcibly argued that, for the decision of civil cases, there ought to be no such thing as a court of special or limited jurisdiction.

On the other hand, to diminish the expense and frequency of litigation, we should diminish as far as possible the number of facts out of which litigation may spring. This may be done in part by providing that no contract shall be enforced without being reduced into writing, and that no written instrument shall be questioned without a direct charge of fraud or forgery; by allowing to every party the privilege of examining his adversary upon

oath as to the truth of his allegations; by rejecting parol evidence when offered to supply the want of a written document; by denying to contracting parties the right of insisting on an intention different from the express words of the instrument to which they have affixed their signature; by refusing to receive in evidence any deeds or papers without being authenticated by the act of some proper officer or notary.

The execution of judgments must be again committed to another distinct class of officers—not to the judge, “for that would be to invest him with a *spontaneity* incompatible with his functions”—not even to the members of the *ministère public*, who in so many cases are, and in almost every case may be made, themselves parties to the cause at issue. The officers thus constituted are those who are known to the French law under the general designation of *huissiers*.

We now pass to another, and a very different class of judicial officers, (for such in fact they are, no less than any of the preceding, although too often considered rather in the light of independent practitioners, owing, beyond the mere outward forms of respect for the presiding magistrate, no prescribed or peculiar duty or obligation to the court in which they practise,) the order of advocates. With these the author concludes his summary; and we feel disposed to attend him to the close of his labours as we started with him almost at their outset; observing, however, that in his views as to the political expediency, or utility, of the institution of a distinct order of advocates, he is again at variance with the doctrines taught in the school of Bentham, who condemns the separation of the office of Attorney and Counsel, as calculated only to increase delay and expense, and diminish wholesome responsibility.

“To incorporate the law with the manners of the nation, to inspire and keep up a true public spirit, to establish the intimate connexion which ought to subsist between the rights and the duties of citizens, to extend the most useful consequences of publicity, it is of the greatest importance that the profession of advocate should be exercised by honest, upright, and intelligent persons, fully sensible of the elevated nature of their functions, and actuated by attachment to the public welfare. The bar, whose studies and occupations resemble those of the magistracy, out of whose ranks the judicial order is to be supplied and furnished with subjects most worthy to fill the vacant places, ought to be entirely free and independent; the feeling of his own dignity alone can inspire the advocate with the spirit of decency and moderation which keeps him within the proper bounds of distinction between liberty and licentiousness; while the judge is indebted to him in those marks of attention, for which he is, in turn, to be repaid by the respect of the advocate. In order that this sentiment may be rendered effectual, it is necessary

that the body of advocates, without being in any degree of dependance, should form themselves into an order, self-regulated and disciplined, having for its sole object the maintenance of professional delicacy, and a strict adherence to the dictates of honour and plain dealing. At the head of this order, and as its most distinguished members, are naturally placed the magistrates of the *ministère public*, whose functions are only distinguished from those of the other advocates in that they speak in the name of the sovereign and of the state. The organization of the bar, the influence which the publicity of procedure exercises over the citizens, the dependance of the advocate upon public estimation, renders the order of advocates the most powerful barrier against the abuses of government and all sorts of vexation, and constitutes it the proper organ of public opinion.

"In another point of view, also, the institution of an order of advocates is eminently useful to society. It is in vain that we would seek to invest the actual magistracy with the office of conciliation. Possessing no knowledge of the facts submitted to them, it is impossible that the intervention of judges can hold out much hope of success; their remonstrances are unheeded, and their intercession but an idle formality; even the judges themselves at the commencement of legal proceedings cannot venture to recommend conciliatory measures, when as yet they know nothing of a cause; and they hazard the loss of impartiality, if unsuccessful in their earnest endeavours; while, if delayed until the close of the proceedings, the attempt becomes useless, and the judge can with difficulty conceal his opinion, which, once known, puts an end to all hope of accommodation. Advocates alone can prevent incipient litigation, stifle it when on the point of breaking out, terminate affairs already pending, calm and mollify men's minds, and restore the harmony which has been interrupted by differences.

"Such are the principal consequences which we think we can deduce from experience, and from the facts which we have examined in the preceding books: there is a multitude of details into which we either could not enter, or considered ourselves dispensed from entering; we do not pretend to have exhausted a subject, which, from its very nature, is inexhaustible; we do not aspire to the honour, or rather the vain-glory, of establishing a perfect system; but we shall regard ourselves fortunate, if our labours are of any utility to future legislators, to the science of legislation, and to the happiness of individuals, whether the governors or the governed."

Before we finally quit the subject of this important treatise, we wish to offer a few considerations which have occurred to us at different stages of our progress, and which we could not conveniently stop to notice in the course of the preceding analysis. It seems to be M. Meyer's leading principle, and one in which we cordially agree with him, that all plans of legal reform should rest on the basis of the established institutions of the country for which they are intended; and, with reference especially to the great head of judicial organization, he would have us infer that

many questions of legislation may be more suitably decided by a due application of that principle, than according to any measure of mere abstract expediency. But when the point in debate is whether or not any civilized nation ought to have a regular and intelligible system of written law for its guidance—which is all we understand by the vile phrase (for so we must call it) “codification,”—we must own that it appears to us to be one to which no such principle is in the least degree applicable. Of all the shadows about which men have so often and so fiercely contended, this bugbear of “codification” is one of the most airy and unsubstantial; and we very much suspect that its self-styled enemies will one day find themselves in the situation of that celebrated person who was astonished on being told that he had been actually writing prose all his life, without knowing it.* Every statute—more especially every explaining, altering, amending, or consolidating statute—is a partial attempt at “codification.” Mr. Preston’s sealed draft of a bill is, probably, (for we speak with deference of so profound a mystery,) no less a code than Mr. Humphreys’s. The late Bankrupt Act—the late body of Chancery Orders—Mr. Peel’s Bills—all are specimens of the same description. The only real question is, whether the great business of legislation shall be allowed to proceed in the crude, hasty, and unconnected manner, in which it has hitherto, for the most part, been conducted, or whether a more systematic form and method—one more consonant to the improved character of the age, and to the advance which has been made in every other department of science—shall at length be adopted; and if one-half of the alterations in law and practice which, we think it probable, will be recommended by the commission now sitting for inquiry into the state of the law of real property, are ever seriously attempted to be carried into effect by the legislature, we venture to predict that a complete revision of the system—in other words, “codification” on a very extended scale—will be resorted to, not as a matter of choice, but as a measure of inevitable necessity.†

* “Men,” says Mr. Bentham, “let them but once clearly understand each other, will not be long ere they agree. It is the perplexity of ambiguous and sophistical discourse that, while it distracts and eludes the apprehension, stimulates and inflames the passions.”—*Fragm. on Gov.* p. 128.

† The disadvantages of a system of “unwritten law” may be shortly summed up, from the writings of Bentham, as consisting in the consequent confusion of the legislative and judicial authorities, or rather their union in the same individual capacity of judge,—the perpetual fluctuations of principle necessarily attendant on such a system,—the uncertainty as to the rights of persons, which is such that, in most instances, it can only be said to be *probable* that such a right *may* exist, and in very few can be *safty* predicated that it actually *does* exist,—and, as a further consequence, that a decision can scarcely be pronounced, as to which it may not be said that the judge, without any impeachment of his soundness or integrity, might have come to the opposite conclusion; finally, that it is scarcely possible for a legal adviser, upon any question submitted

The leading principle of M. Meyer may be thought by some to be more at variance with the proposal of any considerable change in the system of our judicial establishments, than with that of a code or digest: but here also we apprehend that it must give way, if found to be repugnant to a higher and more fundamental principle—that which demands that justice be rendered speedily and cheaply accessible to every citizen. The paucity of judges, (of the higher tribunals,) and the inversely proportional magnitude of their salaries, may throw around them a sort of artificial dignity not without its advantages, but those advantages would be too dearly purchased at the expense of delay and difficulty of access so great, as to amount, in any case whatever, to a denial of that protection which it is the bounden duty of every government to extend to all classes of its subjects.* The necessary infrequency and expensiveness of circuits, seems to render it a most fit subject of inquiry, whether the establishment of local tribunals, invested with rank and privileges little inferior to those of the supreme courts at Westminster, would be a measure so much at variance with the habits and prejudices of the country, as to neutralize the benefits which might otherwise be expected to result from it. The multitude of petty and comparatively useless jurisdictions already existing, is a consideration which seems to call for, or at least to justify, the experiment. At all events, the state of the nation, in respect to the administration of justice,

to him, to pronounce that a case is desperate. It is for evils such as these that "codification" is proposed as the suitable remedy; and it is for its opposers to show, either that the evils imputed to the "unwritten" system do not exist, or that they are not susceptible, either of cure or of mitigation, by the course which is recommended.

* Our readers must not leave us with the impression that M. Meyer, notwithstanding what he says in a passage already commented upon, relative to the advantages attendant on a paucity of judges, is favourable to the English system of concentration. On the contrary, in the 31st chapter of his 3d book, (vol. ii. p. 306,) where he treats expressly of the "Defects of the English Laws," after observing, that "the concentration of all the tribunals in one spot, is one of the inconveniences of our system of legislation," he goes on to speak of our circuits in the following terms. "It is true that every six months the judges of the different courts go circuits, and hold regularly two assizes a year in each county; but though the English pride themselves in that their institutions are formed to conduct the distribution of justice to the doors of every citizen, yet these assizes answer in reality no other purpose than that of inquiring into such matters of fact as have been remitted to them from one or other of the courts sitting at Westminster. It is before that court that the suit is instituted; and before it also must every contested point of law be finally adjudicated. It is there that all questions not submitted to the jury are examined—that application must be made to set aside verdicts already obtained—and that a new trial may be directed," &c. &c. "From this slight survey, it may be seen how injurious such an institution must be to the interests of suitors residing at the distance of 100 leagues and more from the metropolis, and what enormous expense must be occasioned by it—an expense which is often tantamount to a DENIAL OF JUSTICE."

The above extract will be considered as tolerably conclusive with respect to M. Meyer's opinion—and we can discover nothing exaggerated, nothing false or mistaken, in the view which he takes of the subject.

administration of justice; and although, where such means are wanting, it is in vain that we seek to simplify or abridge, either the law itself, or the mode of enforcing it; we are, notwithstanding, strongly of opinion that the government of this country cannot be justified in materially increasing the burthen to which the nation is already subject in support of its judicial establishment, without first placing that establishment, with its present resources, on a footing of the greatest efficiency that its actual constitution will permit. So long as the Court of Common Pleas has only half, and that of Exchequer not a quarter of its time occupied with the business brought before it, it is in vain that the overwhelming excess of custom attracted by the superior tribunal, can be urged as a sufficient reason for augmentation. The institution of local judicatures, if to be at all insisted on, must be defended on other grounds than the mere inadequacy of the metropolitan courts to the discharge of their allotted functions; and if, on the other hand, the sanctity of custom is to be pleaded for the retention of the circuit system in preference to such an establishment, it seems to be of the first and most urgent necessity that steps should be taken for obviating, by the more frequent return of those periodical visitations, and by their continuance at each stage of their respective progresses so long as to leave no cause unheard and undisposed of that is ready for hearing, the heavy reproach to which the administration of country justice is at present unanswerably liable.

There is, however, another species of judicial economy which can hardly be too highly rated, although there is often great difficulty as to the right means of enforcing it—the economy of time; an article of inestimable value, and which we have sometimes heard most unjustly depreciated by being set down as of no account when weighed with the demands of strict and impartial justice. In one sense this is indeed an undeniable axiom—but by no means so when employed in that which it is usually made to signify, when adduced as an apology either for indolent indifference on the part of the judge, or for egoistical prolixity on that of the advocate; and it is accordingly a matter of well-known experience,—not to name any of the present judges, we refer to the state of business in the Rolls Court during the time of Sir William Grant for our example,—that the character of the bench influences that of the bar, and that the opinions entertained by the latter of the unremitting vigilance and strict attention exercised by the former, operates as a severer check upon the license of loose and disjointed talk, as well as upon still more blamable habits of practice, than any other consideration whatever. It was the saying of a great equity judge, still

presiding, that the first duty of an advocate is to the court, the next to himself, and the third only to his client. Perhaps the order might have been well varied by placing self-respect as his highest obligation, and substituting the public (whose officer he is) in place of the judge, as the second object of reverence. There is no question, we think, but that the client, peculiar as is the nature of his claim for defence and protection, must be content to cede the point of priority in favour of both the former. It ought never to be absent from the mind, either of the advocate or of the judge, that every minute uselessly consumed in the hearing of a cause is so much of the public time unjustly taken from those whose property it is, and who have a direct right to the provident and thrifty administration of it.*

“ Words are the wheels of thought, by Heaven impell’d—
Such as of old the raptured bard beheld,
What time he sat by Chebar’s silent strand
Amongst the captives in Chaldæan land—
Whither the spirit directs still doom’d to go,
With him to soar above, or sink below.

“ Yet better far to want the gift of speech,
All godlike though it be when used to preach

* Among the various plans which have been suggested for rendering the Court of Exchequer of some public utility, and which have all hitherto been found impracticable in consequence of their supposed encroachment on “vested interests,” there is one which seems liable to no such objection, but which, nevertheless, has not perhaps met with all the attention it merits. We allude to a scheme for referring it to that court to listen to all unnecessary or irrelevant arguments, whether of counsel or parties, and likewise to settle all points of dispute between counsel, either as to the right of pre-audience, or in any way arising from, but not bearing upon the merits of, the several causes set down for hearing.—Let us suppose, for example, the following dialogue, as occupying the space now usually devoted to reports, in the morning papers, of what passes between the Bar and the Bench, previously to, or in the course of, some important trial.

Mr. X. “ My Lord, I am for the plaintiff; and ” . . .

The Lord C. “ Mr. X.,—is what you have to say to the purpose ? ”

Mr. X. “ My Lord, I trust I am incapable of occupying your lordship’s time with anything I do not myself judge to be to the purpose. Therefore, with your lordship’s permission, ” . . .

The Lord C. “ Mr. X.,—will what you have to say occupy the time of the Court more than half an hour ? ”

Mr. X. “ My Lord, I really cannot undertake to confine my argument within any precise limits as to time. ”

The Lord C. “ Then, Mr. X., you must take it to the Court of Exchequer. ”

The excellence of the plan proposed consists, however, in this. We shall look in vain for a resumption of Mr. X.’s discourse in the next morning’s report of Exchequer proceedings. Thither the argument will never be carried; and the Barons of that venerable Court will still remain in full enjoyment of their privileged *otium cum dignitate*, undisturbed by a species of reform so apparently menacing to their prescriptive rights; while the overburthened Chancery will reap the full benefit of the new regulation, and Mr. X.’s speech, cut down to the allowed dimensions, will serve as a pattern, in respect of duration, not only for his own, but for all succeeding arguments in the same Court, by whomsoever supported.

The words of justice, freedom, virtue, sense,
 To move by pathos, fire with eloquence,
 By strong persuasion to enchain, or roll
 The tide of just invective o'er the soul,
 Command the right, or reprobate the wrong,
 Give courage to the weak, and judgment to the strong ;
 Aye, better far to want it, than employ
 In falsehood's cause—to cozen, or destroy,
 Pervert the law, confound the fact, or raise
 Dishonour'd trophies of preposterous praise ;
 Nay, better than to use in idle flow
 Of fond, unmeaning phrases, or bestow
 In waste of time, whilst pining suitors shame
 The court's delay, and justice bears the blame ;
 To prose in tedious cant, or loosely prate
 Of all things,—save the subject of debate ;—
 Unmindful of the golden hours, that run
 And lackey still the chariot of the sun,
 Regardless of each sign of stern rebuke,
 The hapless adversary's hopeless look,
 The yawn that justice vainly strives to hide,
 The long, long list of causes still untried ;
 Rapt in one sole perfection—deaf and blind
 To all without, around, before, behind."

We have not, however, forgotten that "*Facit indignatio versus;*" and in transcribing the warm effusions of, perhaps, some disappointed suitor, or baffled antagonist, we must not be supposed willing to share in, or countenance, the vulgar obloquy too generally cast on an honourable profession on account of the errors or weaknesses of some of its members. Still less would we be understood to include all the individuals composing an inferior but still very useful and creditable class of practitioners, in one sweeping sentence, under the denomination of those

" Who make the immortal mind
 A mere machine, in endless round to grind
 Food for the loud-tongued wranglers of the bar,
 Or forge the weapons of forensic war."

We are quite aware that the higher and most respectable—who are also by far the most numerous—of both classes, are not only well acquainted with the duties which they owe to themselves and to the public, (and which, be it remembered, can seldom, if ever, be at variance with the *real* interests of their clients,) but practise accordingly. Still there are not wanting occasions to which the censure but too well applies, and for whom even the voice of the satirist cannot be said to speak the language of exaggeration.

But enough on a subject which is neither very agreeable in

itself, nor can be represented as in any shape the fit subject for legislative interference, any more than those internal regulations for the convenience of the court in the despatch of business, upon which, and (still more) upon the strict and undeviating adherence to which, depends so much of the true efficacy of law and distribution of justice. We have wandered sufficiently from the subject to which we professed, in the outset, that it was our design to restrict ourselves, and from what we consider to be our duty as foreign reviewers. But we trust to obtain forgiveness in consideration of the vital importance of questions which we should in vain attempt to treat upon the footing of a mere literary discussion, in which we have no other interest than as a matter of criticism. No man can calmly contemplate the present state of society in this country, without being fully impressed with the conviction that a great, although, it is to be hoped, a gradual and safe, revolution in its judicial and legal establishments, is on the eve, and in the very course, of being accomplished. No man can doubt the wisdom of calling in the aid of experience from all quarters to direct and assist its progress; nor will any man venture to dispute the soundness of the recommendation, which it is our humble but earnest endeavour to enforce on those who are actually engaged in the work of reform,—to keep always in sight the first principle of legislation—that of rendering justice equally and universally accessible.

ART. IV.—*Memoires de Michel Oginski, sur la Pologne et les Polonais, depuis 1788 jusqu' à la fin de 1815.* Paris. 1827. 4 vols. 8vo.

THE fall of an ancient and once powerful kingdom, its obliteration from the political map, the extinction of its very name, are events too awful, too calamitous, not to attract the sympathies of mankind at the time. But after the ordeal is past, and the sacrifice consummated, it becomes the duty of the historian calmly to investigate the causes of this result. If it should prove, as is generally the case, that the institutions of the country and the ordinations of society were so vicious as to lead to their own destruction, our feelings of regret will be considerably alleviated. Poland and Venice are two striking contemporary instances of such a consummation in our days. In both of these the patricians were everything, the people nothing. In both the nominal sovereigns were elective and powerless. Both fell by the unjust attacks of foreign ambition; not, however, until they had long nourished in their bosoms the germs of corruption and decay.

The old government of Poland was long since called a

political monster, and not without reason. It united the sins of oligarchy, of slavery, of religious intolerance, and of anarchy. The only citizens in the State, who really constituted the nation, were the nobles. This nobility is said to have amounted to nearly a million of individuals of both sexes, about one-fifteenth of the whole population. When all the nobles were called to arms with their respective retinues, in cases of great emergency, they could muster a force of 170,000 cavalry. The requisites which constituted a noble were, his actual possession of, or descent from ancestors once possessed of, a freehold estate; his not following any lucrative trade or profession, and the liberty of choosing his place of residence. As, however, a very small number of the nobles were actually wealthy, many of the poorer class were either supported by their richer brethren, or were provided for by government. The great landed proprietors generally entertained a numerous retinue of these noble dependents. All the nobles were considered equal in the eye of the law, and were eligible to any office or dignity; but wealth being in Poland, as well as elsewhere, the source of influence, a few leading families monopolized the honours and offices of the state. After the nobles, *sed longo intervallo*, came the burghers, or freemen of those towns which had obtained charters of incorporation. The first of these towns was Cracow; its charter dating of the thirteenth century. The burghers were not subject to military or feudal service; they appointed their own burgomaster and municipal council, and had their own police, and criminal courts, which decided without appeal. In cases where a burgher was plaintiff against a nobleman, he was obliged to carry the suit before the provincial courts, which were under the direction of the nobles; but if defendant, he was tried before the magistracy of his own town. Formerly, the towns sent nuncios or deputies to the Diet, but, by degrees, they lost this right, especially after the throne became elective, the aristocracy being jealous of any symptoms of approximation between the Crown and the Commons.

The farmers formed another class of the population; they rented the estates of the nobles, and though dependant on the latter, they enjoyed sufficient consideration, and were even admitted at their landlord's table. But by far the most numerous and most degraded part of the people were the boors or peasants, who were bound to the soil on which they were born, and belonged to its proprietor, for whom they were obliged to work one-half of their time. When a young peasant married, his lord assigned him a certain portion of land sufficient for his scanty support, with cattle and implements of husbandry, materials for a hut, and a few domestic utensils. In return, the peasant worked for his

master three days in the week. When the estate was sold, the villagers were transferred with it to the new proprietor. If a farmer rented an estate, the peasants who lived upon it were included in the lease, and the farmer was entitled to the same portion of labour from them as their lord. Such is still the condition of the peasantry in most parts of Poland and Russia. But the worst feature in the system was, that the law did not sufficiently protect the persons of the peasants against the caprice of their masters. Till the fourteenth century the nobles had absolute right of life and death over their boors. Casimir the Great was the first to establish *a fine* for the murder of a peasant. He also enacted a law of inheritance, by which the next kinsman was entitled to the scanty apparel and moveables of a deceased peasant. Another law was passed, by which a peasant, whose wife or daughter had been dishonoured by a noble, became free to quit the estate. But the courts, which had to judge of the cases contemplated by these statutes, were in the hands or under the influence of the nobility; and it was a received axiom in Poland that "no serf could carry a suit against his master." However, in 1768 a law was passed in the Diet, declaring the murder of a peasant a capital crime; but then, in order to prove the fact, the perpetrator must be taken *in flagranti crimine*, and two noblemen or four peasants were required as witnesses.

Even the liberal constitution of 1791, while it proclaimed "a perfect and entire liberty to all people," explained its meaning by adding, that "whatever liberties, grants, and conventions between the proprietors and their villagers might be entered into in future, such agreements should be reciprocally binding, not only on the actual contracting parties, but also on their successors by inheritance or acquisition," by which means the right of resumption over an emancipated serf was taken away for ever.

Religious dissensions contributed their share towards the dissolution of Poland. The Catholic clergy were numerous and wealthy, and they violently opposed the doctrines of the Reformation, which spread rapidly in the sixteenth century. The reformers, however, increased in numbers, especially under Sigismund Augustus, who favoured them: there were Lutherans and Calvinists, besides Arians, and the followers of the Greek church. All these were known by the appellation of *Dissidents*. By the *Pacta conventu*, or Charter, to which the Poles required Henry of Valois to swear in 1573, the Dissidents were formally admitted to an equality of rights with their Catholic countrymen; but during the following reigns they saw themselves by degrees excluded from all the offices of the State, which the sovereign, being a Catholic, bestowed upon those of his own communion. The Catholics

likewise obtained possession of most of the courts of judicature; they influenced the elections of the nuncios, and the dissident nobility became exposed to numerous vexations and annoyances, without a possibility of obtaining redress. Proselytism was busy at work, and the law *de hæretico relapso* inflicted severe penalties, among which was the loss of property, upon those converts to Catholicism who should return to their former religion. The Dissidents were forbidden to build new churches and chapels. The Tsar Peter the Great, as a member of the Greek Church, and the Courts of Prussia, England, and Denmark, all remonstrated at various times in favour of the Dissidents, but to little effect. At last the Confederacy of Thorn, in 1767, supported by Russian bayonets, brought the matter to an issue; the Dissidents were restored to their rights, though not without a sanguinary struggle in several parts of the country, which partook of both the character of civil and religious war. And here it is melancholy to behold on one side intolerance allied with patriotism, and on the other, the cause of a persecuted people supported by overbearing foreigners. The oppressed Dissidents, unable to obtain redress from their own countrymen, accepted, as a boon, the insidious assistance of Russia, and this became one of the principal and most plausible pretexts for foreign interference in the affairs of Poland.

Having premised these few remarks for such of our readers as may have forgotten the series of events that led to the catastrophe of Poland, we come to the work before us, which treats of subsequent times. Count Oginski's *Memoirs* unite history with biography: the author acted a considerable part in the last struggle of Polish independence, and afterwards, condemned to exile, travelled through many lands, seeking everywhere for aid to the cause of his oppressed country. Disappointed and undeceived by stern experience, he at last gave up the hopeless task: he returned to his home, and submitted quietly to the new rulers: but even then he did not forget the interests of his countrymen. At the first favourable appearances we find him again standing forward as their zealous and indefatigable negociator; having, by his upright character and amiable disposition, ingratiated himself with a young monarch who then gave great hopes to mankind, he used his interest entirely for their benefit; and if he did not succeed to the fulness of his sanguine expectations, he has at least the satisfaction of reflecting that he left no means untried to insure success. In his private character Count Oginski stands high in the opinion of the various people among whom he has lived. In France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, his name is mentioned with honour and respect. In his own country, and on his own

estate, he has been long known as an active philanthropist. Even before the partition he had distinguished himself for his encouragement of agriculture; he had founded a colony of a hundred families in one of the most desolate districts of Poland, had given them land rent free for ten years, and provided them with habitations. There is a canal in Polesia that bears his name, and which by uniting two rivers, one tributary to the Niemen and the other to the Dnieper, opens a communication between the Baltic and the Black Sea, which might become of great use to the inland trade of Poland.

The first volume of these *Memoirs* is chiefly engrossed by the history of the last stormy years of Polish independence. The tale has been often told: the dissensions between the magnates, the weakness of the king, Stanislaus Poniatowsky, and his subserviency to Catherine of Russia, the overbearing tone of the latter, the fallacious promises of the King of Prussia, all tended to confuse and disorganise the councils of the nation. After the three powers had acceded to the second dismemberment, in 1793, little more than the name of Poland remained; yet the last sparks of expiring patriotism burst forth at Cracow next year, and from thence spread a vast but short-lived conflagration throughout the country. Kosciuzko fought as the last of the Poles: many gallant noblemen joined him, and our author was of the number. Warsaw and even Wilna caught the flame, but the efforts of the patriots were unequal to contend with the armed masses of Prussia and Russia combined. Kosciuzko fell in battle, and was taken prisoner; Praga, the suburb of Warsaw, was stormed; the capital surrendered; and the weak Stanislaus abdicated a throne which he ought never to have ascended. The third and final partition of Poland was consummated. All these facts are matters of public history, yet many interesting details are found in the work before us which throw an important light upon that period.

Oginski seems to think, and in this he coincides with Jomini, in the "*Histoire des Guerres de la Revolution*," that Austria was the last and the most reluctant of the three powers in acceding to the final partition of Poland, and that if she did so in 1794, it was because she saw that the catastrophe was unavoidable, and would take place even without her interference. And, in fact, Austria lost, by the extinction of Poland, a most valuable bulwark to her frontiers, for which even her possession of Gallitzia is far from being a sufficient substitute. Yet she had not been so averse to the former dismemberments.

Another observation of Oginski relates to the neglect of the infantry tactics in Poland; in consequence of the non-existence of the third estate, there was neither spirit nor instruction among

the foot soldiers. And here we touch again on one great cause of the disasters of Poland. *There was no people*, but an immense cavalry of nobles, who in time of war dragged after them herds of serfs, ill-clothed, and ill-armed, and only for short periods. Cavalry has been in all times the arm of the nobility, infantry that of the people. In feudal times cavalry constituted, as latterly in Poland, the strength of most European states, but from the decline of the feudal institutions, through the increase of the kingly power in most states of Europe, and the rising importance of the commoners, infantry became the popular arm of nations, and of kings. Poland alone, by its exclusive aristocracy, the impotence of its sovereigns, and the slavery of the people, did not partake in this important change in European tactics.

The second volume of these Memoirs is taken up with the account of the author's personal adventures as an emigrant.

After the murderous storming of Praga, and the surrender of Warsaw to Suwarov, many of the Polish patriots, in the number of whom was Oginski, retired to Venice, where the French minister, Lallemand, favoured and protected them. From Venice the emigrants were enabled to keep up a correspondence with their friends in Poland. Another knot of Polish refugees was at the same time formed in Paris, soliciting the assistance of the French republic in favour of their country. Fine words were lavished upon them, the French government having promised, *on the faith of republicans*, to succour the Poles. The delusion, which lasted until April, 1795, was dissipated by the news of the treaty of Basle, between Prussia and France. By that treaty the French republic guaranteed to his Prussian Majesty all the actual possessions of Prussia, including, of course, his share of Poland. The Polish patriots were thrown into consternation,—their last fond hope failed them, they saw they had nothing to expect from strangers. Oginski forwarded a remonstrance in the name of his countrymen, through the Polish agent, Barss, at Paris, and the reply of the French executive was, "that France required peace in order to heal its wounds, and to recruit its exhausted finances." "To console them, however, it was added that the present peace with Prussia *could not last long*, and then, at the opening of another war, the French republicans would either wrest Poland from the grasp of its usurpers, or obtain by force the restoration of its independence."—vol. ii. p. 92.

Like shipwrecked mariners, who cling to any plank or fragment they can lay hold of, the Poles now turned for help from democratic France to despotic Turkey. They fancied that the crafty Porte, out of regard for its own security, would assist them to recover their country. We have had occasion to observe in

the history of the last thirty years many curious anomalies and inconsistencies in the opinions and conduct of politicians; we have seen, for instance, the Ottoman government alternately abused and cajoled, reviled and caressed by the same persons and parties. Oginski, by the advice of the French agents themselves, was induced to repair to Constantinople, in hopes of prevailing on the divan to give an asylum to the Poles in Moldavia, whence they might, at the first rupture with Russia, attempt the liberation of their own country. Having procured an English passport under a feigned name, Oginski proceeded to Naples, where he expected to embark for the Levant. At that time the Polish refugees were closely watched all over Italy, and yet our negociator, on the very evening of his arrival at Naples, repaired to the great theatre of San Carlo, the last place, one would think, to which a person in his situation ought to have gone. He had no sooner entered the house than he was recognised by the Russian minister, Count Golowkin, whom Oginski observes, his own short-sightedness prevented him from seeing; an additional reason why he should have kept away from a public place. However, Golowkin had the good nature to tell the Danish minister, whom he knew to be a friend of Oginski, that he was obliged to write to his court about him, and that he would probably receive orders to have him arrested, and therefore the sooner he left Naples the better. In fact, the police of Naples was quickly at his heels; he succeeded, however, in evading their search, and escaped to Rome, and from thence proceeded to Leghorn, a neutral and peaceful port, where he ought to have gone at first. We have noticed this circumstance to show the want of sagacity and even of common caution, which is observable at times in men entrusted with the most important affairs, especially in party politics; no wonder that their measures are often frustrated.

On his arrival at Constantinople, Oginski put himself in communication with the French agents there, and endeavoured to enter into correspondence with some of the Ottoman ministers. This was no easy matter for a man who was not recognized in any official character. This part of his narrative reminded us strongly of Poniatowsky, and the other agents of Charles XII., as described by Voltaire. Oginski gives a curious account of a review of Turkish troops, disciplined after the European fashion, as it is called. Many European, and especially French officers, had been engaged for the purpose, but they either could not, or would not exert themselves; the artillery alone had undergone some improvement,—no alteration could be made in the cavalry;

and of the infantry there were but seven hundred and eighty embodied in a regiment. Their dress was half Turkish, half European.

"I saw them," says Oginski, "manœuvring very awkwardly under the command of some French officers, and in presence of the Sultan and of the Grand Vizier. After two hours of evolutions, they halted and rested at ease, when I observed several soldiers holding out their hands to their officers and asking for some money, whilst a carrier with a skin full of water went through the ranks, distributing his simple beverage to the men who appeared exhausted."—p. 142.

A more essential improvement had at that time taken place in the *matériel* of their navy; the direction of the docks was entrusted to Swedish and French inspectors, and the Turks had ships as well built and equipped as those of any other maritime power.

Oginski at last obtained an interview with the Greek Prince Moruzi, first drogman of the Porte, a young man of eight-and-twenty, well informed, speaking several languages with fluency, and who seemed quite conversant with European politics. "He was as well acquainted," says Oginski, "with the state of parties in Poland as I was myself." After adverting to the fatal disunion of the Poles, which had brought on their catastrophe, Moruzi threw out some hopes, that in case of a diversion being effected by Sweden against Russia, the Turks would begin hostilities, and then the Polish patriots would have a favourable opportunity for co-operation on their part. But when Oginski, in the eagerness of his impatience, endeavoured to rouse the wary Greek by a picture of the threatening attitude of Russia, and of its well-known views upon Constantinople, views which the Porte ought to oppose by endeavouring to rebuild the bulwark of Polish independence, Moruzi smiled, and calmly replied, that

"much water would yet flow in Danube's bed before those gloomy forebodings could be realized, and that the Turkish possessions both in Asia and Europe were so vast, and afforded so many resources, that the empire was fully able to withstand the whole of the united forces of Russia."—p. 178.

Whilst Oginski was thus engaged at Constantinople, the Russian minister at the Porte received regular information of all his steps, and obtained copies of all his letters and communications to the French and other agents. Oginski's Greek servant had secret injunctions to repair every morning and evening to the Russian legation, to give a report of his master's proceedings during the day. This Oginski afterwards learned from the mouth of the individual himself.

About that time (1796) Bonaparte had penetrated into the

very heart of Italy, and was approaching the western frontiers of Turkey; his fame attracted the attention of the Divan. Oginski turned himself to this new rising star, and wrote from Constantinople an emphatic letter to the young conqueror, endeavouring to interest him in favour of the Poles. The verbal answer which Bonaparte sent by his aide-de-camp Sulkowsky, who was going on a mission to Constantinople, is characteristic.

"What can I promise," said Bonaparte thoughtfully, after perusing Oginski's epistle. "Tell your countrymen that I love and esteem the Poles. That the partition of Poland is an act of iniquity which cannot be long endured.... That, after having terminated the war in Italy, I will go myself, at the head of my brave troops, and force Russia to give up Poland; but tell them, also, that the Poles must not rely too much upon foreign assistance; that they must arm; annoy the Russians by every means in their power, and keep up communications with the disaffected in the interior. All the fine words which are told them at Constantinople will come to nothing; I am acquainted with the diplomatic jargon, and the indolence of the Turks. A nation oppressed by its neighbours can raise itself only by its own arms."

Weary of Ottoman irresolution, Oginski left Constantinople, with the idea of approaching the frontiers of his native country. He crossed Rumelia and Bulgaria, then infected by the plague, and repaired to Bucharest, where he met another Pole, a man of a lawless, desperate character, who had conceived the plan of making an irruption into Gallitzia at the time when all the rich proprietors assemble at Lemberg to settle their accounts, and when most of the money of the country is collected there. He expected to surprise and plunder all as well as the custom-house chests, to enlist all the young men of the colleges, the servants and apprentices, under the banners of liberty and equality, to break open the prisons and liberate all the malefactors, in short, to pillage the country and plunge it into anarchy. "Oginski succeeded by intimidation, and by destroying the papers of the conspirator, in preventing the execution of this nefarious project."—p. 247.

From Jassy, Oginski contrived, through dangers and privations of every sort, to penetrate into Austrian Poland. He eluded the spies and the police, and after having seen several of his friends, he proceeded through Saxony and Berlin to Paris, where he arrived in 1797. There he had some desultory interviews with the ministers of the Directory, but the peace of Campo-Formio soon removed every particle of hope the Poles still entertained of French interference.

Oginski saw Bonaparte after his return to Paris; he marked the air of superiority, and almost indifference, with which he

received the homage of all parties and classes. When present at great assemblies, he used to shun notice, and avoid the gaze of the curious, by moving quickly from one apartment to another. At one of these *fêtes*, the Swiss Deputy Ochs, a great admirer of the conqueror, seeing the latter enter the room, in the warmth of his enthusiasm laid hold of the hand of a lady who sat by him, but to him unknown, and pointing to the general, exclaimed, "Look, Madam, that is Bonaparte." "I know it, Sir," calmly replied the lady, "for he is my husband." It was Josephine.—p. 303.

Seeing no prospect of being useful to his country by continuing a wanderer in foreign lands, Oginski's thoughts now turned towards home; he closed his political correspondence, which could serve no purpose but to endanger him and others. He repaired first to Hamburgh, where, through his wife's interest, he obtained leave of the King of Prussia to reside in Prussian Poland with his family. There he lived quietly until 1802, when the young Emperor Alexander gave him permission to enter the Russian frontier as a Lithuanian subject of Russia, and after having sworn allegiance at Grodno, Oginski repaired to Petersburg.

Here begins the account of his intimacy with the late Emperor of Russia, of whom the warm-hearted Pole speaks in terms of devotion, and of sorrow for his premature death. Notwithstanding the many aspersions on Alexander's character, the invidious insinuations of his great foe, and the natural jealousy which his interference of late years in the affairs of other countries roused against him, we believe Oginski's estimate of that sovereign's qualities to be mainly correct. Pleasing, accomplished, and well-disposed, a certain weakness and indecision in the earlier, a glare of vanity and a tinge of mysticism in the latter years of his reign, led him into errors with regard to his foreign politics; but as a sovereign of Russia, his memory will remain in high honour among his people, as one of the greatest benefactors of his country.

"Besides all that I owed to him personally," thus Oginski expresses himself, "I was indebted to him as a Pole for the protection he granted to my countrymen, the generous confidence he reposed in them, the encouragement of national education in Russian Poland, and lastly, the revival of my country's name among the states of Europe."—p. 325.

Oginski was at Wilna at the epoch of the war in Prussia, when French agents were spreading themselves about Russian Poland, exciting the people to rise, and announcing the arrival of Kosciuzko in the van of the French armies. Napoleon had certainly invited that general to follow him to the army, but the Polish patriot, probably seeing through the emperor's intentions,

and suspecting that he would only be made an instrument of his ambition, excused himself on the plea of ill health. When Napoleon arrived at Posen, he found the enthusiasm of the Poles at its highest pitch; yet the thirty-seventh bulletin, issued from his head-quarters, was remarkable for that oracular language, which he often assumed for the purpose of veiling his designs. "Shall the throne of Poland be restored, shall this great nation revive into existence? God alone who holds in his hands the threads of events, can resolve this great political problem, but certainly there never was a period *so important and so full of interest.*" However, Napoleon resolved the problem, not only by guaranteeing to Alexander his share of Poland, but also by offering to him, at their meeting at Tilsit, Warsaw and the whole of Prussian Poland, which offer Alexander declined, and *it was then* that Bonaparte formed the Duchy of Warsaw and gave it to the King of Saxony. "Of this I have had since," says Oginski, "the most authentic proofs under my own eyes." p. 344. The district of Bialystock, however, was ceded to Russia. But this is not all; we learn further that after the conferences of Erfurt, the ministers of the two cabinets communicated to each other their respective information concerning the state of parties in Poland and the conduct of the dissatisfied Poles. Thus many inhabitants of Lithuania were denounced to the Russian police by the very French agents who had instigated them to revolt. Luckily Alexander was not disposed to severity, and past errors were mostly overlooked.

In 1807, Oginski went to Italy for his health. He happened to be at Venice when Napoleon visited that city, and appeared at his levee. Napoleon, noticing on his breast the insignia of the old Polish order of the White Eagle, expressed some surprise that Alexander should allow his subjects to wear it. Oginski replied that the emperor would not deprive the Poles of this last remembrance of their former political existence, adding that Alexander uniformly endeavoured to conciliate his Polish subjects, and to soften the feeling of their misfortune. Napoleon frowned, and turning abruptly from him, addressed in rapid succession several persons in the circle in a gruff tone and ungracious manner. To a Russian prince he said, that he was right to travel in Italy to enjoy the warmth of the sun, as that luminary was a stranger to his native country; he next threatened a deputation of the Venetian Jews,—who by-the-bye had just contributed large sums for the expense of his reception,—that if they continued to practise usury he would have them hanged, and then turning again to Oginski, observed: "these Jews are to be met every where, but no where in such swarms as in Poland."—p. 353.

From Venice, our author repaired to Tuscany. He found that lovely province of Italy in 1808 in a very different condition from what he had seen it twelve years before when under the government of its grand duke. The French had taken possession of the country, and a French administrator had arrived, to organize it, and prepare its annexation to the French empire. General Menou was appointed governor and fixed his residence in the Pitti Palace at Florence. Here Oginski, a stranger who had no local prejudices to indulge, observed some of the evils the Tuscans had to suffer by the change.

"Twelve thousand individuals, once employed in the silk trade in the city of Florence alone, were reduced to beggary, in consequence of the destruction of maritime commerce, and the superior rivalry of the French silk manufacturers. Heavy duties on wine, oil, salt and tobacco were imposed on the murmuring people, who were kept under by force, while the French *employés*, and a small number of natives devoted to the conqueror, made fortunes at the expense of the rest."—p. 554.

Oginski confirms a circumstance, that we ourselves recollect witnessing at the time, namely, the eagerness with which the people in Tuscany caught at every report, however improbable, which was favourable to the Austrian arms during the war of 1809, especially at the advance of the Archduke John and the Tyrolese auxiliaries in the North of Italy, after the battle of la Piave.

After the peace of Schoenbrunn, Oginski repaired to Paris, at the invitation of the Russian minister Prince Kurakin.

"This was the seventh time," he observes, "I had visited Paris, having seen it at very different epochs and under very different circumstances. This wonderful city possesses above all others, the peculiarity of appearing always the same to foreigners. Whatever might be the changes that took place in its government, even in the most ominous periods of the revolution, and at the time of the most decisive campaigns of the empire, Paris always presented the same gay unconcerned appearance, the same bustle, dissipation and pleasures; and the same care was bestowed on its public institutions, buildings and walks. The restaurateurs, the coffee-houses, the theatres were at all times crowded as usual."

Oginski perceived, therefore, no difference; it was only at the Tuilleries that he was struck by the strangeness of the change. "It was singular to see six kings* and several queens doing homage to the great umpire; it was singular also to behold at the reviews, French, Italian, Dutch, Polish, German, Spanish and Portuguese troops marching past Napoleon." This was just previous

* Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Spain, Naples and Westphalia. It ought to be observed, however, that the last three were Napoleon's brothers, and that the others were kings of his own creation.

to his second marriage: Oginski, however, did not see that splendid pageant, family affairs having recalled him to Russia.

On his return to Wilna, our author was entrusted with a memorial from the nobility of Lithuania, against the vexations of the local government, and he repaired to Petersburg to lay it before the emperor. Alexander received him kindly and promised redress; he was then beginning to be uneasy about Napoleon's views, and spoke to Oginski on the subject; he should, he said, warn the Poles not to trust Napoleon's cajoleries, adding that he himself would do something more substantial for them. The results of that interview were a despatch, granting the demands of the Lithuanians, and the appointment of Oginski to be Privy Counsellor and Senator of Russia. Our author then rejoined his family at Paris; he again appeared at the Tuilleries, where Napoleon received him with more coldness than before. The policy of the latter had now visibly changed, and he became estranged from Russia. Duroc had a curious conversation with Oginski, in which he expressed his regret at the latter having accepted the dignity of Russian Senator, instead of attaching himself to Napoleon, who, said Duroc, had further views in favour of the Poles. Oginski replied, that having lost every hope of seeing Poland restored to its independence, he did not see much difference between an inhabitant of the Dutchy of Warsaw, and a Lithuanian—between a subject of Alexander, and a subject of Napoleon. Hereupon Duroc remarked, that the re-establishment of Poland as an independent state was a chimera, a dream, and descanted on the former anarchy of Poland, on the slavery of its peasantry, &c. It was then that Oginski thought seriously of the part he was to take in the impending struggle which he saw would soon take place between the two empires. He resolved upon remaining attached to the Emperor Alexander, and the consequences of this determination are related at length in the third volume of these *Memoirs*, in which we find a long series of confidential communications between Oginski and the emperor, concerning the projected re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland. This part of the work we should have regarded as the most interesting, had the end answered the expectations which the fair words of the Russian monarch were calculated to raise. We are not among those who love to cavil at every action of sovereigns, and to deal in insinuations against their intentions; we know that the will of a king, however absolute, is often controlled by imperious circumstances. But judging merely from facts, we must confess, that after reading our author's account of promises lavished during a protracted period of four years, of the restoration of Poland as an independent state, and looking on

the map at the diminutive kingdom which now goes by that name, as the only offspring of all these pompous plans and projects, we feel disappointed at such "a lame and impotent conclusion." The most charitable inference we can draw from the whole transaction is, that the emperor's firmness of purpose was not equal to the natural impulse of his feelings, and that he was led by an amiable, though not excusable facility of disposition, to excite hopes which a great sovereign ought never to have encouraged, unless he felt that he had the power as well as the strength of mind necessary to realize them.

No blame however, in our opinion, attaches itself to Oginski's conduct. We have already seen that he had renounced every idea of the re-establishment of Polish independence, before he took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Alexander as a Lithuanian subject. During his subsequent residence at Paris, he became still more convinced that Napoleon had no serious intention of restoring the independence of Poland. In fact the French monarch had guaranteed Galitzia to his father-in-law the Emperor of Austria; and although it was now obvious that a rupture between France and Russia must soon take place, it was also clear from the spirit of Napoleon's policy, that if he were successful, and should deprive Russia of Lithuania, he would make of that country a kingdom dependent on himself, which would serve him as an advanced post in his future wars with Russia; and which would be governed by a sort of prefect king, in the same manner as Westphalia, Warsaw and Naples. The fate of the Dutchy of Warsaw was an example to the Lithuanians of what they had to expect even at the best. It was well known that the king of Saxony, with the kindest intentions, was unable to promote the welfare of his Polish subjects. Orders from Paris thwarted his best-intended measures. The country was weighed down with conscriptions and forced contributions; obliged to maintain an enormous force, exposed in case of war to the incursions of hostile armies: insecure for the present, and uncertain of their future prospects, the Warsawians were only supported by the vague hope of being one day united with the rest of their countrymen. So distressed were the landholders, that several of them, unable to pay the imposts, offered to give up their property, only asking to be allowed a pension amounting to *one half of the taxes imposed upon them*. This was not a tempting prospect for their Lithuanian neighbours. But there was also another chance attending the issue of the impending war, a chance, which notwithstanding the imposing attitude of Napoleon's power, did not escape Oginski at the time. If the Russians should come out victorious from the struggle,

what would be the consequences to the Lithuanians, should they listen to the suggestions of the French, and revolt against their actual masters?

"In short, I felt," says Oginski, "that Poland must be dependent either on France or Russia, and between the two, I saw greater chance of its welfare, and greater hopes even of its recovering its nationality under the sceptre of the Emperor Alexander. I knew that 'since the accession of the latter to the throne, the re-establishment of a kingdom of Poland had been spoken of, and I knew also, from Laharpe and others, that from his earliest years, even in Catharine's court, the young prince had always expressed feelings of commiseration and sympathy towards the Poles, and had, in his confidential colloquies, disapproved of the measure of the annihilation of Poland.'"—vol. iii. p. 27.

Full of these sentiments, Oginski, on his arrival at Petersburg in April, 1811, requested and obtained an audience of the Emperor Alexander. Being graciously asked to dinner, he was afterwards introduced into the emperor's closet, where he had his first conversation with regard to Poland. Oginski told Alexander plainly what he thought of the views of Napoleon, and his vast preparations, which must be intended against Russia, and of the signs of the times which strengthened this supposition: "I am also disposed to believe the same," said Alexander, "but I am perhaps the only person at Petersburg who thinks so;" and he recommended Oginski to be cautious in speaking. But although Alexander seemed now perfectly recovered from his former *engouement* of Napoleon, he observed that it would be imprudent to anticipate him, and to hurry on a war dangerous and destructive. "But," added he smiling to Oginski, "you do not speak to me of Poland amidst all this, and yet I am sure it is the foremost object in your thoughts. You cannot have great fears for Russia, which will know how to defend itself, but you dread that Poland should become the theatre of war." Oginski replied, that if his majesty would take the field before his rival, and crossing the Dutchy of Warsaw, enter Prussia with his armies, he would encourage the latter power to make common cause with him; and if, moreover, he were to announce to the Poles that he would add the Lithuanian provinces to the Dutchy of Warsaw, and form a kingdom of the whole, he would have all the people of Poland in his favour. But this is a *dream*, added Oginski, correcting himself. "And why so?" said the emperor, "this might happen in time without my beginning the war." He then observed that the present state of feeling in the Dutchy of Warsaw was not favourable to any impression of the kind, that Napoleon had electrified them with promises, that he for his part would promise nothing but what he knew he should keep, and that the Poles

one day would see how much he esteemed them. *For the present*, he must be contented in endeavouring to make his Polish or rather Lithuanian subjects as happy as he could, and he asked Oginski if he had any suggestions to offer in their favour. The latter proposed the measure of uniting the provinces of Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolia, and Kiiow, into one government, by the name of Lithuania, with a separate administration under a member of the imperial family of Russia. "I am glad," said Alexander, "that our views should meet. It is now six months since I have sketched a plan similar to the one you propose, and which when completed, shall be communicated to you." At the same time he ordered Oginski to draw up a memoir of his own ideas and observations concerning the said provinces, which would serve to the furtherance of the intended changes and amelioration in the government of those countries.—p. 44.

Oginski soon after delivered the memoir on the state of Lithuania, which he read himself to the emperor. It was sensibly written: it took a view of Napoleon's conduct with regard to the Poles, whose independent character he never liked, although he caressed them as useful instruments, until the establishment of the Dutchy of Warsaw came to revive the hopes of all the Poles, as an indication of Napoleon's further intentions. The memoir then went on to state the necessity on the part of Russia of counteracting this influence by attaching to herself the population of Lithuania, Podolia, and Volhynia, so as to render it proof against Napoleon's intrigues.

"It is easy," observed Oginski, "to incorporate provinces into a powerful empire, but not so easy to amalgamate two nations, especially after a long war or rivalry. The Emperor Napoleon has incorporated by various decrees, Tuscany, Holland, part of Switzerland and Germany, with the French empire, but yet the Italians, the Dutch, the Swiss, and the Germans cannot, and will not become French. However, he contrives to makes them very useful, and how? As soon as he has annexed a province to his dominions, he procures minute information of the state of mind of the people, their character, the resources and wants of the country, of the men who are his partizans and must be rewarded, of those who are intriguing and troublesome, and who must be silenced either by fear, or by giving them employments. The rich and noble are called to the court, the ambitious are flattered with titles and decorations, the needy men of talent receive pensions, the learned and the artists are protected. This is the mode by which Napoleon, in spite of his oppressive regulations, contributions, and conscriptions, possesses in every newly acquired department a number of useful persons, who are devoted to him, and watch over the internal tranquillity of the country."

Oginski then proposed to Alexander to follow this example, and to conciliate the Polish subjects of Russia, by conferring

substantial benefits upon them, such as giving them a separate and national administration under the ancient name of Lithuania, preserving their old statutes of civil and criminal law, to which they are strongly attached, and appointing a native court of appeal, which would save the inhabitants the trouble and expense of repairing to Petersburg; in short, by doing for Lithuania what had been done for the conquered province of Finland. Alexander approved of Oginski's suggestions, and said, that either the war would break out, and then he should create a kingdom of Poland annexed to the crown of Russia, or peace would be maintained, and then he should adopt his plan in favour of Lithuania.—p. 73.

Meantime Oginski had full opportunities, in the societies of Petersburg, of verifying Alexander's words as to the listless security of the people of that capital, on the eve of a most terrible war.

"All those who surrounded the emperor, all but the emperor himself, seemed not even to dream of a rupture with France. Nothing was heard in the saloons of Petersburg but eulogies of the French emperor, descriptions of the magnificence of his court, of the attractions of Paris, and congratulations on the advantages which peace had now secured to both countries."

The conduct of Alexander towards the French minister, Caulaincourt, who seemed to have ingratiated himself with the emperor, strengthened the general confidence. It appears, however, that Alexander did not betray himself so as to give the French minister any suspicion of what was passing in his mind; for certainly Napoleon did not think him prepared for the war, although we find Alexander to have been so, even before Oginski returned to Petersburg in the spring of 1811.

Caulaincourt was recalled, and succeeded by Lauriston, whom Alexander treated with the greatest courtesy, but with less confidence than his predecessor. Meantime the news from Paris became more and more critical, and already, at the end of 1811, the good people of Petersburg began to foresee some probabilities of war. Napoleon had, at a public circle in the Tuilleries, broken out into one of his fits of ill-humour against the Russian envoy. Alexander gave orders to General Kutusow to make peace with the Turks; but the latter, with their usual pertinacity, would not listen to terms until they were soundly beaten. Elated by the retreat of the Russians, they crossed the Danube and entered Wallachia, when Kutusow, having detached a corps to their rear, with a view to cut off their reserve and intercept their communications, proceeded to meet them in front. The Turkish army, thus surrounded, surrendered by capitulation. The Porte, discouraged by this disaster, now sued for a cessation

of hostilities, and negotiations were entered into at Bucharest in the month of December, which in spite of Napoleon's efforts to thwart them, terminated in the peace of 1812.

In December, 1811, we find Oginski busy drawing up another memoir concerning the organization of the Lithuanian army, in which he repeated his suggestion, that in case of a war, Alexander should assume the title of King of Poland. The emperor, however, was still undecided, but he desired Oginski to prepare, in concert with some of his countrymen, the plan of a constitution for Poland. "But," said he, "do not forget the peasantry; they are the most useful class, and yours have been till now treated like helots."—p. 115.

Thus were Oginski and his countrymen, Lubomirski, Lubecki, Plater, and other Polish noblemen engaged at Petersburg in planning the future welfare of their country, under the sanction of Alexander, during the winter which preceded the memorable Russian campaign. Thus were men divided in Poland, as elsewhere, between Napoleon and national independence.

Alexander quitted Petersburg for Wilna, in April, 1812, and Oginski was requested to follow him thither, which he did at the beginning of June. The French had just crossed the Niemen, and the war had actually begun, but yet it was only at Oginski's second audience that the emperor let drop some words which disclosed the secret, for such it was, even at head-quarters. Of course, all plans with regard to Lithuania were set aside, Alexander set off for the camp at Dryssa, Wilna was evacuated by the Russians, and the French soon after entered it.

It is not our object to follow Oginski through his account of the well-known campaign of 1812, although it is not destitute of novelty, as it presents the Russian side of the perspective at that momentous period. We will only notice his assertion, that the plan of the Russian operations had been decided upon in a secret council of war held at Petersburg the winter before.

On the first of November, Alexander said to Oginski:

"As the French are still near Kaluga, it would be ill-timed in me to assume the title of King of Poland—it would look presumptuous . . . the present war cannot be soon over; either Napoleon or I must fall; as soon as the French shall be far enough I will re-establish Poland, I know *I shall find many obstacles* to the accomplishment of my design, but if I live it shall be fulfilled."—p. 251.

A few weeks after, Oginski learned that after the retreat of the French, several noblemen who had filled offices during the invasion of Lithuania, had been arrested by order of the Russian generals, and taken to Petersburg as state criminals. He im-

mediately wrote to the emperor in favour of his countrymen. A week after he was directed to repair, with Prince Lubecki, to the secretary of state, M. Schischkoff, who communicated to them a plan for a general amnesty and oblivion of the past in favour of those Lithuanians who had committed themselves during the French occupation. The secretary observed, that it was the emperor's intention to have the pardon full and without exception, although Mr. Shischkoff candidly confessed he thought it would be proper to draw a distinction between such as had merely accepted offices under the enemy, and those who had written or acted in direct hostility against the Russian government. Oginski strongly combated this suggestion by all the arguments in his power. He was listened to attentively by the secretary; but not satisfied with this, he wrote again next day to Alexander, repeating to him the conversation he had had with his minister. The amnesty was proclaimed in December, full and without exceptions, according to the emperor's original intentions.

Alexander again left Petersburg for the army, and his last words to Oginski were—

“I hope you are satisfied with the amnesty. As soon as our troops shall have occupied the Dutchy of Warsaw and we have ceased to fear Bonaparte's return, I shall think of our plans for Poland. Meantime—patience and confidence.”—p. 266.

The Russian monarch followed the course of warfare first into Poland, and then into the heart of Germany; and it was not till the following August that Oginski addressed him again on the subject of Poland. His letter described the miserable state in which the inhabitants of Lithuania were reduced by the consequences of the war. Many of the proprietors were utterly ruined, and the wealthiest saw the value of their properties reduced one-half, and were unable to buy cattle and horses, and the implements of agriculture, or obliged to borrow money at a ruinous interest. Alexander was then with his army in Saxony, and he answered by return of post, desiring Oginski to transmit a plan or project for the relief of the sufferers. He accordingly did so; but it seems that in the midst of the hurrying events of the time, this plan was lost sight of.

At last, after the first capitulation of Paris and Alexander's visit to England, the Emperor returned to his capital in the summer of 1814. He appeared at that period deeply impressed with the solemnity of the events that had just taken place, and in which he had acted a part as successful as unexpected. He countermanded the preparations that the people of the capital were making for his reception; he refused a monument which the senate

and the synod had proposed to erect to him, telling them to raise him a more acceptable one in their own bosoms; and in answer to the request, of which the excitement of the moment may excuse the flattery, that he should add to his name the epithet of *the blessed*, he properly replied, that "he wished his people to bless him in their hearts, as he blessed them from the depth of his."

A few days after his return, the Emperor received, in a solemn audience, the congratulations of the deputies of all the Polish provinces annexed to Russia; namely, Wilna, Grodno, Minsk, Witepsk, Mohilow, Kiiow, Podolia, Volhynia and Bialistock. Even Courland, once subject to Poland, had sent its deputies. Oginski was sent by Wilna. Alexander appeared to him much more serious and reserved than in 1812. "People were struck with this change in his countenance, which was the effect of the awful events he had witnessed, of the knowledge he had acquired of mankind, and also of the excitement of his religious feelings." He, however, soon resumed his wonted affability, while he addressed to Oginski several words of kindness concerning his countrymen; after which he dismissed the deputation with the ambiguous sentence—"a little more time and patience, gentlemen, and you will be all much better satisfied with me."

From this time it began to be rumoured that Alexander had resolved the re-establishment of Poland, and he encouraged this report by hinting at the pleasing prospect in his conversation, especially with Polish ladies whom he met at parties and balls. At last, on the eve of his departure for Warsaw, he sent for Oginski, and told him he expected to see him in that city; that he had not had till now a moment to give to Polish affairs; that he had, however, given orders to indemnify those inhabitants of Lithuania who had suffered most by the passage of the armies in 1812; and that he was now going *to work steadily for the Poles*.

We must now briefly recapitulate with Oginski the events which had thrown the Duchy of Warsaw, and the remainder of its army, into the hands of Alexander. When the first rumour of the war with Russia was spread, the hopes of the Warsawians were greatly excited. They had considered their actual state as one of temporary probation, only rendered tolerable by the prospect of seeing one day the ancient independence of Poland restored, through the protecting influence of Napoleon. They now actually proclaimed the re-establishment of Poland, convoked a general Diet, recalled from the Russian service all the officers, civil and military, of Polish birth; in short, threw the gauntlet to Russia. All this took place in June 1812, while the French were crossing the Niemen. The Diet then sent deputies to Napoleon, who found him at Wilna, and the president of the deputation told him plainly,

that "the interests of his empire, nay the honour of France, required the restoration of Poland." The Poles knew little of Napoleon's mind. He bore their lecture, however, tolerably well in appearance, but his reply was little in accordance with their sanguine expectations.

"Were I a Pole," said Napoleon, "I should think and act like you, but situated as I am, I have many interests to conciliate, and many duties to perform. . . . If your efforts be unanimous, you *may hope* to reduce your enemies to acknowledge your rights, for in countries like these, so remote and so extensive, it is only through the unanimous co-operation of the population that you can expect to succeed. I have held to you the same language when I first appeared among you, and I must now add that I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions, and therefore I cannot countenance any movement which might disturb his quiet possession of his present Polish territories."—vol. iii. p. 201.

This evasive answer cooled the ardour of the Warsawians, and checked still more the Lithuanians in any idea of emancipating themselves finally from Russia. Napoleon established a separate and provisory administration in Lithuania, the members of which were mostly native noblemen; but he also appointed an Imperial commissary, M. Bignon, and four French intendants, one to each government or province, three of whom were very young men, one of them hardly twenty!

Already Napoleon, in his order of the day before crossing the Niemen, had told his soldiers that they were about to enter the *enemy's country*—an expression which apprized the Lithuanians of what they had to expect. In fact, the French soldiers marked their entrance by burning villages, pillaging noblemen's mansions, cutting the corn still green to feed their horses, taking away provisions, insulting the women and ill-treating the peasants.—p. 291. It is a remarkable fact, which shows how much the superior officers were to blame for those excesses, that the first corps, commanded by Marshal Davoust, took no part in them.

"This general, who from his Pashalick of Hamburgh used to make the whole of Northern Germany tremble, showed himself humane, and even affable in Poland; he maintained the strictest discipline among the troops under his orders. He had attached a great number of Polish officers to his person and to his staff, and it was even conjectured that he had some hopes of being one day placed on the throne of Poland."—p. 217.

The Russians on retiring had left no stores behind. The French soldiers were fed by the inhabitants, and they destroyed more than they consumed. The French intendants had the difficult task of alleviating these evils. Young, and almost beardless,

their first appearance and Parisian costume amazed the people of a country where mustaches and flowing robes are still preserved in great measure, and where age commands respect. The youthful intendants, however, endowed with the ardour of their nation, showed the greatest activity, and collected large magazines, which, owing to the disasters of the campaign, fell into the hands of the Russians not long after. But what is more to their credit, these gentlemen, thus thrown into a strange and conquered country, and invested with great power, succeeded in arousing the respect of the natives by their honesty; they even refused the customary presents and allowances tendered by the provinces. It is pleasing to have to record such traits as these in the narrative of a French campaign during the late war. And we may affirm as a general fact, that in proportion as the military were indulged by Napoleon with unbridled license in conquered countries, and this partly through policy and partly through sheer necessity, the civil administration, on the contrary, once organized, was remarkable for the honourable exactitude of its conduct, the precision of its accounts, and the vigilance which one branch exerted upon the other. We have seen with our own eyes proofs of what we here state. The least irregularity soon drew upon the offender a severe letter from the minister, and unless fully explained, dismissal; if not worse, followed. The Emperor would be informed of every abuse discovered.

Besides the four civil intendants there were also four military governors, one to each province of Lithuania, all of them under the orders of Governor-General Hogendorp, a Dutch officer, who is described as extremely irritable, from an affection of the brain, produced by the tropical sun in India, in which country he had once held a command. The Duke of Bassano, Minister of Foreign Affairs, represented Napoleon at Wilna, and was distinguished for a politeness and gentleness, rather uncommon in the ministers of a Court remarkable for its rough military tone.

In the midst of all this, and in the uncertainty which Napoleon's ominous silence left on the minds of the Lithuanians, the French were generally well received; the excesses of the soldiery were attributed to unavoidable causes, and the Emperor's orders to repress them satisfied the people. In several towns, such as Minsk, the French were received with enthusiasm, because the officers had announced, of their own authority, the speedy re-establishment of Poland. More than three hundred students of the University of Wilna volunteered their services; many noblemen of the first families did the same.

But this was not enough for Napoleon. He saw a coolness in the mass of the Lithuanian nobility which displeased him;

he would have wished them to have risen in mass and proclaimed their independence. But the Lithuanians had expected the signal from him, and he, instead of giving it, had checked the first ebullition by his answer to the Warsaw deputation. The consequence was diffidence on both sides, as both appealed to future contingencies. The remote, but important, provinces of Podolia and Volhynia remained passive and indifferent.

Here Oginski quotes Segur, who, in his usual lively and dramatic style, reports a curious dialogue that took place at Napoleon's head-quarters, between some French and Lithuanian officers, on the subject of the coolness manifested by the Lithuanian people. The passage is, probably, still in the mind of our readers. The terrific fate of the Lithuanian nobleman, who, accompanied by his daughter, his vassals, and his supplies, was on his way to offer his services to Napoleon, but falling in with a party of marauders from the French camp, had been robbed of all, *was no longer a father*, and now stood frantic and almost naked, at the entrance of the imperial head-quarters, calling heaven and earth to avenge his injuries, forms a climax of miseries that cannot soon be obliterated from the memory. Thus it was that the Lithuanians beheld passively the events of that memorable campaign, and at the ebb of the irruption, returned quietly under the sway of Russia.

It was with feelings of greater and more bitter disappointment that the people of Warsaw saw themselves abandoned by the French to their fate. When Napoleon returned to Warsaw, after the disaster of the Berezyna, he is represented to have talked in a manner which in another man would have appeared like insanity. De Pradt, in his "*Ambassade de Pologne*," has given a ludicrous, but, as Oginski affirms, a true account of his apparition, and of his strange conduct and conversation on that occasion. We confess that we retained some doubts of the truth of that remarkable scene, until we saw it attested by Oginski, under the authority of Count Stanislaus Potocki, who was present at the interview, and confirmed to our author, almost word for word, M. de Pradt's narrative. Suffice it to say, as a specimen of the vagaries in which Napoleon chose to indulge, perhaps to mystify his auditors, or to drive away more threatening thoughts, that he seriously advised the Council of Warsaw to raise a corps of ten thousand Cossacks armed with spears, who, according to him, would stop the march of the victorious Russian armies.—(vol. iv. p. 82—85.) This was "calling the spirits from the vasty deep," indeed!

The Russians entered Warsaw in February, 1813. The administration was dissolved, and a Council formed, *pro tempore*,

composed of Russians and Poles, which continued its functions till the end of the war.

The noble behaviour of the Polish troops in Napoleon's service deserves commemoration. The Duchy of Warsaw had under arms, in the year 1812, the enormous number of 85,000 men, divided into ninety battalions of infantry and sixty-nine squadrons of cavalry. Of these about 24,000 only were united together in a corps, namely the 5th, commanded by Prince Poniatowski. The remainder were scattered about in regiments or brigades among the various corps of the French army. The Polish troops, and especially the cavalry, distinguished themselves during that murderous campaign. They were of great service in the retreat, at the passage of the Wilia and of the Berezyna. And yet Napoleon, on his return to Warsaw, observed, with ill humour, that "he had not seen any Poles during the campaign."—(p. 81.) However, the Poles continued to follow next year the fortunes of him to whom they had sworn fidelity, and at the battle of Leipzig, in the midst of general defection, they fought most bravely for him and lost several thousand men, as well as their gallant commander, Prince Poniatowski, who was drowned in crossing the Elster. At last, those who remained together, (reduced to a few thousands, when near the banks of the Rhine,) considered that they had done enough for their honour, and that after seeing Napoleon safe within the boundaries of his own France, they might think of returning home. Napoleon was informed of this, and four days after the battle of Hanau, the last he fought on German ground, he assembled, on an eminence near the high road, the Polish officers, and told them that "he had no fault to find with them, they had behaved loyally to him They were at liberty to go home; *two or three thousand men, more or less*, however brave, could make no difference to him. But if they left him, he would have no right to speak for them, or for Poland; while their political existence was not yet annihilated, if ever he were obliged to give them up, they should be mentioned in the next treaty of peace."—(p. 173.) Without the least hesitation, these brave men followed him through his last campaign, and to the very barriers of Paris.

After the treaty of Fontainebleau, the Emperor Alexander signified to the Polish troops in the French service that they were to return home, where they should be at liberty to serve or retire. The Grand Duke Constantine was appointed their Commander in Chief. The commanders of the different regiments were presented to the Emperor at St. Denis. Twelve generals and six hundred officers were found surviving. In August, 1814, the remnant of the Polish army arrived at Posen, under the command

of General Krasinski. In an address from that officer to his countrymen, he justly observes,

"Free from reproach in the eyes of all Europe, we have done all we could for our dear country, and we now return to it with unextinguished hopes. The Polish soldier never ceases to be a citizen . . . Faithful to our duty, we did not forsake a tottering throne, *until he who had raised it forsook it himself*, and it was with his permission that we appealed to the Emperor Alexander, who granted us his protection."

The Grand Duke Constantine reorganized the Polish army, in which he invited all those brave veterans to assemble again under the same chiefs to watch "over the renewed destinies of their country." This appeal was listened to, and generally obeyed.

In May, 1815, the fate of the Dutchy of Warsaw was decided at the Congress of Vienna. The King of Saxony having signed a formal renunciation of that country, the Dutchy was annexed to the Russian crown, with the exception of the province of Posén, which was restored to Prussia. Austria preserved Galitzia with the salt mines of Wielicza. The city of Cracow was declared independent. The course of the Vistula and of the Bug were fixed as the limits between Austrian and Russian Poland. The Emperor of Russia was to take the title of King of Poland. This treaty was signed by the ministers of the three powers, Russia, Prussia and Austria.

The Emperor Alexander, in his proclamation to the inhabitants of the dutchy of Warsaw, signified to them that the kingdom of Poland was re-established.

"'Poles,' said he, 'new ties will thus unite you still closer to a generous nation, which is of kindred origin with yours, of the same great Sclavonian race, and by old connections, is worthy of you. However, in endeavouring to replace this new link in the chain of European states, we could not consult the interests of Poland alone. We could not favour certain local details appropriated merely to that country, which might not have harmonized with the general interests and the balance of Europe.' In those parts of Poland, however, which remain under the Prussian and Austrian dominion, it was agreed by common consent that the magistrates should thenceforth be taken from among the natives."—p. 218.

On the 20th of June, 1815, discharges of artillery announced to the people of Warsaw the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland. A ministry was appointed by the emperor, composed entirely of Poles, and a constitutional charter drawn up, (of which Oginski gives a copy,) and signed by Alexander in November of the same year. The Russian troops were ordered to evacuate the new kingdom.

In all these transactions, however, our readers will have ob-

served, that the Lithuanian provinces had not been mentioned. General Kosciuzko, in a letter addressed to Alexander from Vienna, remarked that essential omission.

"One cause of uneasiness only, checks my joy for the benefits conferred by your majesty upon the Poles. I was born a Lithuanian, sire, and I have now but few years to live; still a veil of uncertainty darkens the fate of my native land, and of many other provinces of Poland. I have not forgotten the magnanimous promises which your majesty has given to me and to others of my countrymen upon this point; I do not pretend to hasten the execution of your projects, but I wish to be re-assured; one word from you, sire, and I devote the whole remainder of my existence to the service of your imperial and royal majesty. I shall then be sure that *all your Polish subjects* will have reason to bless you for your benefits."

To this letter, however, it appears, Alexander made no reply; the amiable simplicity and single-heartedness of the Polish veteran clashed with the recondite views of Russian diplomacy, and Kosciuzko, in a letter which he wrote soon after to Prince Adam Czartoriski, thus comments upon this:—

"We ought to be thankful to the emperor for having revived the name of Poland, but the name alone does not constitute a nation. The extent of territory and the number of inhabitants are to be considered also for something. I did not expect to see my country's name restricted to the small portion of territory emphatically decorated with the appellation of Kingdom of Poland. He had promised us to extend the frontiers of Poland to the Dwina and the Borysthene, which would have made a kingdom of ten or eleven millions of inhabitants, a kingdom like Hungary, having its constitution and laws under the same sceptre as Russia . . . I must, however, distinguish between the humane and generous intentions of the emperor and *the policy of his cabinet*. I shall bear till death a just gratitude towards this prince for having revived the Polish name, although within such narrow limits. As for you, my dear prince, may Providence direct your steps: but as I find myself unable to be of any further use to my country, I am going to seek an asylum in Switzerland."—p. 213.

Kosciuzko kept his word; to Switzerland he retired, and there died some years afterwards.

The apparent inconsistency of Alexander with regard to the Lithuanian provinces, was somewhat explained in his next interview with Oginski. The count repaired to Warsaw in November, 1815, as deputy for Wilna, together with the deputies of the nobility of Grodno and Minsk. He obtained first a private audience of the emperor in the castle of the ancient kings of Poland. On entering the imperial closet, he found Alexander dressed in the uniform of a Polish general, wearing the national order of the White Eagle. The emperor looked thoughtful and

serious; he took Oginski by the hand, however, and spoke to him with his wonted affability. He began by alluding to the strange events that had occurred since their last interview, mentioning Bonaparte's return from Elba and subsequent defeat.

"Other things have also occurred as I had foretold. I have done for the inhabitants of this country all that was possible. Adam (Czartoriskf) will tell you all the difficulties and the obstacles *I have had to encounter at Vienna*. . . . However, I have made this kingdom, and made it upon very solid foundations, as I have induced the powers of Europe to guarantee its existence by treaties. I shall also do the remainder as I have promised, but it cannot be all at once . . . I request confidence, and I think I deserve it after all I have done. My resolutions do not easily alter."

Oginski observed that the emperor spoke with less rapidity than usual, as if he weighed his words. At last Alexander asked him if he was not sent as a deputy by Wilna, and expressed his readiness to receive all the deputies of Lithuania;

"but," said he, "you must not in your address touch a delicate chord, which would only commit me . . . I cannot allow you to ask me to unite your provinces to Poland, because it must not be supposed that you have asked me such a thing. On the contrary, the boon ought to come from myself, from my own impulse. I know that your present state of relations with Russia cannot suit you . . . You cannot be satisfied in Lithuania as long as you are not amalgamated with your countrymen, and as long as you do not enjoy the advantages of a constitution; then, indeed, your connection with Russia will be attended with perfect confidence and concord. My reasons for executing this project will be stronger, when, after some experience, I shall be able to cite the government of this kingdom as a model for the rest; and when people will have seen that no inconvenience has resulted from it to my Russian empire, then it will be easy for me to execute the remainder . . . I know that your provinces have suffered much, and I have already ordered that very few Russian troops should remain in them. Here there are none but Poles. Once more confidence and discretion."—
p. 236.

Here, however, Oginski concludes his Memoirs; Alexander's promises were not realized; perhaps the fear of offending his Russian subjects stood in the way. The disturbances of 1820-21, in the South of Europe, and the affairs of Turkey gave a new direction to his thoughts, and at last his unexpected death at Tiflis put an end to any project he might have still entertained.

The actual kingdom of Poland, which occupies the central part of ancient Poland, and the crown of which is vested in the reigning sovereign of Russia and his heirs and successors, comprehends a surface of 6,340 square leagues, with a population of

3,700,000 individuals. It is divided into eight waywodes or departments; namely, Warsaw, Sendomir, Kalisch, Lublin, Plotz, Masovia, Podlachia, and Angustowo. Its revenues are fifty millions of Polish florins, (about 1,900,000*l.*) seven of which are applied to the civil list. It maintains an army of 30,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry. Warsaw, the capital, contains above 100,000 inhabitants, and its population is increasing.

The constitution, or charter, given by the Emperor Alexander, ensures civil rights and religious liberty. The law protects equally all citizens, without distinction of rank or condition. No one can be arrested but in the cases and according to the forms provided for by the law. The causes of arrest must be immediately signified to the prisoner in writing. Before the expiration of three days he must be brought before the competent authority to be examined; and if on the first examination he is found not guilty, he shall be immediately set at liberty. Bail is allowed in cases determined by the law. The right of property is inviolable: every Pole is free to remove himself and his property, observing the formalities prescribed by the law. Public business, of every sort, is transacted in the national language. The public offices, civil and military, can only be filled by natives. The senators, the nuntios or members to the Diet, the presidents of the courts of justice, and the members of the councils of the Palatinates are appointed out of the class of landed proprietors.

The national representation, or Diet, consists of two chambers; the Senate, and the lower house, composed of the nuntios and the deputies of the commons. The Diet assembles every two years at Warsaw: the session lasts *thirty days*. The king alone can prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the Diet. The sittings are public. The *initiative*, or proposal of the laws, is vested with the king, assisted by his council of state. If the Diet does not vote a new budget, the former continues in force till the expiration of four years, when it ceases to be legal, should no Diet be assembled in the interval.

The Lower House is composed of seventy-seven nuntios, appointed by the Dietines or assemblies of the nobles, each in its respective district, and of fifty-one deputies of the commons, elected by the communal assemblies. Every landed proprietor has right to vote in the latter, as well as every master manufacturer, or tradesman, having a stock of ten thousand Polish florins; the vicars and curates, and the professors, teachers, and others entrusted with the public education; artists, and persons having obtained patents of invention.

It will be observed at first sight that this charter gives a very

great preponderance to the crown, and a very small share of the representation of the country to the people. But a greater evil is, that it bestows the crown of a comparatively small state on the absolute head of an immense adjacent empire, and thereby leaves the institutions of the former at the mercy of the reigning monarch of the latter, and depending chiefly upon his personal character and forbearance. The disproportion between the two countries makes the situation of Poland, in this respect, even worse than that of Hungary with regard to Austria. Yet it cannot be denied, that the condition of the people, or third estate, has considerably improved under the new laws.

With regard to those parts of Poland which have remained incorporated with the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian dominions, we find that the nobles have lost some of their former feudal influence, and the commons have gained some advantages. The property of the latter has become more secure; the alienation of land has been made more practicable and easy; farmers have been enabled to purchase the fee-simple of entire districts and villages, whilst, under the old aristocracy, they were liable to exactions and oppressions, from which there was little chance of redress, the nobles having jurisdiction in all the principal courts.

That part of Poland which has remained annexed to Austria, is distinguished by the title of Kingdom of Gallitzia and Lodomiria. Its population amounts to 3,873,000 inhabitants, divided into two distinct races, the Poles and the Rusniacks, a branch of the Malo Russians. Lemberg is the principal town of Gallitzia. The country was anciently possessed by the kings of Hungary, who gave it up to Poland in 1419-23, renouncing their rights *for the present*. This equivocal expression served the House of Austria as a pretence for claiming Gallitzia at the epoch of the dismemberment of Poland. Religious tolerance is strictly observed in these countries; some encouragement has been given to industry by German colonists; the taxes are moderate, but the condition of the boors, or peasantry, has remained nearly the same as formerly. Gallitzia furnishes eleven regiments of infantry and five of cavalry to the Austrian army. The exactions of the noblemen's stewards, who are mostly foreign adventurers, are much complained of.

The vast provinces of Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, containing above eight millions of people, are incorporated with Russia, but have preserved their old laws and usages; most of the officers of the administration are appointed by the natives themselves. The nobility have retained most of their privileges; the boors are still serfs, but their persons are better protected by law. It is in this part of Poland, perhaps, that the people have

become most reconciled to the change, having become, in some measure, amalgamated with Russia.

Prussia has retained, of all her Polish conquests, only the grand duchy of Posen, having its own provincial states. According to Oginski, the Polish subjects of Prussia, especially the nobles, were the most dissatisfied with their condition. The employment of Germans in preference to natives, the exclusive introduction of the German language, the tedious formalities of the Prussian law, are the reasons assigned for this feeling. This, however, was before the last arrangements. We believe that something has been done since the peace to conciliate the inhabitants of the remnant of the Prussian dominions in Poland.

We must now conclude. It appears that, owing to the enormous vices of the former system of society, the dismemberment of Poland has hardly been felt by the great mass of the people as a national calamity. Such are the effects of vicious institutions; they estrange the people from the state, and make them reckless of their political fate. In this respect Poland has given a great political lesson to the rest of Europe.

ART. V.—*Introduction à l'Etude de l'Harmonie, ou Exposition d'une nouvelle Théorie de cette Science.* Par Victor Derode, de la Société des Sciences, de l'Agriculture et des Arts de Lille, de la Société d'Emulation de Cambrai, &c. 8vo. Paris. 1828.

THERE is, perhaps, no science whose path has been so effectually clogged by useless treatises as that of music. The laws of harmony in particular have been laid down by such a host of theorists,—who tending to the same end, have each used their choice of the many equivalent terms which music supplies for the same thing,—that the patient student, who reads to improve the experimental knowledge he has acquired, is tempted to believe the mystery inscrutable, even while labouring to understand what he already knows in another guise. A standard of definitions, to be received and authorized by common consent of the learned professors of Europe, is a desideratum in musical education. Of the labourers in the service of musical theory, these appear to us three divisions. In the first and most useful rank, are those who put forth a succinct and simple treatise on the elements of harmony; the second consists of those who go over the same ground, but travel farther, and enter into the niceties of rules and disputed points with copiousness and elaboration, (such authors make excellent authorities); the last treats sound as wholly abstract from musical beauty, and a mere matter of ma-

thematic calculation. A very ingenious and subtle statement of the relations of chords may doubtless be drawn up by the mathematical investigator; but, after all, how does it bear upon the art in which Haydn and Mozart excelled? The student, whose ear is fascinated by the charms of harmony and melody, probably does not find the same delight in the solution of a problem,—which is the only pleasurable result such a writer can produce. He wades through volumes of letter-press, and finds himself no wiser in modulation, nor apter at imitating a good model; precept drives precept from his mind, and in attempting to comprehend the new view of an author, he loses so much of a solid advantage, as it would have been to spend the same time in perusing the scores of Handel, Bach, or Leo. It is much to be doubted whether any of the great men just mentioned ever consulted a work on theory;* whether their knowledge were traditional, or their correctness in writing intuitive, and like their feeling in the choice of harmonies, a boon from nature, we can only conjecture: but certain it is, that unless theories in, and disquisitions upon, the art tend to corroborate the truth of their compositions, and show them the firm-set pillars of the science, they are of little value. The laws of harmony are chiefly salutary in checking the licentiousness of an ill-governed fancy, and a well-digested theory may be appealed to, in cases where a sterling composer has furnished no precedent.

In our estimation of the treatise of M. Derode, we shall be less influenced by the ingenuity of the observations themselves, than by the consideration of their application and practical utility. A single paragraph of the preface demonstrates that want of agreement in terms of which we spoke in the outset, as the bane of musical discussion.

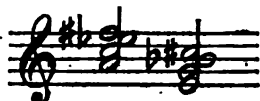
"Harmony," says the writer, "differs essentially from composition. Harmony is a science, composition is an art; the former has fixed principles, few in number, and from which there is no appeal, as certain as any thing can be which rests upon experience; the latter is an application of those immutable data of nature, an application susceptible of infinite variety: harmony is of all times and of all places; composition follows national taste and the progress of civilization; one is an object of study—the other of practice. It is possible, then, to have a perfect knowledge of harmony, and yet be a feeble composer; as, on the other hand, dis-

* The following anecdote is related in the Life of Haydn.

When the composer was in London, a nobleman distinguished as a dilettante, proposed to receive lessons in composition from him. Haydn assented, and a morning was appointed to commence. When the master and pupil came together, the latter produced from his pocket a score of Haydn. "How came you to write this?" said the noble amateur, "the very first passage is contrary to rule." "I wrote it so," was the answer, "because it produced the best effect." The pupil was baffled at this cool reply, and the tuition (we believe) did not proceed.

tinguished composers may be found, who have but an imperfect knowledge of harmony. To conclude thence that harmony is not necessary to a composer, is to fall into error."

With us it is held that the study of harmony includes the elements of composition, nor does the foregoing definition satisfy us that they ought to be disjointed. By the study of composition is not meant the training of the fancy to compose, which would be an absurdity, as musical ideas are not to be called up by the act of volition, but a mechanical routine, capable of being learned by a person wholly destitute of genius or taste. Inasmuch as the first lines of this study include thorough-bass, and the progression of intervals in the sequence of chords, the resolution of discords, &c., they necessarily belong to the consideration of harmony, and contain much that can be usefully and satisfactorily inculcated in the course of such a subject. M. Derode, for the sake of perspicuity, restricts himself to the question of harmony. As it is not unusual for persons in didactic effusions of considerable length, to forget at the end what they advanced at the beginning, we must be excused for going a little out of our way to notice a slight inconsistency between the assertion that the principles of harmonies are "immutable data of nature," and the change which the author has effected in them at plate 4, in which he gives F sharp and C sharp as the fundamental basses of these

harmonies,  instead of D and A.* M. De-

rode cautions his readers against bringing the prejudices of education to the examination of his theory; in which he is prudent, as the partisans of the descent of the 7th and the rise of the 3rd in the resolution of the chord of the 7th will be slow to believe, that the true fundamental bass of a chord can move in consecutive octaves with the harmony above it.

After some rather extensive preliminary observations, and an inquiry into the mathematical proportions of sounds, which we hold to be only useful to the tuner, (for theories of temperament and acoustics have no relation to harmony, as the science which disposes sounds in that manner which delights the ear,) we arrive at the first subject of the treatise which is capable of practical applica-

* A just observation occurs in M. Reicha's *Treatise on Harmony*. "Nature observes but one principle, (which is without exception,) in the resolution of discords. This principle is, that the fundamental bass of a discord must make with the fundamental bass of the following chord, a descending fifth. It may be objected, that discords can be resolved in other ways beside the one here pointed out; doubtless, there are exceptions which the composer allows himself, but nature does not make them. When the exception is used, the true resolution does not exist, and it is always suspended until the resolution take place upon the fifth below."

tion,—namely, that of concords. Instead of commencing with the diatonic and chromatic scales, and then treating of the common chord and its relatives, our author's plan is to commence with an inquiry of what a concord consists, and what interval added to it demands a new tonic. This is to make the consideration of the discord of the flat seventh, the first step in the study of harmony! Previously to entering upon this chapter, M. Derode presents the reader with the following startling intimation:—

“ When we speak in this chapter of chords which can follow one another, we never present them but under their primitive form, in order to facilitate the first explanations. It will be well to remember, that we only then speak of them from group to group, from *ensemble* to *ensemble*, and omit, as immaterial, the consideration of from *part* to *part*.”

One of the most ingenious plans for conveying two or three false notions with one true one that ever was devised! The theorist thinks it sufficient that a pupil should know that the dominant seventh requires the harmony of the tonic; in other words, provided the fundamental bass be right, how the second chord... with respect to the first is matter of indifference. Practical musicians will demur to this opinion, holding, as they do, that no discord can be called *resolved*, without a proper progression of its parts. This heretical doctrine of M. Derode has led him, in lieu of a single example in notation, or use of the musical short-hand, a figured bass, to make continued repetitions of ut, re, mi, fa, &c., when he wishes to indicate a harmony; a plan irksome enough to the student, and after all presenting nothing definite to his mind. The “ *facilities*,” as the author terms them, offered to the student throughout the whole of this volume are truly amusing; thus, at one place we have twenty-four inversions of the four musical characters ut, mi, sol, sib, (C, E, G, B flat,) a table conveying no clearer idea of the writer's real design, than that of the learned academicians of Swift's Laputa. With a musical staff, and with the notes fairly before us, we should soon arrive at the truth. In the chapter upon concords, the plan of M. Derode is, instead of calculating the distance of the intervals from the key-note, to reckon them from one another. Thus a perfect chord is composed of two thirds, one major, the other minor; a flat seventh of three, one major and two minor, &c. We know of no improvement which this mode of reckoning exhibits upon the one adopted into general use in England, unless it be that it keeps the intellect of the scholar more alert, from its extra difficulty. When the foundation of a knowledge of harmony is being laid in the mind of the pupil, it is important that his first ideas should be clear and simple. Thus, acquaintance with the whole circle of keys, with the formation of the common chord major and minor, with

the attendant harmonies of a given tonic, should be the first and distinct branches of his study, supposing that he is already familiar with the construction of the diatonic and chromatic scales. From this vantage ground the knowledge of inversions of chords, and of the influence of the seventh, will be easily attainable. We should think that there are few amateurs of music in England, who have been accustomed to attend concerts, or to hear the performances of young ladies in private evening parties, but will agree, that to know the component parts of a common chord, and its inversions, was an extension of science, which neither singer in public, nor the young lady pianist, in private, four or five years back thought necessary to good performance. In the idea that the formation and connection of harmonies were the occupation of the composer or theorist, melody was studied and cultivated, harmony neglected, and the dependance of one on the other hardly dreamt of; hence, the frequent offence of solo singers in making a cadenza upon the common chord, when the chord required that it should be upon its second inversion, and the abuse of harmonies in the left hand of pianoforte performers, particularly among the juvenile of the fair sex. Generally speaking, the grammar of music has been less frequently defied by those who practise keyed instruments, than among singers, violinists, flautists, and such, who having more to do with sounds in the detail, than in the gross, are less apt to compare and analyse them in combination. We are now, however, arrived at an epoch in the musical art, when amateurs are able to detect such blunders as have too frequently disgraced the professional singing of this country, and when nicer and more critical ears being common, the intelligent performance of both singer and instrumentalist becomes a matter of reciprocal convenience.

After giving some rules for the formation of the common chord, which M. Derode leaves the pupil to apply to the various keys as his discretion may guide him, the author observes that in the following combination, "D, F sharp, A flat, and C, nothing irregular is to be perceived; yet this is not a legitimate chord, for F sharp and A flat do not make a third." Leaving out of the question the propriety of introducing unusual harmonies to the notice of the student of an elementary work, where to show what *ought not* to be, is a means to confuse the simple rules of which he should be master, the theorist who would make clear the derivation of a strange combination should produce classical authority for its employment. Belonging to the inversions of discords there are great varieties of harmonies, but many in this shape become so extremely harsh and unpleasant to the ear, that they are never used by good masters. The chord before

us is familiar to our ear when the A flat is in the grave part; or with the exchange of F sharp for G flat. The inconstancy of our musical nomenclature will no longer perplex the erudite hearer when he knows whence the chord comes, and whither it goes; when he is assured of its progression he will no longer doubt whether he heard an F sharp or G flat. As on a keyed instrument these signs are indicated by one and the same key, the change of name may appear vague and unsatisfactory; but so clear is the rule which explains the difference, that there can be no indecision left in classing them. On the proper application of the principle to which we have just been alluding depends one of the greatest effects in the whole range of the musical art, namely, the enharmonic change, a source of infinite variety and beauty, the keystone of modulation, and without which, in dramatic music, it would be impossible to give effect to scenes of highly wrought passion, or of rending emotions.

We return to our author's general remarks upon the constitution of chords, and his rule for determining to what key they belong. Hitherto we have found that concords, or discords, reckoned from the bass, quickly decided their key by certain infallible rules: our new plan for discovering the tonic is, that the intervals shall conform to a given order of thirds. Having discovered the common chord of the tonic, our author derives four dissonant chords from the same root, all of which, he says, are susceptible of resolution into the harmony of the fifth below. This is our author's example.

perfect	1st	2d	3d	4th
chord.	dissonant.	dissonant.	dissonant.	dissonant.

The reader who does not find himself for the first time a pupil in harmony under M. Derode, will feel somewhat perplexed in attempting to resolve the third and fourth discords, or dissonances, into the harmony of F. We leave him to make his own calculations respecting the number and quality of the thirds which compose these discords, a process of vital importance to our author's theory; and at the same time to discover how C can be the bass to the triple and quadruple discords exhibited in the fourth and fifth combinations of the specimen before us. Such chords may meet our eye occasionally upon a pedal bass; but without preparation, and in the manner they stand before us, they are never to be found. The great object of every writer upon the science of music should be simplification, the discarding of use-

less terms, the shortest and surest route for arriving at the truth ; when, however, the learner is only eased on the one hand, to be more tasked on the other, no very great improvement can be said to be achieved. In our opinion, the old plan of harmonizing the scale, and discovering the relation which each interval bears to the tonic, the dominant, or subdominant, is much simpler in its method, as well as more correct in its application ; for that system does not teach that the fourth and sixth of the scale have for root the key note of that scale.

Although it has been seen that we are sometimes at issue with M. Derode on the roots which he puts to his chords, and consequently do not acquiesce in the truth of the harmonies which in his opinion are derived from those roots, his book is far from barren of useful speculation, or of ingenious research. Thus, we are informed in the chapter on relative keys, that a note may be accompanied by three-and-twenty primitive chords. It is desirable that the field of modulation should be opened to the student, and that the hundreds of inversions of which harmonies are susceptible should be brought before him as a stimulus to his industry. The only question is, whether such a discovery would not have been more intelligible in notes than in words ; for in the first, that seems the result of experiment, which in the last appears mere hypothesis. The want of illustration is a great drawback to the value of a book on musical education, for however valuable the axioms therein contained may be, without example they make no impression on the reader. For this reason we hold that the theorist who puts together a composition entirely destitute of pleasing melody or harmony, yet who gives a good analysis of his work, furnishes rules more productive of useful application than a volume of precept which is difficult to understand, and is consequently liable to be misunderstood. When the pupil is taken to a pianoforte, he is soon made sensible (if the ear be admitted as a guide in harmony) that those keys lie nearest in communion which contain most notes in common, that the progression of the common chord to its dominant, subdominant, or relative minor, may be made easily and naturally ; and that in proportion as the kind of intervals common between two keys are changed, we do not make modulations, but transitions, the effect of which is more sudden and violent. After knowing that every note in music plays many parts, the next thing to be determined is, how it is to be called, which is decided by its *juxta-position* and progression. It was not one of the least valuable parts of a *Treatise on Harmony* put forth by our countryman Mr. Shield, that after treating of the component parts of a chord, he illustrated its proper use from the scores of some clas-

sical master; this was to moisten the dry discourse of science, and to warm the pupil's affections as well as interest his understanding. For the sake of the general reader, to whom we fear our technicalities may wax tedious, though they are unavoidable, it may be remarked, that the variation of harmony upon a single note, of which we spoke just now, is a quality of beauty in the musical art of which all the great masters have shown themselves enamoured. Handel, in the chorus "All the Earth," of the *Dettingen Te Deum*; Mozart, in his *Don Juan*; Gluck, in the *Alceste*; Cherubini, in his *Grand Mass in D*, have each furnished specimens; and this is the secret of the pleasure we receive in listening to the disposal of the horn parts in orchestras. When the relative keys of any tonic are pointed out, we cannot find a fitter time to impress upon the young organist, that the truest power of invention and the finest taste are exhibited, in creating an interest in the progress of harmonies within a small circle, and not by wandering into remote keys—a tact in the preludium which is said to have characterized Dr. Boyce's performance. How finely do the bearings of keys expand before the mind's eye, in becoming intimately acquainted with the preludes of John Sebastian Bach! With the fingers daily employed on these pieces of harmony, in which chord flows on after chord, without the least violence, the pupil becomes imbued with the spirit of natural and flowing harmonious progressions; and while his ear tells him they are of good effect, he may by way of confirmation turn to his book of precepts, where he will find, that they are in obedience to that canon of harmony, which says, that "in proportion as a chord succeeding possesses notes in common with its antecedent, the effect upon the ear is agreeable." Persons do not usually apply themselves to the study of musical theory, until they have attained some practical skill; the latter, which is far more difficult of acquirement than the former, soon repays the labour which has been bestowed upon it; but the first, however simple the system, offers no attraction in the study, unless the author's formulas be occasionally varied and illustrated by passages from Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and such authorities. All that in fact is wanted, in treatises of theory, to make them interesting to the reader, is, that the authors should participate in the sentiments of men of taste, and not by shrouding themselves in the truth of their propositions, avoid propitiating the favour of young musicians, for whose use they are presumed chiefly to write.

To return to our theorist. "It is already known, that four notes" (that is of different names) "form a discord; the examples which are to be found in authors who are authorities, discover rarely more than five notes. Haydn hardly ever uses them except in the

pedal. "The effect in general is hard and disagreeable." Here we should have been glad to avail ourselves of the text, that we might see how Haydn uses discords of five notes, and judge with our own ears of the hardness and unpleasantness of effect. We now arrive at the novelty of our author's view of harmony, in which we find that all the chords for which thorough bass gives figures, are derived either from the primitive chord, or from one of the four dissonant chords or their inversions, agreeably to the specimen we gave a few pages back. Thus the whole jargon of musical terms, of ditone, diatessaron, tritone, semidiapente, &c. with all their equivalents, is to be avoided, and every combination of harmony is to be referred to the fundamental chord, its derivatives, or their inversions and the root thence determined; for M. Derode very properly observes, that however a harmony may be inverted, the root of it is not affected by such inversion. It would be tedious here to dispute over again the validity of M. Derode's third and fourth dissonant chords. Assuming their correctness, therefore, our business is to compare the facility and brevity of his method with the advantages of the old plan of reckoning from the bass; and except in the saving of some useless repetition of terms, we do not discover that our theorist has *shortened* the journey in altering the route which leads to one common point. We agree with our author, that harmonists have, in writing elementary works, frequently outstepped the comprehension of the pupil, and that the advancement of musical education has been obstructed by a clinging to ancient error and prejudice on the part of masters; but of late years a spur has been given by Logier to the study of harmony, which has caused preceptors to throw off the trammels of custom, and to reduce their unwieldy systems to simple rules; so that musical students, by the help of their slates and pencils, are as ready at giving the fundamental bass of a given harmony as a university professor. If the terms of the science had been less perplexed by writers, few persons would have been deterred from the study of simple harmony by its abstruseness; compared with the mysteries of double counterpoint, fugue, and the higher walks of composition, it is indeed light. The connection of the relative keys, and their use in varying the monotony of continued cadences in the tonic, are considerations of great importance in musical instruction, and are treated by our author with becoming care; but we wish that an acquaintance with our cathedral composers had enabled him to refer the student to Purcell's services, for instances of profound art in this respect, which we cannot help thinking would have given weight to his admonition. No foible is more common to theorists than that of affecting to give a rule of invariable application. For instance,—much has been written

by them upon the true method of discovering the key-note of a piece, and the tests proposed are such as would frequently prove fallacious, for should the last note in the bass be considered to decide the question—the piece may end in the dominant, or the learner may be puzzled by finding several bass notes to choose from—should the signature be resorted to, the fashion of marking it varies—again some writers modulate so frequently, and so long, from the point whence they started, as to leave the real key in doubt. Thus no single and brief rule can be given as an unerring guide to the key of *any* composition; the student must view the bearings of the modulation, and determine by the result of his analysis. Another difficulty combated by theorists is that of determining the precise key of certain intervals which are common to two keys. M. Derode calls the concord of two notes incomplete, but this furnishes no clue to the discovery. How to know the key of an isolated chord appears to us of little consequence, but it is important to know that a solitary harmony is often susceptible of various significations depending on its union with other harmonies. If it were not for this delightful faculty of music, the inevitable progressions, pointed out as the resolutions of discords, would soon cloy the ear, which would thus anticipate the whole routine of a modulation; but the artful change in the relations of chords, which the skilful composer knows how to employ, excites the imagination, and keeps the attention on the stretch. These in organic preluding are the “unimaginable touches” which Milton describes, and in that epithet embodies all that musicians only can feel. But here we are trespassing upon the chapter on modulation, which is so natural an excess in writing upon music (in which the subjects lead one to another, as chord does to chord) that it is almost impossible to avoid it.

In treating of the relative keys, we are surprised that M. Derode makes but slight mention of the relative minor keys, which are important items in the knowledge of modulation. As a branch of his discourse upon relative keys, our author introduces the subject of rhythm. The balancing and symmetrical disposition of musical phrases, without which they would be unintelligible, is an art wholly referable to melody; but we are the more ready to pardon M. Derode for diverging a little from his path, in that he here favours us with some new observations on a point of musical education which has been much neglected. In our experience of the method of instructing young professors, we never found that they were exercised in writing on paper melodies, which were either sung or played to them, but were left to attain a facility in this branch of the musician's craft, in proportion to the diligence with which they attempted composition. It will be seen, by the

valuable remarks contained in the following extract, that long before the pupil attempts to compose, he may be made familiar with the mechanical process of composition.

"When we wish to study a melody that has been sung, we must first endeavour to write it, without which we shall never be certain of finding the same thing again;—an idea is always fugitive. In order to fix this melody upon paper, we should be acquainted with the signs which represent sounds, as well as with those which indicate their duration. These are the first things to be known, for without them we can arrive at nothing. The pupil ought therefore to be initiated early in the knowledge of this particular, which it must be confessed is not without difficulty; and here, as usual, authors suppose the knowledge acquired, and taking this for granted, reason upon it; they abandon the pupil to himself, who in his first attempts, is alarmed at the difficulties which he encounters. We know that with respect to rhythm, men are generally guided by a perception which we choose to call *innate*, and which seldom deceives them; yet it is only by long practice that promptness and certainty of operation can be acquired."

When it is recollected that six or seven of the early years of a composer's life are occupied in mastering this difficulty, the value of M. Derode's suggestion will not be questioned. The biography of Mozart furnishes an instance of remarkable exception to the necessity of long habit in attaining the talent here spoken of, in that the composer, when a boy, wrote down and brought away from the Chapel of his Holiness in Rome the celebrated *Miserere* of Allegri, a composition devoted exclusively to its service, and of which no other copy than the one contained in the Sistine Chapel was to be found. The difficulty of this undertaking (when we think of the number of melodies going forward simultaneously, of which each was to have its proper progression), shows that the practice necessary for gaining quickness in writing, must be greater or less, according to the obtuseness or acuteness of the ear. An imperfect and indefinite rhythm in music perplexes the performer, and renders the execution of a piece extremely difficult. Boccherini, our author observes, is chargeable with this defect, but he makes no mention of the great effects produced by the artful *contra tempo* in which modern composers delight, particularly Haydn. It would have been prudent here, to have prevented the pupil from confounding the style of the concluding presto to the *passione*, for instance, with one of bad rhythmical proportion. The instrumental quartetts of Haydn furnish abundant illustrations of beautiful effects, produced by a studied disposal of the phrases which are arranged in direct opposition to the received laws of musical emphasis.

We now arrive at the last sections of M. Derode's work, and

the subjects on which he has bestowed the greatest elaboration of thought, namely modulation and fundamental bass. From the first of these heads we shall extract those observations in which his views appear strikingly dissimilar to those of his predecessors, for on main points it will be imagined, that no writer of the day has great novelty to offer. Here we have again to regret, that amidst a mass of words, we are left destitute of examples. It is easy to define modulation as the art of making chords succeed one to another, in such a way as to pass agreeably from one key to another; to say for instance, that the addition of the sharp fourth brings a cadence in the dominant, while that of the flat seventh leads to one in the sub-dominant; unless the musician's language is employed to show how these changes of key are to be effected, the pupil is not likely to be much the wiser. The most useful essay upon the subject of modulation, which we can imagine, would be one which should illustrate by means of examples, that art by which musicians heighten the beauty of a chord by its unexpected introduction, as we may hear in many of the recitatives of Handel and Mozart. As modulation is the soul of harmony, and wholly dependent on the genius and taste of the performer, little can be taught (hardly the common process of moving from key to key) by a bare relation of the principles.

On the subject of passing notes, a subdivision of the essay on modulation; we have the following remarks, which are worthy of attention.

"The doctrine contained in treatises of harmony which relate to passing notes, appears to us to be liable to the gravest objections: in fact they say to the student, passing notes are those so called which may be taken away without hurting the melody." "To request him to consider only those notes which bear upon the harmony (thus they explain those which are not passing notes) is but to give one enigma to resolve another. Besides, this definition is far from being correct, as we shall presently see; but even supposing it perfectly true, how is the pupil to know those notes of a melody, which do not make legitimate harmony with the accompaniment? He must employ himself on those notes which bear upon the harmony. But how is he to know them? By taking away the passing notes—and he only knows those which are passing by knowing the others. Thus he is obliged to study in a circle."

To propound such doctrine as this to the tyro in harmony, would certainly be absurd; but we do not perceive where the difficulty of the rule for discovering passing notes would lie with any pupil who had made some proficiency in the study of thorough bass, the only kind of scholar to whom such an exhortation could be with propriety addressed. A striking observation follows, in which, while we in part agree with the writer in an abstract view

of the subject, we do not concur with its fitness in point of application, or with its truth when referred to models. "The light of the most ordinary understanding shows us that there are no such things as passing notes properly so called; that is to say, that there do not exist in any melody whatever, notes which do not have their effect, their modulation," &c. &c. As music is at present constituted, there doubtless exist in classical authors phrases of melody, of which certain notes are not to be reconciled to the harmony of the accompaniment; and in the analysis of a composition, the only way in which they can be understood, is, by viewing them as notes of passage. It is not to be denied that these notes might receive their own accompanying harmony, but if every note of a melody were harmonized, a chaotic jumble of parts would be the result, to the destruction of all symmetry and beauty. The ear must be admitted to possess some judgment of what is good in music, for we are apt to think that there would be small gain to the art, if for the pleasure of philosophic research in the formation of theory, we should sacrifice all that the highest taste and genius have consecrated. Besides, with respect to notes of passage, we find that they do not offend, unless ill introduced, or too long dwelt upon. We cannot help smiling to think how M. Deroode would be puzzled to put the appropriate chord and fundamental bass to every note in Rossini's glittering phrases. To the musical reader the fact will hardly require demonstration, that a fine ear for music may be attended with little sensibility. Tuners who are accustomed to listen intently to the proportions of thirds, fifths, and octaves, have nerves so finely strung as to detect the slightest excess or deficiency in a combination of harmony—yet they are not notorious for being either amateurs or composers; the same acute ear probably belongs to the profoundly mathematical theorist, who exclaims with horror against the violation of natural rules which the enharmonic change presents. We may be pretty sure; when a man makes this honest declaration, that nature never intended him for a composer. M. Deroode, wholly regardless of the evident bias in favour of the enharmonic transition; which may be discovered in the works of all the great masters, very calmly designates it a "musical monstrosity." If we could have tragedy without passion, or express powerful emotions in common-place language, then we might perhaps do without the enharmonic change in the serious opera; but while the confessed analogy exists between certain sounds and certain feelings, uncommon situations will require corresponding harmonies. The earlier and more dramatic oratorios of Handel exemplify the point at which he felt a change of scale to be necessary; he knew that if he would make his hearer sensible of the parental agony,

and the tumult of mind, with which *Jephtha* recognises in his beloved daughter the victim destined for sacrifice, that no common-place series of chords, would effect his purpose. The same awful harmonic progression makes our blood curdle in sympathy with the dread of Belshazzar at the mysterious hand-writing on the wall, and at once attests the composer's genius, and the power of the means he employs. Instances might be multiplied to show the treasure which the enharmonic change places at the disposal of such great dramatic composers as Handel and Mozart; and one exquisite specimen of the last-mentioned author we cannot help referring to, not only for the pleasure of recalling the passage to the memory of the reader, but as furnishing an apt illustration of the point we now argue. The musical phrase to which we allude, occurs in that immortal recitative of the *Don Giovanni*, in which Donna Anna relates the account of the murder of her father to her lover Ottavio. The subsiding of the storm of passion in which she commences to the state of tranquil melancholy in which she narrates her tale is perfect in the conception. The harmony of E flat minor, followed by the sharp sixth, sharp fourth, and natural third on C sharp, produces this wonderful effect, to the real power of which the hearer assents, as his nerves thrill on hearing so surprising a chord. Although common sense revolts at censure directed against the enharmonic change, when employed as a means of affecting the auditor in scenes of highly-wrought dramatic expression, we confess for ourselves, the effect of it when judiciously introduced in instrumental music is extremely beautiful, and a fine relief to the ordinary march of modulation. In Haydn's quartetts may be found sundry specimens, which warrant us in surmising that he held the same opinion. M. Derode's abhorrence of the enharmonic transition amounts to the ludicrous, particularly when he endeavours to back his tenets by authority, and tells us of the introduction to a certain opera, in which the composer avails himself of the *intervention of thunder*, to cover the effect of an enharmonic transition, which the orchestra could not else render tolerable. What Handel, Durante, Haydn, Mozart, Cimarosa and Beethoven could bear, and even admire; offends the ears of our theorist; with whom we fear the sore place is this, that admitting the endurance of the enharmonic transition, it is evident that the notes E flat and F sharp may in certain cases have the effect of a third, which is a subversion of the regularity of system that our theorist propounds. Here we have found the *Wolf* (as tuners designate the imperfection of the musical scale) which gnaws at the heart of our author, while it interferes with the perfection of his discovery. One remark upon this subject is worth quoting.

"That which perhaps has contributed to the growth of this error (the enharmonic change) is that certain harmonists wishing to establish a march of modulation by which they could return to the key from whence they set out, in following the same kind of transition, could not go through, without the substitution of the enharmonic; they have therefore looked upon it as practicable, since it assisted them in making the tour of the keys, which they could not possibly execute without."

The success of these harmonists in widening the field of operation for composers seems to annoy our author, who, we are afraid, will find but few composers, except the unique operatic writer he speaks of, to participate in his abomination of the enharmonic change.

On the subject of the fundamental bass our author is much less fanatical; he introduces his subject clearly and simply, and with no great deviation from the rules already laid down by other writers. A section of the chapter upon licenses affords a favourable specimen of the original and ingenious thinking by which M. Derode's book is often characterised.

"When a difficulty, or a modulation which does not displease the ear, and yet is contrary to established rules, cannot be accounted for, the embarrassment is thrown off in an instant by calling it a *license*. . . . This defect, which leaves every thing vague, must refer itself to these two points, either to admit as good, things which are far from being good, (it suffices that they are conformable to a received theory, good or bad,) or to regard as licenses things which are not really so. At the present day we are not far from this; it has been said that all which conformed to theory was good, and that which appeared contrary to it was license. In well considering the matter, all that gratifies the ear is not license, since the ear being the sovereign judge of music can alone decide, and hence everything which pleases is certainly lawful; rules are defective, if theory make exceptions, where the ear finds none. The licenses usual in music may be divided into two classes—those which the ear rejects, which are the only true licenses, and those which it approves, and are consequently only so called by the abuse of words. The former are so numerous that no one has attempted to class them, and it would in fact be impossible: they depend entirely upon the caprice of composers, who, in order to fashion the notes of an air to their taste, introduce new ones, without troubling themselves whether the harmony which the melody bears, is prepared or not for the reception of the new guests. To disguise venturous modulations, the ear is generally confounded by a multiplicity of notes, and all the resources which rhythm, &c. can furnish are employed. But, after all, these are never other than *sophisticated* transitions, if such an expression be allowable; they are passages which we tolerate because they escape imperceptibly; but as the object of a composer is widely different from that of a mountebank—as he wishes to touch the soul and not to *mystify*, we persist in the opinion that every method which is unlawful is unworthy of real talent; may more, it is frequently an impediment to the entire development of

genius. Accustomed to search only for brilliant effects, we overlook true beauty. Such productions are as meteors, which having produced a momentary ray of splendour soon fall for ever into darkness. How many works and musical productions are born and perish every day! . . . It was not upon the means here prescribed, that our great masters, Mozart, Haydn, &c. have founded their works; it was from a truer and purer source that they learned to breathe those melodious airs which form their glory and our delight: genius was their guide, nature their model; hence their names belong to posterity."

Feeling as we do the full force of this eloquent apostrophe, we cannot here help reminding M. Derode, that these are the persons who have sanctioned the use of the enharmonic change, the effect of which is so detestable to his ears. Our theorist is inimical to the use of pedal points, thinking them an excuse for the violation of rules, and for arbitrary modulation. It is curious to notice that the introduction of the pedal point in the bass is so much esteemed by the greatest musical composers, that they have almost always preserved it for the sake of making an effective climax to their grandest choruses. While our author selects for the subjects of his oburgation two of those effects for which the most illustrious precedent is to be found, he leaves license to the dominion of the ear, as if, when tastes notoriously vary, passages not conformable to rules ought to be pronounced good upon the dictum of individual judgment, and without classical authority. The same reasoning as that in behalf of license, would hold in behalf of pedal points, and the enharmonic change. We freely confess that the employment of such passages is occasionally injudicious, and that they are not at all times equally agreeable; but, in condemning an effect, we must not allow the abuse of it by a bungling composer to be the standard from which we form our opinion. Had M. Derode thought it worth while to give us an exposition of his sentiments upon pedal points, taking that to the fugue "*cum sancto spiritu*" of Mozart's Mass, No. 12, as one of the finest instances of its employment, his praise or blame would have at once determined upon what points, if any, we are now at issue.

This volume, though addressed to students, is only adapted to the comprehension of consummate artists, for the mass of precept which it contains will only serve to bewilder, where a practical acquaintance with music had not been already formed. The musician will find here and there, the objects with which he is familiar, placed in new lights, and in spite of much musical heterodoxy, a good sprinkling of sound and sensible observations. It is in matters of taste, the discussion of which insensibly mingles with an inquiry into the principles upon which they have their

rise, that our author chiefly betrays he is no experimental musician. Writers on theoretical questions are generally anxious to perfect their own systems, and to expose the fallacies of their predecessors, at the expense of laying down intelligible rules, and shortening the route for the student. For this reason, instead of encouraging musical polemics, we should hail the appearance of a theorist, who to the necessary tact for explanation, joined appreciation of the highest musical beauty, and who could render an account of "the faith which was in him." Albrechtsberger is one who would be likely to fulfil these desiderata. It is from the harmonist, who by his compositions, performance, or selection, assures us of his real feeling for music, that we best receive the canons that relate to science, or criticism upon points of taste.

ART. VI.—*Mémoires de Vidocq, Chef de la Police de Sureté, jusqu'en 1827, aujourd'hui Propriétaire et Fabricant de Papiers, à Saint Mandé.* Tom. I. et II. 8vo. Paris. 1828.

It is characteristic of the age that literature descends lower and spreads wider than in previous times. When all men are educated, it will not be more surprising that the voyager who reaches Botany Bay in a convict ship should write his history than he who sails round the world a free agent. The common seaman has often more to tell than an old statesman, and the only reason why the first has not so often unbosomed himself as the latter is, that he seldom can write. In the annals of the gaol and the hulks we have had the start of the French; the march of intellect first overtook a pickpocket of our own. Those who have read the very curious Memoirs of James Hardy Vaux, which Mr. Baron Field, then Chief Justice of New South Wales, transmitted to this country, and which received the honours of publication at the hands of Mr. Murray, will perceive that the autobiography of Vidocq is not the first book of its kind. We have always esteemed the merits of Vaux's Adventures great; he is a quiet and faithful narrator; his pictures exhibit no effort, but they strike by their novelty and their evident faithfulness. They have the higher value too of showing us the habits, motives, and way of thinking prevalent among determined criminals, and as such they point to high moral uses,—the prevention of crime and the treatment of culprits. But as a work of art we must, at once, allow the superiority of Vidocq; the achievements of Vaux were low, and the character of his comrades and himself grovelling; the felicity of his narrative is undeniable, but his subjects are mean,—his villains but petty pilfering rogues, who hung upon the skirts of society, and worried and harassed unfortunate per-

sions off their guard. Vidocq's heroes are men who have created a society of their own, and who wage an unequal war against the larger but scarcely older institution; and who, though often conquered, still maintain resistance with the most determined courage and self-devotion. Vaux wanted the romance which Vidocq possesses in great force; his exploits are bold and dangerous, his resolution was untameable, and his resources never-failing. Then the Frenchman, instead of ending his days an obscure convict, when he found there was no living in his own society, boldly seceded, and going over to the enemy became a hero in the opposite ranks. Perhaps a change of this kind does not sound well according to *our* notions of honour, but Vidocq was actuated by motives which are not to be blamed. From a pernicious member of one society, he became a most valuable agent of another; in fact, from being a runaway convict he became a police officer, having passed through the chrysalis state of spy. But what an officer! what a spy! and what a convict! In the last character he was condemned without a crime: as a spy he was a Proteus; as an officer a Hercules. It is true we have only his own word for much of this, and it is possible that ill-natured people may not give implicit credit to the proprietor of *St. Mandé* and ex-chief of the brigade of surety. For our parts, we have faith in genius; Vidocq is known to all the world of Paris as the most celebrated thief-taker that ever existed, and where a man really excels in his art, we maintain that he is not likely to trifle with it. Besides, we trust to internal evidence; either Vidocq has known—and seen—and done—what he has, or his invention does not fall short of the fertility of Defoe, and the vigour of Sir Walter Scott. We allow for a little colouring; we allow for a desire to stand well with the world; we allow for these in all confessions; and when all this allowance is made, it would be extremely difficult to point out a work with more legitimate claims to attention. If the incredulous say it is a fiction, take it as such, and it is superior to any work of the kind; if it is a true story, then let us be amused by its strange pictures of a kind of life we suppose none of our readers have experienced, but which it imports every citizen of a free country to understand. Legislators ought to know exactly what it is to which they condemn men; they should learn the operation of circumstances on different dispositions, and they should meditate better plans than are yet in existence for the decrease of crime and the reform of criminals.

Vidocq was born at Arras. He commences his life by settling the disputed epoch of his birth; it seems that he had assumed so many disguises, and possessed such dexterity in the art of *graining* his features, that the world was in doubt as to his age until the

appearance of this publication, from which we learn that he first saw the light on the 23d day of July, 1775, in a house just by the one in which sixteen years before Robespierre was born. He was a stout fellow from the first, and both by the strength of his proportions and the viciousness of his habits gave early promise that a great man had been "raised." His father was a baker, and before he took his son to learn the paternal art, Francis had become the terror of all the cats, dogs, and little boys of the neighbourhood. When his father saw that the soldiers in the garrison had already taught his boy to handle the foil, he thought it high time he should begin to knead dough; accordingly he ordered him to take his first communion, and prepare to be a baker. His principal employment at first consisted in carrying bread about the town; his amusement in visiting the fencing-room, and robbing his father's till. A stop was put to the latter scheme of providing for idle hours, by locking the drawer; a pewter key was however soon manufactured, and the exchequer of the roll-merchant once more supplied the necessities of the heir of his business.

At length the baker one day caught his hopeful son in the act of levying his tithe on the produce of the oven, and giving him a sound whipping, used such diligence in the watching of his treasures, as deprived the youthful plunderer of any farther hope of raising a revenue in that quarter. Francis, the virtuous son of the baker, then took to selling his father's sugar and coffee; he afterwards hit upon a way of abstracting the loaves, and at length made a raffle at a public-house, of the family stock of silver spoons. By this time he had become connected with all the youths of a similar disposition in the town, and by the advice of these enterprising geniuses, now only in their first stages of developement, he conceived and executed the grand project of breaking open his father's *escritoire*, robbing the house, and deserting the paternal mansion. This was a grand stroke, and it was effected with a cruel ingenuity, worthy of the future hero of the story. A confederate was sent to the shop during the absence of the baker, and, with an appearance of haste and confusion, informed the mother that her son was involved in a violent fray in a house at the farther end of the town. At this moment the good woman was sitting knitting in her arm-chair: the stocking fell from her hand, and she hastened with the anxiety of a parent to the pretended scene of the young man's violence. The interval of her absence was chosen for the burglary; nearly two thousand francs were found in the *escritoire*, and became the prey of young Vidocq and his associates. From apprehension of the consequences, in half an hour he was alone on the road to Lille: from

Lille he took himself to Dunkirk, under the idea of procuring a passage to America, but there was no vessel in the harbour. He then tried Calais, and subsequently Ostend. He was beating about here for a passage, when his affair was kindly taken up by a respectable-looking person, who gave him to understand that he was a ship-broker, and would assist him in his views. The acquaintance was fatal: the respectable ship-broker enticed him into a house of debauchery, where he was quickly stripped of his ill-gotten wealth. Reflection came with destitution, and he began to call to mind some excellent maxims which had been instilled into him by his kind parents, without, however, having previously borne fruit. The sea had, however, not yet been tried, and he was entertaining the hope of getting a berth in some chance vessel, when his attention was attracted by the arrival of a couple of mountebanks, the clown and his master. It occurred to him, while standing in the midst of the grinning crowd, that perhaps he might meet with a situation in the establishment of the clown's master. A pint of gin, of which the aspiring Vidocq had invited the clown to partake, made him his friend—he promised to present him to his master, the manager. This was the renowned Cotte-Comus, who at the time had joined his great talents with those of the celebrated naturalist Garnier, the preceptor of General Jacquot, whose performances are well known to all the world of Paris: these gentlemen had, moreover, associated to themselves a company of rope-dancers. Cotte-Comus affected to discern the promises of future distinction in his *élève*, and under an engagement to feed, to clothe, and instruct him, Vidocq entered into the service of the first naturalist in the world, as he loved to call himself. His hopeful pupil was set to clean candlesticks, to sweep out the show, and to feed and fother the monkeys: in the mean time he was starved to death, and his clothes fell about him in rags. Besides being worked to death, his master was partial to administering wholesome correction; being of an impetuous temper, he found it salutary to his constitution to vent his rage upon the unhappy baker's son of Arras. At the end of a month Francis found himself in a pretty condition—the candles had covered his rags with grease, and the monkey had added to the devastation of his small-clothes—his crust a day had dried the flesh from his bones, and the severity of his master every day recalled the mildness of paternal discipline. He had gone on some time in this way, and had been bandied about between Mr. Cotte-Comus and the Sieur Balmati, nicknamed the *Little Devil*, first tumbler to the company, and had nearly had all his joints dislocated by the latter in his efforts to teach him his gymnastic arts, when he one day observed M. Gar-

nier examining him from head to foot with an eye of evident satisfaction. "I like you," said he to him, "you are just arrived at the point I wished: now, if you will but be docile, it only depends upon yourself to be happy—from this day let your nails grow—your hair is already long enough—you are almost naked—a decoction of leaves will do the rest." "I could not," says Vidocq, "imagine what he meant, when he called my friend the clown, and desired him to bring the tiger skin and the club." The clown brought the things. "And now," said Garnier, "we will have a rehearsal. You are a young savage from the South Seas, and, what is more, a cannibal—you eat raw flesh—the sight of blood provokes you to madness, and when you are thirsty, you put pebbles into your mouth and rattle them—all the sounds you can utter are shrill and short cries—open your eyes wide—your steps are jumps—you only go by bounds and skips:—lastly, take pattern by the wild man of the woods here in the cage No. 1." While he was speaking, a large bowl of rounded pebbles was brought in, and with them an old cock tied by the legs. Garnier took him up, and, holding him up to his incipient savage, said, "Now, bite that." Vidocq, though hungry enough, would neither eat raw nor live old cocks, and refused, demanding at the same time his dismissal from the company. The answer of M. Garnier was a dozen hearty boxes on the ear, which so enraged the youth, that he seized a wooden bar, with which he believes he should have undoubtedly finished the career of the naturalist, had not the whole troop poured in, disarmed him, and at length kicked and pummeled him out of doors.

The world was now all before him, where to choose, and he next took service with a puppet-show man and his youthful wife; this pair he assisted in moving the puppets, while the female went round with the cap: Vidocq repaid the hospitality of the master of Punch with ingratitude, and a scandalous scene broke up the establishment. Vidocq, once more upon the *pavé*, was utterly at a loss how to gain a subsistence, or where to lay his head. The wretched plight of his wardrobe precluded him from the hope of place; so, like the prodigal son, as his last resource, he bethought himself of returning to his parents. And by way of working his passage, he engaged as far as Lille to carry the pack, and play the clown to a walking gentleman whom he found travelling by the way. Taking an unceremonious leave of his master in the market-place of Lille, he arrived at the gates of his native town, half dead with hunger and fatigue: his feelings of remorse and shame might have finally prevented him from showing himself, but stern hunger drove him into the baker's shop: his mother was alone: he threw himself at her knees and

prayed forgiveness. He was soon restored to his old chamber, well fed and well clothed, and the anger of his father was broken and intercepted by all the usual and proper precautions.

The army seems the natural vent for all turbulent youths like the hero of this story. To this he soon came—after convincing his father, by some further escapades, that he had already forgotten his tribulations while under the wing of the manager of the Theatre of *Variétés Amusantes*: he astonished the old gentleman, after returning from a profligate expedition to Lille with an actress, by the coolness with which he requested his permission to join the army. It was the best that could be done, and the worthy baker consented.

"My height," says he, "my good carriage, and my skill in sword exercise, procured me the advantage of being immediately placed in a company of chasseurs. Some old soldiers gave themselves airs at it; I sent two of them to the hospital, where I soon joined them, wounded by one of their comrades. This commencement gave me notoriety, and many took a malicious pleasure in picking quarrels with me, so that at the end of six months *Sans Gêne*—which was the surname that had been given me—had killed two men, and had had fifteen affairs."

War had been declared against Austria, and Vidocq's regiment left Arras. Soon after it formed part of the army at the defeat at Marquain, and Vidocq was present with it at Lille, when the unfortunate General Dillon was massacred. Afterwards, under the orders of Kellerman, in the army called 'the Infernal,' Vidocq took his part in the action against the Prussians on the 20th of October, and the next day was made corporal of grenadiers. This was a rank he was unfortunately obliged to fly from, for having drunk too much on the occasion of "wetting his stripes," as they called it, he quarrelled with his old serjeant-major, challenged him, and was arrested. He and his second deserted to escape the council of war. He made his second march out of the town like a soldier in disgrace—while he strode after him with his hairy cap, musket, and knapsack, carrying a packet suspended at the end of his bayonet, sealed with red and addressed in large letters "to the citizen commandant of the town at Vitry-le-Français." This was their passport. At Vitry, a Jew sold them plain clothes: observing on the walls invitations from the government to all Frenchmen to fly to the defence of their country, they enlisted once more in the second chasseurs, and set off for Philippeville, to the dépôt of the regiment. The battle of Jemappes followed, and Vidocq had reason to believe that he had conciliated the approbation of his officers, when the captain of his company came to tell him, that he had been pointed out as a deserter, and advised him to beat a retreat as

speedily as circumstances would permit. He saddled his horse, and galloping over to the Austrians, demanded service, and was enrolled among Kinski's cuirassiers. In order to avoid fighting his compatriots next day, he feigned illness, and was sent to the hospital at Louvain. Here he offered to give the officers lessons in fencing, and had acquired a grand reputation for skill, when in consequence of too brisk a set-to with a brigadier one day, he was condemned to receive twenty strokes of *schlag*, which, according to custom, were administered on the parade. *Schlag* a Frenchman! the punishment transported him to madness. He refused to give any more lessons. They gave him the option of going on with them or receiving a second application of *schlag*. He chose the lessons: but the corporal punishment lay rankling in his heart, and he secretly determined to escape. Hearing that a lieutenant was setting out to join the army of General Schroeder, he offered to accompany him as his servant: the lieutenant consented, in the hope that Vidocq would make him another Saint-Georges; he was deceived. As they were approaching Quesnois, Vidocq took French leave of his German master, and set off on the road to Landrecies. He here presented himself as a Belgian who had abandoned the Austrian service, and was received into the fourteenth light infantry.

The army of the Sambre and Meuse was at that time marching on Aix-la-Chapelle, and the company which Vidocq had joined was following this movement. On entering Rocroi, the first objects poor Vidocq beheld were two chasseurs of the second, his old regiment. Of course he considered himself lost, when his former friend the captain came up to tell him not to be alarmed: that an amnesty had passed, which put him out of danger. This captain had seen Vidocq cut out some work, as he phrases it, for the Saxe-Teschen hussars, and had consequently taken a liking to him. He proposed to him to return to his regiment, and Vidocq was glad to do so: his old comrades received him with pleasure, and all was going on as well as heart could wish, says Vidocq, when love played him one of his old tricks.

At this time Vidocq was but seventeen, and of course the charms of a woman of forty were irresistible. Manon was the housekeeper of an old bachelor, and delighted to adorn her gay chasseur with watches and trinkets. Her master, however, did not approve of her mode of procuring the ornaments of her favorite, and accused her of theft. She confessed the crime, but at the same time avowed that her gay chasseur was her accomplice. Vidocq was put in confinement: but some letters which he had fortunately retained, served to prove his innocence, and

he returned to the regiment, as he says, "white as snow." His comrades would not, however, pardon him for having been suspected, and he had to fight ten duels in six days. At last, grievously wounded, he was sent to the hospital; as soon as he was cured, his chiefs, fearing that these scenes would be renewed, gave him leave of absence for six weeks. When he resumed his duty, he was soon after wounded under the walls of Givet, and obliged to re-enter the hospital. On his recovery he joined the German Legion in the capacity of quarter-master (*maréchal de logis*.) One of the chiefs of it was a townsman, who described his troop in terms which Vidocq could not resist. The German Legion consisted chiefly of deserters, fencing masters, &c. and "once admitted among us," said the Artesian, "you will be safe from all vexation on account of old scores." This was enough; promotion was rapid among these heroes; Vidocq would soon have been an officer, but his wound broke out afresh, and in so serious a manner, that he was compelled once more to seek the gates of Arras.

On entering the town, Vidocq was struck with the air of consternation impressed upon every one he saw: the mystery was speedily solved. The guillotine "raised its red planks" in the market-place, and the famous Joseph Lebon was presiding over the execution of M. de Mongon, the former commandant of the citadel, condemned for being an aristocrat. A few days before M. de Vieux-Pont had been executed on the same scaffold: his only crime was, that his parrot had been taught to say *vive le roi*. Arras was a prey to the enormities of the revolution: nevertheless M. Vidocq seems to have continued his gaieties without casting a thought upon the scenes around him. A rival in love took a revenge upon him common in those times: our hero was denounced, and much to his surprise, found himself in a prison of aristocrats. The prison was kept by a wretch named Beaupré, who received his inmates in a red cap, attended by a couple of huge black dogs. Here were found the principal inhabitants of Arras, under the strict guardianship of this revolutionary Cerberus. The prisoners were deprived of all means of communication with persons without, and were scarcely permitted to receive provisions. Beaupré would even plunge his horribly filthy hands into the soup, to ascertain that nothing passed that way, and if any one murmured, he would answer: "thou art mighty delicate for the time thou hast to live: who knows but thou art of to-morrow's batch? Stay now, what is thy name?—I'faith it is true, thou *art* booked for to-morrow." And the predictions of Beaupré were sure to come true, for it was he himself that used to choose the victims for Joseph Lebon. The ex-Carmelite after dinner used to say to Beaupré, "Well! whom shall we wash to-morrow?"

Vidocq began to be uneasy at his position: he saw individuals go out to die every day, who knew as little as he did the ground of arrest; citizen Beaupré, though very anxious about the number of his victims, cared little about their quality; and when the persons he was looking for in his prison did not turn up immediately, he would content himself with the nearest at hand. Vidocq's apprehensions were relieved however after sixteen days of detention. Joseph Lebon visited the prison: his wife accompanied him, and the principal terrorists of the country, amongst whom Vidocq recognised his father's barber, and a well-cleaner of the name of Delmorte. Joseph went from room to room interrogating the prisoners in a brutal manner, and endeavouring to alarm them by the nature of his questions. When he came to Vidocq, he addressed him in a tone half jocular, half serious. "Ah! ah! is it thou, Francis?" said he; "who told thee then to turn aristocrat, to talk evil of sans-culottes, to regret your regiment of Bourbon? take care, for I shall perhaps have thee sent to bake (to be guillotined). However, send thy mother to me." Vidocq told him that being *au secret*, he was not allowed to see her. "Beaupré," said he to the gaoler, "let mother Vidocq be admitted." Vidocq was left full of hope: he had evidently been treated with peculiar favour. He was soon after discharged from prison, and taken in great pomp before the Patriotic Society, where he took the oath of fidelity to the Republic, and hatred to tyrants. His fate had been in the hands of a terrorist named Chevalier, whose sister had been made to intercede for the prisoner, and had procured his liberation. When Vidocq repaired to thank her for her intercession, he perceived that the lady was well inclined to him, but she was ugly, and considerably older than our hero; he consequently demurred. The friends, however, on both sides arranged the match, and after some military adventures, during which he was made an ensign in a battalion of reserve, Vidocq found it prudent to consent to the celebration of a marriage, which he had in some measure made necessary both for his own safety and the lady's reputation. Thus Vidocq was married at eighteen years of age: young in years, but not so in experience.

The circumstances under which the marriage had been contracted were not such as to give promise of a happy life: the husband soon found some cause of dissatisfaction and complained: he received for answer an order to join his regiment at Tournai. The battalions of requisition had been broken, and Vidocq had been drafted into the 28th battalion of volunteers as a private; not, however, before he had been compelled to run away from his regiment for striking a republican officer, who found fault with his wearing gold epaulettes, whereas worsted were prescribed by the ordinances of the republic. A guillotine always

accompanied the "revolutionary army" to which he had now become attached: this strange body had acquired among the other soldiers the name of *les Gardes du Corps de la Guillotine*.

At Tournai he became attached to an adjutant-major, whom he had formerly known in the regiment of Bourbon. This officer having occasion to send a confidential messenger to Arras, selected Vidocq for the duty. He arrived at eleven o'clock at night, and proceeded to knock up his wife: he made a great noise without success; at last a neighbour opened the door of the passage, and the luckless Vidocq ascended to the chamber of his wife; he heard and saw enough to convince him of her infidelity. Before, however, he had time to revenge the affront, he was arrested through the jacobin influence of her family. They were conducting him to his old prison, when he insisted upon being led before Joseph Lebon himself. Joseph was convinced that the husband at least had done no wrong, and recommended him to quit Arras without delay.

On returning to Tournai, Vidocq found his adjutant-major had left for Brussels; thither he followed him. In the diligence he found three persons, all of whom he remembered seeing at Lille as loungers about the coffee and gambling houses, and not bearing the most untarnished character. Much to his astonishment, they all these bore the uniforms of different corps; one had the epaulettes of a lieutenant-colonel; the others, those of a captain and lieutenant. When Vidocq explained how he had lost his epaulettes by the disbanding of the reserve battalion, the lieutenant-colonel promised to take him under his protection, and Vidocq, completely puzzled as to the nature of the protection of such a person, thought, at any rate, he could not do wrong in accepting it.

When he arrived at Brussels, he was equally unlucky as at Tournai; his adjutant-major had gone to Liege; he followed him there, when it appeared he had been summoned to Paris to the bar of the Convention. He was to return in fifteen days: Vidocq waited that time and longer, and still spent his money, till he found himself compelled to make the best of his way back to Brussels, in the hope of finding some means of escaping from his embarrassment. He confesses that he began to be not very nice as to these means: the sequel will show, that if the reader has given him credit for any remains of delicacy, he has been too charitable; we, however, see nothing which should encourage the idea; he allows that the abominable society of the barracks would have corrupted the best possible natural disposition.

At Brussels, he appears to have been indebted for subsistence to a lady, who belonged, as he says, almost to the public domain;

and became a hanger-on at two of the noted gaming houses, chiefly frequented by the sharpers and gamblers by profession. Here he became acquainted with a young man, who having been longer a looker-on than himself, was better acquainted with the rules of the place:—"These men," said he, "whom you see here every day are swindlers; those whom you see only once, and who never return after having lost their money, are the dupes." Fortified with these instructions, Vidocq began to look more narrowly at the game, and soon observed such barefaced roguery and such incredible tricks of slight-of-hand, that he was often tempted to inform the unfortunate wretches who had been plundered, of the manner in which they had been duped. It would seem that the *chevaliers d'industrie* had divined his thoughts.

One evening, at the Café Turc, a party were playing; the dupe lost one hundred and fifty louis, and, demanding his revenge for next day, left the place. He had scarcely disappeared, when the winner (a man, says Vidocq, whom I now see every day in Paris) approached him, and said to him, in the easiest tone imaginable, "I faith, sir, we have been lucky, and you did well to back my play. . . . I have won ten games—at four crowns; your stake, that makes ten louis—here they are!" Vidocq began to explain that he was in error; the player, however, only put the ten louis into his hand, and turned his back. "Take them," said the young man who had given him the lesson mentioned above, "and follow me. They have perceived," said he, "that you follow the game, and are afraid you may take a fancy to spoil their sport; and as they know that you have a good arm and an unlucky hand, and are not to be intimidated, they have resolved to share the cake with you: be easy as to your income, these two cafés will supply you. I get from four to six crowns a day." Vidocq says he reasoned with his friend; they both, however, continued to take the money.

Falling in soon afterwards with the lieutenant-colonel and the two officers he had met with in the diligence, the senior officer fulfilled his promise of protection. The position of Vidocq did not appear to be very brilliant, and he therefore proposed a cornet's commission in the light cavalry. This was an advantageous promotion not to be refused, and, under the name of Rousseau, he delivered to him—not a brevet but—a *route* for a cornet of the 6th chasseurs, travelling with his horse, and having a right to quarters and provisions. Thus was Vidocq incorporated in the *armée roulante*: what this army was it is necessary to explain.

The *armée roulante* was composed of officers without brevet; without soldiers, who, furnished with forged papers and forged orders of route, imposed even upon the commissaries of war

themselves. It must be observed, that the time was one of confusion, and in the newly-conquered countries bordering upon the old boundaries of France, that organization was not established which afterwards necessarily prevented any frauds of this kind. At the time of which Vidocq is speaking, the *armée roulante* did not consist of less than two thousand adventurers, who lived, as Vidocq says, like fish in the sea. One of the most curious features of the roguery was, that promotion in the army was excessively rapid: Vidocq soon became captain of hussars, one of his friends a colonel, and the lieutenant-colonel, his protector, whose name was D'Auffray, absolutely had the impudence to become general of brigade in the face of the whole world.

M. Vidocq, alias Rousseau, now captain of hussars in the *armée roulante*, was billeted at Brussels on the Baroness d' I—, who was so imposed upon by the pseudo-captain and his friends, especially the general, who invented all kinds of fiction respecting the emigré nobility of his young protégé, that the foolish woman gave the party to understand that the amiable attentions of the hussar had made an impression on her heart. She was very rich, and the general, by private hints as to the situation of the family of the noble young emigré captain, &c., contrived to stimulate her generosity. She made M. Rousseau many valuable presents, which were divided as plunder among the *armée roulante*, and at last arrived the eve of the great sacrifice. Vidocq was either not hardened enough for this last imposition, or was afraid to marry another wife in the neighbourhood of Arras: be this as it may, on the night before the marriage he confessed to the baroness that he was not what he seemed; he was not the Comte de B—, under the feigned name of Rousseau. The lady left him in affright, but not it would seem in bitterness. When Vidocq awoke in the morning, he found the baroness had suddenly set off for the country, leaving a casket to be presented to him, containing fifteen thousand francs in gold, (600*l*.) Vidocq packed up and took his departure for Amsterdam. The details of this narrative, as they are told by Vidocq himself, are more like the adventures of Gil Blas than life in our latitudes; nevertheless we have the word of our author pledged, in a particular manner, for their exact truth: and we shall see that in time, (after many startling events it is true,) M. Vidocq became a person to be relied on.

From Amsterdam Vidocq repaired to Paris: he considered that he was now entitled to visit the metropolis: but he paid dearly for the experience he acquired there, for between some more adroit sharpers than those of Brussels, and a female of greater charms and more various talents than the fair enslavers of

the provinces, he was relieved of nearly all his cash. Suffice it to say, that after being cheated in every possible way, he left Paris with fourteen hundred francs, all that remained of the brilliant present of the Flemish baroness. We spare the reader the details.

Vidocq then betook himself to a spot he understood better than the capital. He was acquainted with the ways of Lille, which, both as a fortified and a frontier town, offered various advantages to an adventurer like our hero. He found here many officers with whom he had formerly been acquainted, and though they had been accustomed to see him pass under one of those *noms de guerre* commonly assumed at that time, they were not surprised to find him now enjoying the name of Rousseau. He resumed the idle life of the cafés and the fencing rooms, spent his money, and found no means of recruiting his finances.

A singular character, who was known at the café by the regularity of his appearance, and had for this reason acquired the nickname of the Annuitant, one day made some advances to Vidocq, and learning something of the state of his affairs, proposed that he "should travel with him." To travel, said Vidocq to himself, is a very pretty word, but in what capacity:—I am too old to play the clown or commence valet-de-chambre to the monks again. He accordingly inquired of his new protector what functions he should have to discharge. "I am," said he, "a travelling physician. I possess some infallible receipts. I undertake moreover to cure animals, and the other day I recovered the horses of a squadron of the 13th chasseurs, which the veterinary surgeon of the regiment had given up." Vidocq agreed to travel with the physician: and it was settled that they should next morning meet at the Paris gate: they met accordingly, Vidocq attended by a porter carrying a trunk, which the physician recommended him to send back, as it was his intention to proceed on foot. It turned out that Christian, alias Caron, was a gypsey; that he lived by poisoning cattle and then neutralizing his poison, by changing crowns into the pieces of the country at a premium, and during the exchange contriving to pocket a portion. He proposed to Vidocq to assist him in his schemes: he refused; but they repaired together to the fair of Malines, where they arrived at night, and traversing the town stopped at a house in the faubourg of Louvain, where Vidocq was witness to a scene that it may be worth while to give in his own words.

"The aspect of the house before which we stopped was wretched: the walls were black and furrowed with deep crevices, and a number of bundles of straw supplied the place of the broken squares of glass in the

windows. It was twelve o'clock at night, and moonlight, and I had time to make observations, for it was half an hour before we were admitted by one of the most frightful old harridans I ever met with. We were then introduced into a great room, where thirty individuals of both sexes were smoking and drinking pellmell, confounded together in all kinds of suspicious attitudes. Under their blue frocks worked with red borders, the men wore light-blue velvet jackets covered with silver buttons, such as are worn by the Andalusian maleteers; the clothing of the women was of every staring colour: and there were some that had the most forbidding countenances. It was, however, a time of festivity. The monotonous sound of the Biscayan drum mixed with the howling of two dogs tied to the legs of the table, accompanied their strange songs, which might have been taken for some funeral chaunt. The smoke of tobacco and fire-wood which filled this den, scarcely allowed us to discern in the middle of the apartment a woman, in a scarlet turban, dancing a wild dance, and exhibiting the most lascivious attitudes.

There was a momentary pause when we first made our appearance. The men came to take Christian by the hand, and the women embraced him; they all then turned their eyes upon me, and I was a good deal at a loss what to do with myself. I had heard a heap of stories respecting the gypsies which did not contribute to give me courage. They might take umbrage at the scruples I had expressed to Christian, and put me out of the way without any one's being the wiser, as no one knew of my being here. My uneasiness was sufficiently visible to strike Christian, who endeavoured to tranquillize me by saying that we were at the Duchess's, and were in perfect safety. My appetite decided me to take part of the good cheer, and my flask of gin seemed as it were to fill itself and be emptied so often, that I found it necessary to look out for a bed. The moment I mentioned it, Christian took me into the next room, where some of the gypsies were already asleep on fresh straw. It was not for me to be nice, but I could not help asking my commander how he, who at other places always chose the best lodgings, came to fix himself here. He told me, that in all the towns where the gypsies, or as they call themselves, the *Romnichels*, had a house, it was incumbent upon every one to lodge there, under the penalty of being considered a false brother, and punished as such by the council of the tribe. The women and children shared this military bed, and were so soon asleep, that no doubt they were perfectly accustomed to it.

At the first dawn, every body arose, and there was a general toilette. If it had not been for their marked features, their jet-black hair, their oily copper-coloured skins, I should have been puzzled to recognise my companions of the night before. The men, clothed like rich horse-dealers from Holland, had purse-bags bound round their waists, such as are worn by the frequenters of the market of Roissy. The women, covered with gold and silver ornaments, assumed the costume of the peasant girls of Zealand. Even the children, who when I entered were covered with rags, were now well-dressed, and had quite a new appearance. The whole of them left the house soon after, and took different directions, in order not to appear at the same moment at the market-

place, where the country people were now arriving in crowds. Christian, perceiving that I was preparing to follow him, told me that for that day he had no occasion for me, and that I might go where I pleased until evening, when we should meet again at the Duchess's. He put some crowns into my hand and disappeared."

In the course of the day Vidocq learned something of his new companions: they were neither more nor less than pickpockets and shop-lifters. He determined upon abridging his stay with them, and meeting with a loose acquaintance of former days, he set off with him to Courtrai, and thence to Lille, where he was cheated by his companion out of his last hundred francs. Vidocq was soon without a farthing, and began to apprehend the worst: applying, however, to some old fencing-masters for assistance, they made a grand *assaut d'armes* for his benefit, and set him up again with a hundred crowns. This sum he does not appear to have spent judiciously. Forming a connection with a woman named Francine, he soon had reason to suspect her fidelity, and committed an assault upon an engineer officer whom he found in her company. For this assault Vidocq was sentenced to three months' imprisonment in the gaol of Lille. This is the commencement of his felon life, of prison-breaking, pursuit, and apprehension; where he first began to display those remarkable talents for evasion which raised him to the pinnacle of glory among *detenus*, and served to push him to the more substantial eminence of chief of the protective police of Paris.

While confined in the gaol of Lille, Vidocq occupied a small apartment called l'*Oeil de Bœuf*: the prisoners, generally, were mingled together in common apartments, and few had the advantage of solitude. Two of the *detenus* were employed by a third to prepare a petition for his liberation; in order to be quiet, as they pretended, they borrowed the room occupied by Vidocq. Instead of drawing up a petition they manufactured a forged order of liberation. When the fraud was discovered, by means of which the prisoner had been set at liberty, the whole of the party were charged with the offence. Appearances were so much against Vidocq in the transaction, that though, as he says, totally ignorant of the plot, he was regarded by the authorities as one of the accomplices. Vidocq was not, however, then disposed to wait the result of a trial, but imprudently enough, if his story be true, resolved upon leaving the prison. Our space prevents us from even attempting to give an outline of the adventures attending this and his four subsequent escapes (each more wonderful than the last) from the prisons of Lille and Douai, besides various unsuccessful attempts, previously to his being finally brought to trial. After his third escape, he succeeded in leaving

France and getting to Ostend, where he was driven by absolute hunger to seek employment among the smugglers. Although much disgusted with the occupation, he describes the only adventure in which he was concerned with them, with a fidelity not unworthy of the admirable creator of Dirk Hatteraick himself.

"It was with unfeigned repugnance that I proceeded towards the house of a man named Peters, who had been mentioned to me as a contraband trader, who could give me some employment. A sea-gull nailed up against his door with spread wings, as we sometimes see owls and hawks at the entry of cottages, enabled me to find out his residence with ease. I found Mr. Peters in a kind of cellar, which from the heaps of cables, sailcloths, oars, hammocks and casks that encumbered it, might have been taken for the lower deck of a ship. From the middle of a dense mass of tobacco-smoke which surrounded him, he regarded me from the first with a look of mistrust, which struck me as a bad omen: my presentiment was quickly realized, for I had scarcely made him my offers of service before he fell upon me with a shower of blows. I might, to be sure, have resisted with success, but somehow astonishment deprived me of all idea of defending myself. I saw besides in the court six or seven sailors and an enormous Newfoundland dog, who might have sent me off with the worst. Thrust into the street, I began to reflect what this singular reception could possibly mean, when it occurred to me that perhaps Peters had taken me for a spy, and treated me as such.

"This decided me upon returning to the gin-merchant, who had trusted me so far as to point out this source of subsistence; he began by laughing a little at my misadventure, and ended by giving me a pass-word which would ensure me free access to Peters. Fortified with his instructions, I bent my steps once more to the house of the redoubtable smuggler, after, however, having filled my pockets with paving-stones, which in case of a fresh onset, might protect my retreat. This preparation was happily unnecessary. On pronouncing the words, *Gare aux requins*—Beware of sharks, (the custom-house officers,) I was received almost amicably, for my strength and activity rendered me a valuable recruit, in a profession where it is often necessary to carry heavy burthens from one spot to another, in the shortest possible time. A Boirdeaux man; who made part of the troop, undertook to instruct me in all the tricks of the trade: but I was called upon to put some of them in practice before my education was far advanced.

"I slept at Peters's with twelve or fifteen smugglers, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Portuguese, or Russians; there was not one Englishman, and only another Frenchman besides myself. The second day after my installation, at the moment when each of us was seeking either his mattress or his hammock, Peters entered suddenly into our bed chamber, which was nothing else but a cellar adjoining his own, and so filled with bales and puncheons, that we could scarcely find a place in which to suspend our hammocks. Peters was no longer in his usual dress, which was that of a ship-caulker or sail-maker. With a hairy cap and a smock

frock of red wool, fastened at the breast with a silver pin, which served to pick the touch-hole of his carbine, he now wore a pair of immense boots, such as fishermen use, which may be either drawn up to the top of the thigh, or let down below the knee. 'Up! Up!' cried he from the door, striking the ground with the butt-end of his carbine—'stir—below! stir—below! we will sleep another day. The *Squirrel* has signaled for to-night's tide; we must see what she's got in her belly—muslin or tobacco. Up! Up! come along my dolphins!'

"In the twinkling of an eye every body was up. The arm chest was thrown open; each took a carbine or a blunderbuss, a brace of pistols, a cutlass, and a boarding axe, and we all set off, after having drank some glasses of brandy and rack: the spirit bottles had been replenished. At this moment the troop did not consist of more than twenty persons, but we were joined or waited for at one place or another by single persons, till, when we arrived at the shore, we found ourselves not less than forty-seven strong, without counting two women and some peasants from neighbouring villages, who had brought draught horses and concealed them in the hollow of a rock.

"It was a dark night: the wind chopped every five minutes, and the sea broke on the shore with such violence, that I did not understand how any vessel could approach without being cast on the sands. My notion was confirmed by what I saw: for by the light of the few stars out, I observed a boat tacking about as if afraid of being driven on shore. I afterwards learned that this was a manœuvre, in order to ascertain whether every thing was ready for landing the cargo, and that there was no appearance of danger. After Peters had lighted a reflecting lantern, which he had given us to carry, and extinguished it in an instant, the *Squirrel* hoisted a light at the mast head, which just flashed and disappeared, like a glow worm on a summer's night. She then came up before the wind, within musket shot of the place where we were standing. Our troop divided itself into three parties, two of which were placed about five hundred paces in advance, to keep the *douaniers* in play, should they take it into their heads to attack us. The men of these two parties were then spread out on the ground, attached to each other by a piece of twine, which was tied from left arm to left arm. In case of alarm, the communication was made by a slight twitch, and each being instructed to answer to this signal by a musket, a fusillade was instantly established on the whole line, which could not fail to harass the officers. The third party, of which I was one, remained at the water's edge, to protect the disembarkation, and to lend a hand in loading the goods.

"When all was ready, the Newfoundland dog I have already spoken of, and who was of our party, bounced at the word of command amongst the waves, and swam vigorously in the direction of the *Squirrel*: in an instant afterwards we saw him reappear, with the end of a cable about his neck. Peters laid hold of it briskly and began to haul away, making a sign to us to help him. I obeyed mechanically: at the end of some fathoms, I perceived twelve little casks attached to the end of the cable, like beads on a rosary. I then understood that this was a plan to save

the vessel from approaching nearer at the risk of being thrown upon the breakers.

"In a twinkling, the casks, covered over with some water-proof substance, were unloosed, hoisted on the horses, and immediately sent off inland. A second cargo was landed with the same success: but at the moment that we were taking up the third, some musket shots announced that our posts were attacked. 'Ha!' said Peters, 'this is the opening of the ball: I must go and see who is to dance—' and taking up his carbine, he went to the out-stationed parties, which had now joined. The firing became very brisk; it cost us two men killed and a few slightly wounded. From the fire of the *douaniers*, we easily saw that they were our superiors in number; but being fearful of an ambuscade, they durst not attack us, and we effected a retreat without their making the least attempt to molest us. At the commencement of the affair, the *Squirrel* weighed anchor and set sail, for fear that the firing might attract the government cutter into the roads. I was told that she would probably finish the landing of her cargo on another point of the coast, on which the owners had numerous correspondents.

"On my return to Peters's, where we arrived at dawn, I threw myself into my hammock, and did not leave it for forty-eight hours: the fatigues of the night, the remaining in wet clothes all the time I was in a profuse perspiration from exercise, the anxiety of my new position, all united to depress me; I was seized with fever. When I recovered, I told Peters that I found the trade too laborious, and I begged him to give me my dismissal. He took the proposal more calmly than I expected, and even counted me out a hundred francs. I learnt afterwards, that he caused me to be dogged for several days, in order to be certain that I really took the road to Lille, where I told him I was going."

His trial, however, he could not escape; the result of it was that he was found guilty of forging public papers along with another person, in order to procure the liberation of a prisoner, and was sentenced to an exposition in the market-place and eight years to the galleys. In spite of often-renewed efforts to fly from its decision, and the most hardy and ingenious schemes invented and partly executed for the purpose, he was conveyed from Douai to the Bicêtre in Paris, to await the "departure of the chain" for the galleys. In the Bicêtre he and his companions still dreamt of liberty, and both by night and by day were revolving plans of escape, or preparing facilities for returning from their transportation. The whole of the chapter descriptive of the inmates of the Bicêtre is replete with horrible interest, and presents abundant food for reflection to the moralist and legislator on the debasing effects of vicious association. At last the Chain, as it is called, of which Vidocq was a link, departed.

"It was the 20th of November, 1797, (Vidocq was then just turned twenty-two years of age,) an extraordinary commotion had been ob-

served in the prison all the morning. The prisoners had not left their cells; the doors were opening and shutting every instant, the turnkeys went and came with an air of business; the noise of knocking off irons in the great ward was heard even in our part of the prison. About eleven o'clock two men, dressed in a blue uniform, entered *Fort Mahon*, where, for the last eight days I and my companions in the last attempt at escape had been confined; these were the captain of the chain and his lieutenant. 'Well now,' said the captain smiling with an air of benevolent familiarity, 'are there any *return horses* (escaped convicts) here?' And whilst he spoke, every one was striving who should be the first to pay their court to him. 'How d'y'e do, Mr. Viez?—good-day Mr. Thierry,' resounded from all parts. And these salutations were even repeated by prisoners who had never seen either Viez or Thierry in their lives, but who hoped to curry favour by an assumption of former acquaintance. It was hard for M. Viez not to be flattered by such homage; it did not, however, turn his head, as he was quite accustomed to it, and knew his subjects perfectly. Perceiving Desfosseux, 'Ah! Ah!' said he, 'here is a *ferlampier* (a convict skilful in cutting his irons) who has travelled with us before. They tell me that you just missed being *fauché* (guillotined) at Douai, my boy. You are lucky, for mardieu! it is better going back to the meadow (the galleys) than that Jack Ketch should play at ball with one's *sorbonne* (head). However, my boys, behave quietly, and you shall get beef and parsley.' And the captain went on with his inspection, continuing to talk in this amiable style of pleasantry to all his *merchandise*, as he called us.

"The critical moment approached, and we descended to the 'court of irons,' where the doctor attended to ascertain if every man was in a state to support the fatigues of the journey. They were all pronounced good, although many of us were in a most deplorable condition. The convicts now threw off the prison dress and put on their own clothes; such as had none received a smock-frock and a pair of linen trousers, very insufficient to protect them from the cold and rain. The hats and clothing that happened to be a little decent, were cut and torn in a particular manner to prevent escape; from the hats, for instance, the brims were torn off, and from the coats the collars. No convict was permitted to retain more than five shillings; the surplus above that sum was deposited with the captain, who delivers it on the road as it may be wanted. It is easy to elude this regulation by placing *louis* within large *sous* pieces hollowed for the purpose.

"These preliminaries being finished, we entered the great court, where we found the guards of the chain, better known under the name of *argousins*; they were chiefly Auvergnats, water-carriers, porters, or coalmen, who, in the intervals of the expeditions, pursued their usual avocations. In the midst of them was placed a great wooden chest, containing the chains which are always used for these expeditions. We were made to approach two and two, arranged according to height, each pair connected together by a chain six feet long, and then fastened to the rest of the *cordon*, consisting of twenty-six convicts, who, from that moment, were only able to move in a mass. Each person was held to

this chain by the *cravat*, a kind of iron triangle, which opening on one side by a turning-joint, was secured on the other by a nail rivetted cold. This was the perilous part of the operation ; the most mutinous and the most violent then kept themselves rigidly still, for instead of striking on the anvil the least movement would have brought the blow on the neck ; as it was, the hammer grazed it at every stroke. Then follows one of the prisoners with a pair of long scissors, who cuts off the hair and whiskers, preferring to leave them of unequal length.

“ At five o'clock in the afternoon the *ironing* was finished ; the *argousins* withdrew, and there only remained the convicts in the yard. These men, left to themselves, far from despairing, abandoned themselves to all sorts of turbulent gaiety. Some vociferated the most shocking pleasures, which were repeated in every direction with the most disgusting violence ; others by the most abominable gestures endeavoured to provoke the stupid laugh of their companions. Neither the sense of hearing nor the sense of shame were spared ; the most immoral things were said in the harshest tones. It is but too true, that no sooner is a convict put in chains than he considers himself bound to trample under foot all that the society which casts him out is accustomed to respect ; from that moment he acknowledges no restraint except physical force ; his charter is the length of his chain, and he knows no law but that of the cane and whip with which his keepers make him familiar. Thrown among beings with whom nothing is sacred, he takes care not to show any of that grave resignation which indicates repentance ; for if he did, he would be the butt of a thousand raileries, and his gaolers would suspect him of hatching some plot. It is better for him always to appear careless and indifferent, if he would have them easy as to his designs. A prisoner who sports with his fate is never suspected ; the experience of most of the criminals who have escaped from the galleys will confirm this remark. Certainly among us, those who were most deeply bent upon escaping were the least melancholy ; they were the life and soul of the party. As soon as night set in, they began to sing. Only conceive fifty rascals, the principal part drunk, shouting different songs ; in the middle of this horrid riot, some return-horse would thunder out, in a stentorian voice, a couplet or two, of the Galley Slaves' Complaint.

“ La Chaîne
C'est la grêle ;
Mais c'est égal,
C'a n'fait pas de mal.

Nos habits sont écarlate,
Nous portons au lieu d'chapeaux
Des bonnets et point d'cravatte,
C'a fait brosse pour les jabots.
Nous aurions tort de nous plaindre,
Nous sommes des enfans gâtés,
Et c'est crainte de nous perdre,
Que l'on nous tient enchaînés.

* * * * *
* * * * *

" Quand vient l'heur' de s'bourrer l'ventre,
 En avant les haricots !
 Ça n'est pas bon, mais ça entre
 Tout comm' le meilleur fricot.
 Notr' quignon eût été pire,
 Si, comm' des jolis cadets,
 On nous eût fait *raccommencer*
 A l'abbaye d' Mont à-r'gret (the Guillotine)."

" All our companions were not equally happy ; in the third *cordon*, composed of the least turbulent convicts, sobs were heard to burst out, and bitter tears were shed ; but these signs of grief or repentance were treated with abuse and derision by the other two cordons, where I was a prominent personage, and regarded as dangerous by my address and influence ! Close to me were two men, one of whom, a schoolmaster, had been condemned for rape—and the other, an officer of health, convicted of forgery, who, without either joy or sorrow, gossipped together in the coolest and most natural way possible.

" ' We are going to Brest ? ' said the schoolmaster. ' Yes,' answered the officer, ' we are going to Brest—I know the country well. I passed through when I was sub-assistant in the 16th demi-brigade. Fine country i'faith, I shall not be sorry to see it again.'

" ' Are there any amusements there ? ' replied the schoolmaster, who did not appear to me to be very brilliant.

" ' Amusements ! ' said the other, looking somewhat surprized.

" ' Yes, amusements. I mean to ask, can we procure any comforts—are we well treated—are provisions cheap ? '

" ' In the first place, you will be fed,' coolly answered the other, ' and well fed ; for at the *bagne* of Brest it only requires two hours to find a pea in the soup, while at Toulon it can't be done under eight days.'

" Here the conversation was interrupted by a dreadful outcry ; the convicts were knocking about with the ends of their chains the ex-commissary of war, Lemièrre, the staff officer Simon, and a pickpocket, nicknamed the *Little Sailor*, who were accused of having betrayed their comrades by some information, or had caused the failure of some prison conspiracy. The man who pointed them out to the vengeance of the convicts was a young fellow, who would have been a capital study for a painter or a player. With a pair of old green slippers, a hunting jacket which had survived its buttons, and a pair of nankeen pantaloons which seemed to defy the weather, he wore on his head a travelling-cap that had lost its front, the holes in which permitted the corners of an old silk handkerchief to appear. At the Bicêtre he went by the name of *Miss*. The *argousins*, who ran up at the first sound of the fray, gave themselves not the least trouble to rescue the *Little Sailor* from the hands of the convicts ; the consequence was, that four days after we set off he died of the blows he had received. Lemièrre and Simon would have perished in the same manner but for my interference : I had known the first in the *armée roulante*, when he had done me some services. Having declared that it was he who had furnished me with the necessary

instruments for boring the pavement of *Fort Malou*; he and his companion were immediately left at rest.

"We passed the night on the straw, in the church then transformed into a magazine. The *argousins* made frequent rounds, to be certain that no one was *playing the violin* (filing his irons). By day-break every body was on foot; the names were called over, and the irons examined. At six o'clock we were placed on long cars, back to back, the legs hanging down on the outsides, covered with hoar-frost, and shivering with cold. Nevertheless, when we arrived at St. Cyr, we were stripped from head to foot, to undergo an examination which extended to the stockings, the shoes, the shirts, the mouth, the ears, the nostrils, &c. It was not only files in cases that were looked for, but also watch springs, with which alone a prisoner could cut his irons in three hours. This examination lasted nearly an hour, and it is really wonderful that none of us had either a foot or nose frost-bitten. At bed-time we were packed together in ox-stalls, so closely, that the body of one man served for the pillow of another: if any one entangled himself, either in his own chain or in his neighbour's, he was quickly visited by a shower of blows from the canes of the *argousins*. As soon as we had laid down on some handfuls of straw, which had already served to litter the cattle, a whistle ordained the most absolute silence: we were not allowed to break it for a moment by the slightest complaint, even when, in order to relieve a sentinel placed beyond us at the extremity of the stable, the *argousins* walked over our bodies.

"The supper was composed of a pretended soup-maigre, and of some pieces of half-tainted meat. The meal was served out in wooden troughs which contained thirty rations; the cook, provided with a huge soup ladle, did not fail to repeat to each convict who presented himself, *one, two, three, four, reach out your porringer, thief!* The wine was served in the same bowl that the soup and meat had been distributed from: an *argousin* then took the whistle suspended from his button-hole, and sounded three whistles, saying, '*Attention, robbers! answer me yes or no. Have you had bread?—Yes. Soup?—Yes. Meat?—Yes. Wine?—Yes. Then go to sleep,—or make as if you did.*'

"Meanwhile a table was set out at the entrance of the stable, at which the captain, the lieutenant, and the principal *argousins* seated themselves, to partake of a meal a little better than ours; for these men, who omitted no opportunity of fleecing the convicts, lived luxuriously, and would want for nothing. The stable altogether at this moment presented a spectacle more horrible than can be imagined: in one part were a hundred-and-twenty men, penned up like the lowest animals, rolling their wild eyes, from which sleep was driven by suffering; in another, eight ill-looking fellows eating greedily, but never losing sight of their canes and carbines. Some farthing candles attached to the black walls of the stable, spread a reddish gloom over this scene of desolation, the silence of which was only broken by stifled groans or the clanking of chains. Not content with striking right and left, as it pleased them, the *argousins* would practise their horrible jokes: if a man devoured with thirst asked for a draught of water, they would say

from the Bicêtre, and after giving my comrade the trifling recompense I had promised him, I disappeared, gliding behind the piles of planks.

"I passed without obstacle the iron gateway, and found myself in Brest, of which I knew nothing; and the fear lest my hesitation as to the road I should take might excite remark, increasing my anxiety. After a thousand turns and returns, I arrived at last at the only gate of the town, at which there was always stationed an old galley-guard, called *Lachique*, who could tell a convict by his gait, his air, his physiognomy; what renders this less difficult is, that a man who has been long at the galleys, always involuntarily drags the leg to which the chain has been fastened. It was necessary nevertheless to pass this redoubtable personage, who as he smoked with great gravity, fixed an eagle eye on every one who went out and in. I had been informed of this, and tried what effrontery could do. When I came close up to *Lachique*, I set down at his feet a stone bottle of butter milk (which I had purchased, to render my disguise more complete) and filling my pipe, I begged a light of him. He hastened to give it me with all the courtesy he was master of, and after we had mutually puffed a few whiffs into each others faces, I quitted him to take the road which presented itself before me.

"I followed it for three-quarters of an hour, when I heard the three discharges of cannon, which always announce the escape of a convict, in order to inform the peasants of the neighbourhood, who are entitled to a reward of a hundred francs on his apprehension. I saw in fact, many persons armed with muskets or scythes, running across the fields, beating the bushes down to the smallest tufts of grass. Some of the labourers even appeared to take arms with them to their work on the chance, for I observed several quit their labour, and take a musket out of a furrow. One of them passed quite close to me, in a cross-road that I had taken when I first heard the report of the cannon, but he took no notice of me. I was very well dressed, and besides, as the weather was warm, and allowed me to carry my hat under my arm, my hair was seen tied in a tail, which could not be the case with a convict (all the *forçats* are kept close shaved.)"

Vidocq now commences a series of adventures which more resemble a work of fiction, than the real accidents of life, however far removed from the more beaten tracks of society.

At the close of the day on which the escape already narrated took place, and after a long and fatiguing march, the poor *forçat évadé* had the ill luck to seek refreshment at an inn kept by the *garde champêtre*, or village commissary of police, in whose place of entertainment the mayor himself was sitting in his *sabots*, eating barley cake. It was difficult to escape out of the hands of these authorities: Vidocq effected his deliverance with his usual felicity. He did not so easily free himself from the hands of a couple of *gens-d'armes*, who met him on the road: he stated himself to be Duval, a deserter from the *Cocarde* ship of war, now off Saint Malo: "What?" said the *gen-d'arme*, "Auguste, the son of

Père Duval, of the *Boule d'or* at L'Orient?" "The same," said Vidocq, and he was consequently carried to L'Orient. Auguste Duval had left his parents when quite a boy: Vidocq had learned his part: the old father was introduced to him, and recognised him; his mother too, and of course the rest of the family. Vidocq then became, in the sight of all, Auguste Duval, by his own avowal a deserter from the *Cocarde*. It was therefore determined to send him to Saint Malo. Vidocq had learned, however, at the Bicêtre, how to superinduce temporary illness, and by swallowing the juice of tobacco, he brought on a violent; though temporary fever, which procured his being sent to the hospital. But as that would not last above three or four days; and no more tobacco was to be had there, to prolong his stay he had recourse to a still profounder mystery of the felon arts. He contrived to make his head swell to a prodigious size, without pain or evil consequences, and in such a manner that he could cause the apparent malady to vanish the next day. The hospital doctors were dreadfully puzzled, and talked of *elephantiasis*. Vidocq, while the doctors were curing his head, contrived to steal the attire of a *sister of charity*, escaped in that character, and in this dress travelled across the country to Nantes, partaking the hospitality of the religious, and running all sorts of risks.

At Nantes, still availing himself of his Bicêtre lore, he discovered the abode of a "mother of thieves," a secret receptacle for escaped convicts, resembling the strange retirement for the robbers of London, described in the novel of Pelham. From this place he departed as a peasant, in a holland smock frock, and found employment as a drover, in the house of an eminent grazier. He met with him at Cholet, a depopulated town of La Vendée, of whose desolated condition Vidocq gives a striking description after his own picturesque manner. In this situation he became a great favourite with his master, and perhaps might have ended his career as a cattle-feeder, had he not been visited with a restless desire to revisit his family. On his arrival at Arras his parents concealed him with a friend of theirs, an ex-carmelite, in a neighbouring village, Ambercourt. At that time (1798) the priest continued to perform service in secret, and Vidocq was established with Father Lambert as a kind of *frère ignorantin*. His own imprudence drove him from this retreat; he then embarked for Holland, and ended with being impressed by the navy agents. After some service he went ashore at Ostend, where, his evil fate pursuing him, he was arrested for being without papers, sent to Douai, identified (after a long and troublesome inquiry) by his own confession, once more despatched to the Bicêtre, and once

more transported with the chain in 1799, at the age of twenty-four, this time for Toulon.

The description of the galleys at Toulon is richer in felonious interest than even that of the *bagne* at Brest. We have poor human nature in a greater diversity of baseness; we have this reverse of society and its regulations, flourishing in still greater maturity; the heroes of this *imperium in imperio* are surrounded with a halo of a more lurid glare; vice takes the place of virtue with more confidence, and a greater supply of resources. This time Vidocq is no longer among the crowd of ordinary forçats; being a *cheval de retour*, he rises to the bad eminence of being chained to a bench, among a few dozen of the most hardened and successful villains that ever graced a scaffold. Here he lives with the gay *Josias*, who robbed and plundered both hearts and purses in the character of a returned emigré noble, and who had ladies in gay equipages to greet him as he passed with the chain. Here too was *Vidal*, the voluntary executioner of the convicts, and who offered himself with delight to perform the revolutionary murders of the terrorists. Here was *Mulot*, the last of a race of assassins (*chasseurs*), whose father informed against his own wife, that he might have her company to die with him, and whose sisters used to hold lighted candles under the arm-pits of persons who would not declare where their money was, in the houses their fathers and brothers had broken into. Here was the Jew *Deschamps*, who stole the crown jewels, and who used to make his fellow convicts die with envy when he recounted the value and brilliancy of his plunder. One of his prizes was the famous *Regent* diamond. And in the height of his self-congratulation at the greatness of his exploits, he would end by saying to a fellow condemned for stealing vegetables, "You, poor devil, was *that* a cabbage, eh!"

Vidocq contrived to get from this precious company into the hospital, where he stole the doctor's coat, hat, and cane, and while he was amputating an arm had all but effected his escape. The next time, in the disguise of a sailor, he was more successful, and gained the country. In his wanderings he fell in with a troop, half highwaymen, half rebels, who, in the animated description of Vidocq become the heroes of a romance. France was at that time in great confusion, social order was scarcely restored, and, in the confusion of rank and condition, events frequently took place which in any other state of society fortunately occur but seldom. A man called Roman was at the head of this armed body, and the pretext under which they acted was a refusal to obey the requisition for a certain number of the population to join the army. With these people Vidocq, for a few days, lent a

green-wood life, worthy of the history of Robin Hood, till it was discovered that he was a fugitive from the galleys; this touched the honour of the troop, and he was expelled their society.

Vidocq made for Arras, and his road is diversified by a number of events which shorten the way both to the adventurer and the reader. At Lyons he is thrown into the hands of the police, and retrieves his liberty by establishing his first connection with that body. He himself had been informed against, and he revenges himself by offering in his turn to make more important denunciations; he offers to disclose the retreats of the men who have been the means of his own apprehension. But M. Dubois distrusts him. Vidocq asks him if it will increase his confidence if he should make his escape from his present detention, and voluntarily return to him. It is agreed. Vidocq leaves the office in charge of two officers; at the end of the street he trips up both their heels, and makes his way back to M. Dubois. He regains his liberty; reaches Paris, and arrives at Arras.

Vidocq never revisited the galleys after this, but his ordeal was a sharp one. Infinite were the disguises he had to adopt; many were the respectable modes of life from which he was driven; in fear and in sorrow did he eat his bread, until it struck the police that instead of chasing him from town to town, it would be of greater service to the state to avail themselves of his talents than to contend with them. When he reached his home, he found that his father was dead; in his mother's house he was concealed for five months (with some occasional escapades) in a private apartment, which he had so skilfully concealed, that though the police, informed of his return, visited the place several times a day, they could never discover it. The attention of the police, however, having been aroused, it became unsafe for him to continue in this retreat. Having become acquainted with one of the Austrian prisoners who was then confined at Arras, he assisted this man in making his escape, and he, in return, left Vidocq his clothes. As Vidocq knew German well, and the Austrians were not known to each other, coming, as they did, from different quarters, Vidocq assumed the name of, and for a length of time lived as, *Kaiserlik*, the Austrian prisoner, and in that character shared the profits and the labours of a widow mercer of Arras, who never suspected that in her new connection she was entertaining one of the friends of her youth. Vidocq at length made the avowal; but, probably owing to some indiscretion on her part, the *gens-d'armes* paid a visit to the residence of *Kaiserlik*, and he escaped with difficulty. The mercer sold her goods, and resolved to share the fortunes of the pseudo-Austrian, who had fled to Rouen under the name of Blondel. The pair established here a lace and bonnet shop;

affairs prospered, and Vidocq says the banks of Rouen will remember when the name of Blondel was thought good upon Change. The infidelity of his fair partner disgusted Vidocq, and he determined to leave her; the stock in trade was divided, and the firm dissolved.

Vidocq, alias Blondel, established an excellent connection in the arrondissements of Nantes, St. Germain, and Versailles, where he flourished in pecuniary affairs, took his mother to reside with him, and began to think that he should still be permitted to end life as a respectable man. He was deceived; an early friend betrayed him, and he was again sent back to Douai, recommended to the particular care of the police, whose vigilance he once more contrived to elude. The theatre of his next adventures was Boulogne, at the time that the army for the invasion of England was encamped there. The scenes which occurred there are described with a spirit of enjoyment which evidently shows that it is a favourite portion of his life. We have the humours of the grand army; we have his adventures on board a privateer among men who, in his pages, almost rival the creations of Sir Walter Scott; his resumption of service under the Emperor; his subsequent flight; his arduous attempts at an honest establishment; his rencontres with his former friends of the galleys, who defeat his intentions; and, lastly, his throwing himself into the arms of the police as his only means of escape from a third trip to the galleys. The adventures at Boulogne are somewhat too highly-coloured by a too copious admixture of what used to be termed, in the Imperial army, *blague*,—in Irish, *blarney*: it is, however, characteristic of the people he was living with and is describing, and is often redeemed by descriptions of great force and truth to nature. In the accounts of his attempts to commence honest man, his constant anxieties, his nervous apprehensions at the sight of a *gen-d'arme*, the casual encounter of a former acquaintance, or the accidental reading of an *arrêt*, his narrative reminds us of Godwin's masterpiece, the flight and concealments of Caleb Williams. Under the name of Jacquelin he had established a good reputation and an excellent business in Burgundy, the chief towns of which he visited in their turns with his merchandize in lace and mercery. He was one day at an inn at Auxerre, which he was in the habit of visiting for three months at a time, making out his inventory, when he heard an extraordinary noise below. He put his head to the window; it was the *chain*! with Thierry and his *argousins* at its head. He instantly drew back, but, in his fright, he broke a pane. Instantly every eye was upon the place where he stood. He felt, he says, as if he should sink into the earth; when, to increase his anxiety, the door was opened by his hostess, calling to

him—"Oh, come, M. Jacquelin, pray come this moment, and see the chain pass. It is so long since we saw so fine a one; there are at least a hundred and fifty, and famous fellows besides: hark how they sing!" It was no music to his ears. He thanked the lady, but told her he was really so busy that he had not time to come down. "Oh," replied the hostess, "you need not hurry, you have plenty of time, they sleep here in our stables—and then, if you would like to see their captain, you can, for we have given him the room next to yours." To have Lieutenant Thierry in the next apartment to him was only to be separated from certain ruin by a little lath and plaster. The poor man took care to keep close to his room, and scarcely breathed till four o'clock next morning, when the clanking of chains announced that the "infernal cortège" was in the act of departure. This is only a slight circumstance, but it may serve better than a greater to show the horrid state of M. Vidocq's condition in the midst of his apparent prosperity. Events of a graver description, moreover, do not fail to trouble him, and some of them are of a character that would grace a melodrame. But we must hurry over all this part of his career, and conclude our sketch of these volumes with some of his exploits, under the sanction of the police.

By this time, Vidocq had become a classical name among the robbers. His exploits were the theme of universal conversation amongst them, and they of course gave him credit for excelling in crime as well as in dexterity, and the resources of courage and ingenuity. Every thief boasted of his acquaintance, or was anxious to know him. So that on his return to the Bicêtre, and afterwards to La Force, he held a kind of court. This gave him the power of effectually aiding the researches of the police; in about a year and a half he earned his liberation. Had he been suspected for a moment, his life would have been instantly made the sacrifice. In the middle of the court, surrounded by malefactors, he might have been knocked on the head, and no one could have been charged with the offence, or hung up in the night to the bars of his prison, and it would have been said he had committed suicide; these are the fates of prison-spies. His reputation, however, bore him triumphantly through every thing, and, indeed, rendered his protection to others of the utmost value. When he left the prison, by means of a pretended escape, he lurked about all the haunts of thieves in various disguises, and never failed to create a perfect confidence in his trustiness. Those who knew him confided in him as in one whose condition was a hostage for his fidelity. The most consummate rascals made him their confidant: and if they did not press him to join in their enterprises,

it was because they knew the risk he ran as an escaped convict. At length, when the number of thieves and murderers he had delivered into the hands of the police had been disclosed, the character of Vidocq, his power of disguising himself, his courage, and his resources in cases of extremity, relieved him from apprehension. He has even been made the confidant of plots against his own life; and, on one occasion, watched half the night in company with others to assassinate himself. In the dead of the night he has joined in a burglary, and been apparently shot dead by his own police. In the morning he would pursue his inquiries, perhaps in the character of a rich retired old gentleman; in a few hours after, he would arrive on the same watch as a ticket-porter or a coalman.

He was equal to the support of every character, from the general officer to the shoe-black, and in each was so changed and identified with his part, that there was little apprehension of detection. Of the great number of his curious researches after thieves, which require a combination of great perseverance, courage and ingenuity, we scarcely know which to select as an example. Shall we record his indefatigable pursuit of a celebrated culprit, Fossard, whom he at length delivered into the hands of M. Henry, the *ange malin* of the police? his only clue to finding whom was, that he lived within a certain district, in apartments with yellow curtains, and that in the same house dwelt a little hump-backed milliner: vague designations for such a city as Paris. Or shall we detail the painful vigilance, by means of which, on the last night of December, (Vidocq escaping perishing from cold only by half-burying himself in a dunghill while keeping his vigils,) another celebrated hero was secured, and presented as a new year's gift to the prefect of police?

The history of Gueuvive is still more amusing: with this robber and his band Vidocq for some time associated, while other police-officers could not even gain a trace of him: he bore a bitter enmity against Vidocq in *propria persona*, frequently chose him as the confidant of his plans against his life, and boasted that he should never deceive him, as he had done so many of his less knowing comrades. Vidocq has a talent for the humorous, and manages a dialogue as well as a situation with no little skill. The force of these stories can only be felt in the author's own circumstantial narrative. We will try to abridge another adventure, remarkable, as well for Vidocq's part in it, as for the introduction of a singular person with a very extraordinary taste. We mean Madame Noel, apparently a lady of cultivated mind and elegant manners, who was visited with a passion for pro-

tecting thieves and robbers; viewing them apparently as heroes, sustaining an unequal combat, she, with the generosity of her sex, knew no sacrifice too great to befriend them, no labour too humiliating in their service. In highly civilized states of society, anomalous cases of vice are produced like anomalous cases of disease, by the extraordinary means which are often resorted to, to produce excitement.

"Two knaves of the first water, the celebrated *Victor Desbois* and his comrade, *Mongenot*, called the *Drummer*,—who had escaped several times from the galleys, and at every visit to Paris had committed a number of those daring robberies, that people love to narrate as proofs of audacity and address,—were known to be once more in the capital. It was suspected that a teacher of the piano, whose son, Noel, (known by the name of *Barnacle Noel*,) was a celebrated brigand, had given them an asylum. Madame Noel was a well-educated woman: she was an excellent musician, and among the middle class of citizens, to whose daughters she gave lessons, was considered a distinguished performer. Her practice lay in the Marais, and the quarter of St. Denis, where the elegance of her manners, the purity of her language, the taste of her costume, and certain airs of greatness which reverses of fortune do not wholly efface, gave to understand that she might belong to one of those numerous families to whom the revolution had left nothing but pride and regret. To see and hear her, when one did not know her, Madame Noel was a very interesting little woman, the more especially as there was something touching in her solitary condition: there was a mystery in it, no one knew what had become of her husband. Some persons asserted that she had been left a widow very young; others that she had been deserted: it was pretended also that she had been a victim of seduction. I am ignorant which of these conjectures approaches nearest the truth, but that which I well know is that Madame Noel was a little brunette, whose lively eye and arch glance did not belie the indications of sweetness, which her amiable smile and fascinating tone of voice tended to confirm. There was both angel and devil in her countenance; but more of the last than the first, for age had developed the traits which characterize internal depravity.

"Madame Noel was obliging and friendly, but it was solely to individuals who were at war with justice: them she received as the mother of a soldier receives the comrades of her son. To be welcome at Madame Noel's, it was enough to be of the same regiment with *Barnacle Noel*, and then whether out of love for her son, or perhaps from her own peculiar taste, she delighted to be serviceable She pushed her complaisance so far as to look out for occupation for them, and when a passport was indispensable for their safety, she was not easy till she had succeeded in procuring one. Madame Noel had numerous friends of her own sex: it was usually in the name of one of them that the passport was taken: no sooner was it delivered, than by means of oxygenated muriatic acid, the writing was made to disappear, and the gentleman's description replaced that of the lady. She had generally a number of

these washed passports at hand, which were like horses that any saddle would fit. All the galley slaves were the children of Madame Noel; only she nursed those most tenderly who had been connected with her son, to them her devotions knew no bounds. Her house was open to all escaped convicts, who made it their rendezvous; and it would seem that there is gratitude among such people; as the police was informed that they often went thither for the mere pleasure of seeing Mother Noel: she was the confidant of all their projects, of all their adventures, of all their alarms; they confided in her without reservation, and were certain of her fidelity.

"Madame Noel had never seen me; my features were quite unknown to her, though she had very often heard my name mentioned. It was therefore not difficult for me to present myself before her without inspiring alarm; but to make her inform me of the hiding places of the men, whom it was so important to discover, was the aim which I proposed to myself, and I did not expect to do this without considerable address. In the first place, I resolved to pass for an escaped convict, but it was necessary to borrow the name of a thief, whom her son or his comrades had painted to her in favourable colours. A little resemblance was besides indispensable: I turned in my mind all the convicts of my acquaintance; there was not one connected with *Barnacle Noel* near my age, or who in the least resembled me. At last, by dint of torturing my memory, I recollected one *Germain*, alias *Royer*, alias *Captain*, who had been intimate with Noel, and although he was as unlike me as possible, he was the personage whom I determined to represent.

"*Germain* as well as myself had escaped from the galleys several times; this was all that was in common between us; he was not far from my age, but not so tall as me; he had brown hair, and mine was light; he was thin, and I was somewhat stout; his complexion was tawny, mine was extremely clear and fair. Add to this that *Germain* was provided with an uncommonly long nose; that he took snuff in large quantities; and that his nostrils both outside and in were always covered with a considerable deposit of matter, which gave him a snuffling voice.

"I had a good deal to do to represent a personage of this description. The difficulty did not frighten me; my hair, which was cut after the manner of the *bagne*, was died black, as well as my beard, after I had allowed it to grow for eight days; in order to embrown my visage, I washed it with a decoction of walnut skins, and to complete the imitation I contrived a dropping, by garnishing my nostrils with some coffee lees rendered adhesive by the aid of gum-arabic; this charming addition was not superfluous, for it gave me the snuffle of *Germain*. My feet were also artfully prepared; I raised blisters upon them by rubbing them with a composition, of which I had learned the receipt at Brest. I painted the marks of the irons, and when all this dressing was finished, I adopted a costume suitable to my condition. I had neglected nothing which could help to strengthen the metamorphosis; both my shoes and my shirt were marked with the terrible letters G A L. My costume was perfect, with the exception of some of that villanous cattle which peoples the solitudes of poverty; and this was to be had for money.

I then bent my steps to the abode of Mother Noel, in the Rue Ticquetous.

"I arrive, I knock: the door opens: a glance told her every thing: she made me enter; I looked about to see that I was alone with her, and was going to tell her who I was: 'Ah! my poor boy,' cried she, 'one has no occasion to ask where you come from; I am sure you are famished?' 'Oh! yes, very hungry,' said I, 'I have not taken any thing for four-and-twenty hours.' Immediately, and without waiting for any explanation, she left the room, and returned with a plate of meat and a bottle of wine, which she set down before me. I did not eat—I devoured—I choked myself to get on faster; all disappeared, and between one mouthful and another I had not uttered a word. Madame Noel was enchanted with my appetite; when the table was cleared, she brought me a *goutte*. 'Ah! mother,' said I, throwing myself on her neck, 'you restore me to life. Noel did well to say you were good!' and I went on to tell her that I left her son twenty-eight days ago, and to give her intelligence respecting all the convicts in whom she was interested. The details into which I entered were so true and well known, that it was impossible for her to have the least idea that I was an imposter.

"'You have heard of me before now,' I continued. 'I have had many hard rubs. My name is Germain, or Captain—you must have heard my name.'

"'O yes, yes, my friend,' she said, 'I used to hear of nothing but you. O my God! my son and his friends have talked enough of your misfortunes—welcome, welcome, my dear Captain. But, good heavens! what a condition you are in—you must not remain in this state. It seems too that you are troubled with a villainous cattle that torment you. I must get you a change of linen, and manage to clothe you more decently.'

"I expressed my gratitude to mother Noel; and when I thought I might, without impropriety, I inquired what had become of *Victor Desbois* and his comrade *Mongenot*. 'Desbois and the *drummer*!' answered she; 'Ah, my dear, don't speak of them; that rascal Vidocq has caused them so much trouble, since an officer called *Joseph* (*Joseph Louguéville*, formerly inspector of police,) met them twice in this street, and gave information of their frequenting this quarter, that they have been obliged to leave, not to fall into his clutches.'

"'What!' said I, in a tone of disappointment, 'are they not in Paris?'

"'Oh, they are not far off,' replied Mrs. Noel, 'they have not lost sight of the Mainmât. I see them now and then, and I hope it will not be long before they pay me a visit. I think they will be delighted to find you here.'

"'—I am sure they will not be more happy than I shall be; and if you would only write a line to them, I am certain they would send for me directly.'

"'If I knew where they were, I would go myself to find them for you; but I am not acquainted with their retreat, and the best thing we can do is to wait patiently till they come.'

"In my character of new comer I excited all the solicitude of another Noel. 'Does Vidocq know you, and his two half-dogs Levesque and Compère?'

"'Alas! yes, they have already arrested me twice.'

"'Then you must be on your guard. Vidocq assumes all kinds of disguises to entrap unfortunates like you.'

"We had gossiped together for two hours, when Madame Noel offered to get me a bath for my feet. I consented, and it was soon ready. When I pulled off my shoes, she was nearly fainting. 'Oh, how I pity you,' she said, in an accent of maternal sensibility, 'how you must suffer! but why did you not tell me this before—don't you deserve to be scolded?' And while addressing these reproaches to me, she commenced an examination of my feet; after having pricked every blister, she put some wool on them, and dressed them with an ointment, the effect of which, she assured me, would be instantaneous. There was something classical in the attentions of this touching hospitality. When the dressing was ended she brought me clean linen, and put a razor into my hands, recommending me to shave my beard.

"When my ablutions were completed, Madame Noel conducted me into a sleeping apartment; it was a cabinet, which also served for a workshop in which false keys were manufactured; the entrance was concealed by some dresses hanging on pegs against the wall. 'Here,' said she, 'is a bed in which your friends have slept several times—there is no fear that the police will unkennel you here—you may sleep on both ears.'

"Three hours after, I got up, and conversation recommenced. It required all my knowledge to maintain my position; for Madame Noel had every custom and peculiarity of the *bagnes* at her fingers' ends. She not only retained the names of all the robbers she had seen, but was also acquainted with the most trifling circumstances of the lives of most of the others, and she recounted with enthusiasm the history of the most famous, especially of her son, for whom her veneration was as great as her affection.

"'This dear son,' said I; 'you would be very glad to see him?'

"'Oh, glad! yes, indeed!' she ejaculated.

"'Well, then,' I said, 'you will enjoy that pleasure very soon. Noel has arranged every thing for an escape—he only waits a favourable moment.'

"Madame Noel was delighted at the idea of embracing her son—she actually shed tears of joy. I confess that I was much moved, and at one time I deliberated within myself whether for the time I should not pass over my duties of secret agent; but on reflecting on the crimes of these people—bearing in mind, above all, the interests of society—I remained firm and immovable in my resolution to pursue my enterprize to the end.

"In the course of conversation, mother Noel asked me if I had any *affair in view* (any project of robbery), and after having offered to procure me one, if I had not, she put some questions, in order to learn whether I was skilful in forging keys. I answered, that I was as dex-

terous as Fossard. 'If this be so,' said she, 'I am easy, you will soon be set up again; and as you are so adroit, I will go to a hardware shop and buy a key, which you can fit to my safety-lock and keep, so that you may go out and come in whenever you please.'

"I expressed my gratitude for her goodness, and as it was getting late I went to bed, ruminating on the means of extricating myself from this hornets'-nest, without running the risk of assassination, if by chance the rogues whom I was looking after should arrive before I had taken my measures.

"I did not sleep at all, and got up the moment I heard Madame Noel lighting her fire: she saw that I was an early riser, and told me she would go and get me what I wanted. Soon after she brought me a key without web, some files, and a little vice, which I fixed at the foot of the bed, and instantly set to work in presence of my hostess, who, seeing that I understood the business, complimented me on my dexterity. That which she most admired was the expedition I used. In fact, in less than four hours I had finished a very workmanlike key. On trying it, it opened the door almost perfectly; a touch or two of the file made it a capital piece of work, and, like the others, I could introduce myself into the house at pleasure.

"I boarded with Madame Noel. After dinner, I told her that I was anxious to take a turn in the dusk, in order to see if *an affair I had had in view* was still feasible. She approved my idea, but recommended me to take particular care. 'This scoundrel Vidocq,' observed she, 'is much to be feared; and if I were in your place, before trying any thing, I would prefer waiting till my feet were cured.' The assurance that I would soon return quieted her fears. 'Well then, go,' said she, and I went out limping."—vol. ii. p. 383.

This elaborate plot, however, did not succeed; the remainder of the story informs us that Vidocq carried on his imposture for some days, when he was betrayed by one of his own agents, who informed Madame Noel of the trick that had been played upon her. She revenged herself by abstracting her own furniture, and charging Vidocq with the theft: accusing him at the same time of having possessed himself of a key to her apartments. The charge was grave, and the heads of the police thought proper to inquire into it: it was quickly shown that Madame Noel had stolen her own furniture, the place she had taken it to was discovered, and this poor amateur of convicts was sent for six months to Saint Lazare, to repent of calumniating so formidable a personage as M. Vidocq.

Vidocq has only as yet published one half of his Memoirs: if he keeps his promise, his second part may, perhaps, prove more useful, if not so entertaining as the first, as he means to develop the actual system of police, and to show what it ought to be. In the part over the contents of which we have been running, he has confined himself to his own personal history, with the view of

showing, as he says, by what steps he arrived at those accomplishments which fitted him so remarkably for his important office. Vidocq reigned over the police of surely about thirteen years: some time before that, he had been a secret agent, and in the volumes before us, his history extends little further than to the moment of his official appointment. At present, as his title-page announces, he is a proprietor, and paper manufacturer at Saint Mandé, where he is said to be in the enjoyment of competent wealth. Of his family history we do not hear much,—probably because there was little favorable to tell; but it seems that he has a son, who has too closely imitated the early life of his father: he has undoubtedly been convicted of crime; at present we have understood that father and son carry on the manufacture of paper together.

In the future volumes Vidocq promises important revelations respecting the French police, in all its branches. He shows, in the course of the two already published, that he is actuated by no friendly spirit towards it, whether because he was dismissed by its chief, or really that he conceives there is much room for amendment. Not being himself accustomed to give that last finish to writing which the public expects in printed composition, he tells us that he employed a *redacteur*, who, taking advantage of an accident which befel Vidocq, and confined him to his bed, made such alterations in his work as put the author in a rage. Already had the greater part of the volume passed through the press when the discovery was made, and it is only the second volume which Vidocq owns to be a faithful representation of his actions and opinions. The nature of the changes effected by the *redacteur*, induces Vidocq to believe that he had been acting under the influence of the police, the officers of which were interested in the suppression of portions of his narrative. In the latter part of his second volume he has, however, avenged himself upon his successor, M. Coco-Lacour, by a sketch of his early career, which cannot be agreeable to the sensibilities of that functionary, without giving him credit for possessing them in a very acute degree. From this source has emanated, very possibly, a sort of answer which has appeared to the *Memoirs* of Vidocq, entitled, *Mémoires d'un Forçat, ou Vidocq dévoilé*. The author professes to be an old associate of Vidocq, and pretends that he is the person mentioned by Vidocq, himself under the name of Margaret. The book is, however, either the composition of some hireling of the police, or a catchpenny attempt at sharing in the profits of Vidocq's popularity. Many series of pages are transferred from Vidocq, to give them a simple denial; and it may be remarked, that the allegations against Vidocq arise,

entirely out of his own confessions—a strong indication that the writer possessed few other sources of information, and in reality only availed himself of the original to turn it into a libel upon its author. The fabrication is not even ingenious; if the police have really got it up, either to neutralize what has already proceeded from the pen of Vidocq, or rather that which he still threatens to produce, we can only be surprized at their having selected so clumsy an agent. It may be said that it matters little which is in the right: if it were so, we should have very ill-employed the space we have permitted this article to occupy. Had we not ourselves been really interested by the character of this extraordinary man, by his adventures, his resources, his talents, and even by his mode of relating the history of his life, we should not have attempted to attract the attention of others to them. It is true, Vidocq was a vagabond; perhaps he was even more criminal than he confesses; but human sympathy does not stop at the boundaries of virtuous society: good men would be very useless persons if they always turned aside from the contemplation of crime; they would be culpable if they did not even continue to take an interest in the fates of criminals. We ought always to remember, that it has been, perhaps, but some trifling accident that has turned aside the worst of men from being ornaments of society: the block of marble contains both angel and devil, at the caprice or occasion of the sculptor—who in moral cases is the world and its accidents.

ART. VII.—*Geschichte der Hohenstauffen und ihrer Zeit, von Friedrich von Raumer.* (History of the Hohenstauffens and their Times. By Fred. Raumer.) 6 bde. 8vo. Leipzig, 1825.

IF German historians do not produce light and entertaining narrations, calculated to while away an idle after-dinner hour, it must be confessed that they supply the historical student with a mass of information hardly to be obtained in a more amusing form. That all portions of such mass are not of equal value, in other words, that the labour bestowed is not always justly proportioned to the object in view,—is partly perhaps an inevitable evil; inasmuch as it is difficult to regard as trifling any part of a subject which has long engrossed the mind. But the evil is assuredly enhanced in German authors by the marvellously *at leisure* character of the nation. Amongst our worthy Teutonic cousins, we verily believe that neither writer nor reader ever is either in a hurry or idle. The former seems to conceive his senses, his locomotive powers, his life itself, given for no earthly purpose save the investigation of that one subject to which he

has devoted himself; and the latter, should he chance not to possess sufficient intellectual energy to master the knowledge thus provided for him, instead of boldly pronouncing the book dull, respectfully resigns it to those to whom it is better adapted.

Of such auctorial diligence, Friedrich von Raumer offers a happy instance. Prior to commencing the more agreeable portion of his task, and the embodying in his own language his views of remarkable men and remarkable events, he devoted years to visiting and exploring every library, every collection of archives, that promised to afford any materials bearing upon his subject. The magnitude of such labours is attested by a catalogue of the works, printed or manuscript, which he has consulted, filling upwards of thirty octavo pages in double columns; and by a table of more than a hundred such pages, showing the places of abode, or sojourn rather, throughout their reigns, of the Emperors of whom he treats, taken from the dates and signatures of public documents. (It should be observed, that emperors were not then the stationary occupants of metropolitan palaces, but in war or in peace incessantly journeyed about their dominions, executing the various duties of their office.) The mental weariness incident to the continuous poring over mouldy black-letter, or undecypherable autographs, our author relieved by excursions employed in geographical and topographical researches. From the field of his amplest literary harvest, the Vatican library, he visited the scene of the unsuccessful attempt made by the last of the Hohenstauffens, to recover the heritage of his ancestors. Raumer thus satisfactorily ascertained, with something of the over-minuteness above alluded to, the line of Conradin's skilful march from Rome to Tagliacozzo, and the locality of the various military evolutions and *manœuvres* of that fatal day, which delivered up the boy-hero to the merciless Charles of Anjou.

The materials thus laboriously collected, relate to a period of more varied and lively historical interest than belongs to almost any other, we believe, of equal length—less than 200 years. It is full of striking events, all most important at the time to the welfare, some to the very existence of the civilized portion of mankind; not a few of which exercised a long-enduring influence upon the formation and development of the governments, upon the moral and civil condition of the various nations, constituting the European Commonwealth. The first, and one of the greatest of these occurrences was the contest for supremacy between the spiritual and temporal powers, which changed the character of their mutual relations, establishing the arbitrary authority maintained for a while by the popes over Catholic Christendom: it had previously been

the recognized prerogative of feudal monarchs to confer, like any other fief, ecclesiastical dignities, together with the lands and temporal powers thereunto appertaining; and the Emperors (who as successors, through Charlemagne, to Augustulus, claimed the sovereignty of the Western Roman Empire) considered the Papal See as in their gift. Public virtue scarcely seems to be known where there is no public opinion to awe the selfish principle, and such was the case in the times of which we are speaking. The gross simony practised by needy princes and their rapacious favourites, offered to enterprising pontiffs, a fair plea for attempting, first, to wrest all church patronage from the laity, and afterwards, to assume supreme dominion over their former masters, and of course over all inferior potentates. The realization of such lofty schemes was partially effected by the great measure of the able and austere Gregory VII., namely, the enforcing the celibacy of the clergy, which cut asunder those worldly ties that might in some measure, have weakened or counteracted the *esprit de corps*; and subsequently almost completed, by the institution, under his yet abler successor Innocent III., of the mendicant orders of friars, the most actively obedient and useful of the papal agents.

An equally important and more pleasing occurrence of this period, was the development of a spirit of liberty in a class of men long crushed to the earth, and that even more by the licentious independence of the great vassals than by the despotism of the most arbitrary sovereigns. In England, *Magna Charta*, and the admittance of representatives of the people into parliament, date from the period in question. Ere these corner stones of our constitution were yet fashioned, Italy had seen the rise of a cluster of republican towns, which, deriving their notions of freedom from ancient Rome, appear to have deemed the power of tyrannizing over others essential to liberty; but whose turbulence, ambition and anarchy were amply redeemed by the spur which they gave to the progress of human intellect, to political improvement, and to the usual concomitant of both, commercial prosperity. The contests of the Emperors with these municipal republics, and with the Popes, ended in the final rupture of the connection between Italy and the German Empire, or we might rather say, in the actual conversion of the Roman into the German Empire. In more considerate Germany, the same times and spirit gave birth to those free imperial cities, which, self-governed though feudally dependant upon the Emperor, sharing by their deputies in the deliberations of the Imperial Diets, and protected in their proud liberty, first, by little more than the mutual jealousies of the surrounding nobles and princes, and latterly by public opinion,—constituted an extraordinary part of that extraordinary and vari-

ous federal Empire, of which it has been the fate of our own generation to witness the overthrow. The acquisition of political weight by these cities, produced then, as it had in Italy, a great increase of commerce, and was speedily followed by the establishment of the Hanseatic League.

Amongst events of which the effects are still felt, we may reckon the breaking out of the first great occidental heresy, that of the Albigenes, remotely the parent of the reformation, and immediately of that parricidal *lusus naturæ*, the Holy Inquisition. To this may be added the Crusades, which, by exhausting the funds of the nobles, assisted the progress of the middle and lower orders; opened new channels to trade, and gave such a new direction and character to the thoughts of rude and ignorant warriors, as promoted at least the revival of Letters, Arts and Sciences. This revival is commonly referred to a later period, the more advanced age of the Medici, when its meridian lustre commanded universal attention; but its dawn certainly brightened the troubled days of the Hohenstauffens.

Amongst the less permanently influencing events of this period were, the institution of those singular military monks, the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights;—the adoption of surnames and hereditary coats of arms;—the conquest of Naples and Sicily by the Normans;—the union of those beautiful kingdoms with the Empire, which, while it threatened to raise the power of the Emperors to an alarming height, perhaps, by forming dominions too extensive for the then state of political science, really weakened them, divided their energies, and by giving to papal enmity the intensity of excessive fear, contributed to their ruin;—the establishment and fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople;—and lastly, that out-pouring of the Tartar tribes under Gengis Khan and his descendants, upon the East of Europe, as well as upon the more civilized Asiatic nations, which, though it passed away like a subsiding torrent from most of the lands it had desolated, led to the final extinction of the already little more than nominal Caliphate, to the destruction of the more dreaded than powerful prince of the Assassins, and to the rise of the Mameluke sovereignty in Egypt.

The impressive character of such a series of events is deepened by the memorable names connected with them; as those of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. among the popes; Saladin in the East; Richard Cœur de Lion, St. Louis and Henry the Lion in the West; but above all by the continuously contemporaneous sovereignty of the extraordinary family whose history we are about to review. Other dynasties may, perhaps, have produced as many, and equally great men; that of the Hohenstauffens,

however, is distinguished by the rare privilege of not having lasted until its vigour had failed, until the degeneracy of a later offspring, the corrupt nurselings of prosperity, had tarnished the glories of their energetic ancestors. It ended, brilliantly as tragically, with the murder of Conradin, who, in life's earliest blossom, led an army from Germany to the South of Italy, to battle for the heritage of his fathers with one of the ablest warriors of the day.

A large portion of these multifarious events, Raumer has embodied into a clear, instructive, and generally interesting history; justly esteemed by some of the most authoritative of his compatriot critics as "amongst the fairest ornaments of German historical literature," though not quite placing its author upon a level with Johannes Müller, and Ranke. This judgment is not indeed unanimously pronounced. Expectation had been over-excited throughout Germany, previously to its publication, and disappointment was the necessary consequence. Besides, strong party feeling, religious as well as political, still divides that country upon the points which agitated the times of the Hohenstauffens, and Catholics and Protestants, Serviles and Liberals, all respectively required the work to be written according to their several opinions. The author has accordingly been accused of being at one and the same time, a Papist and a bigoted Protestant, a Jacobin and the advocate of despotism. The contradictory nature of these imputations confirms our good opinion of the book. That the author is partial to his heroes cannot be denied, but what history or biography written with an opposite bias is readable?—As a modern loyal Prussian he is moreover somewhat indisposed towards republicanism and revolutions. But such feelings are tempered in him by a kind of general optimism, with which we very much coincide. He conceives that all disorders of the moral, like those of the physical world, work for the good of the whole; and that the civil and religious wars which consumed the time and talents of his heroes, by preventing the noxious preponderance of any single ingredient in the political *olla podrida*, prepared or produced what he calls "the infinite richness of German life," or the "elements of various and abundant social life." Hence his partiality to the Hohenstauffens blinds him neither to their faults nor to the great qualities of their adversaries. And to say the truth, we are glad to see a modern Ghibelline History. Contemporary chroniclers wrote on either side with all the violence and exaggeration of personal attachment and hatred, with a self-interest ennobled by assuming the character of devotedness to a good cause. Later writers have, we believe, invariably adopted Guelphic views concerning the transactions of those times; and that they should do so was almost inevitable. To Catholics, the

which vituperative epithets he has been followed by Mr. Hallam, although in drawing up his character after his death, Sismondi thus qualifies those terms:—"Une conviction intime de la justice de sa cause l'avoit souvent rendu cruel jusqu'à la ferocité envers ceux qui lui résistoient encore, mais, après la victoire, c'était en abattant des murailles insensibles qu'il assouvissait sa vengeance; et quelque irrité qu'il fût contre les Tortonois; les Crèmasques, et les Milanois, quelque sang qu'il eût répandu pendant qu'il combattoit encore, il ne souilla point son triomphe sur eux par d'odieux supplices."—vol. ii. p. 271. Raumer, on the other hand, describes Frederic merely as inflexible in his justice, and therefore merciless towards offenders, asserting that his great military talents and heroic valour never betrayed him into love of war and conquest, that he was thoroughly devout, notwithstanding his broils with the church; and a lover and promoter of mirth and festivity, although an enemy to every kind of excess. As his transactions with the Lombards form the part of his conduct upon which opinions are most divided, we shall examine them with some care.

The German Emperors, it will be recollected, called themselves the sovereigns of the Western Roman Empire. As such, they claimed supremacy over the other princes of Europe, who for the most part conceded it, so far as was compatible with their own actual independence. As such, while the coronation of other monarchs was a mere ceremony performed by national prelates, they received the imperial crown from the spiritual head of Christendom; and till they had so received it, did not assume the imperial title, their election conferring only that of King of the Romans. Of the Roman empire Italy was of necessity an integral part, and the iron crown of Lombardy, if not the inseparable, was yet the natural and proper adjunct to the imperial crown. Her feudal dependence upon the Empire was never disputed by Italy, although being excluded, except in the ceremony of coronation, from all share in the election of the Emperor, she regarded him as an intrusive, ultra-montane barbarian usurper, while his habitual absence enabled her chief nobles to acquire such power, as would, had it been judiciously employed, have established Italian independence. But that power they wasted in warring with each other, and in oppressing their own vassals and the lesser nobles, whom they thus drove to seek protection against their tyranny, by becoming allies and citizens of the more considerable towns. Many of these towns retained the republican forms of Roman Colonies; being internally governed by municipal authorities bearing the name of Consuls; though such consuls, of whom they occasionally had a score at a

time, must rather have resembled modern aldermen than their Roman prototypes. Still, the very form developed more freedom and energy than was then enjoyed by the towns of other countries; and the adscription of the lesser nobles amongst their citizens afforded them military strength, by adding knights to their burgher infantry. The cities and lesser nobles were necessarily partizans of the Emperor, whose support they required against *their* nearer despots, *his* rebellious vassals. In the North of Italy this formidable character had been latterly confined to the Marquises of Tuscany, whence the death of the childless Countess (or, as Raumer more correctly entitles her, Marchioness) Matilda, put an end to all need of support from, and consequently to all attachment to the Emperor, on the part of the great Lombard cities, of which Milan was by far the most powerful. They still acknowledged the Emperor as their liege lord, but gradually enlarged their liberties at the expense of his authority, and tyrannized, whenever they had sufficient power, over those weaker neighbours who would not submit to their pleasure. In fact Milan quickly succeeded to the situation of the Marquis of Tuscany, and the smaller towns to the character of imperialists, in pure self-defence. Of these last was Lodi, which having attempted to resist the imposition of the Milanese yoke, was conquered, dismantled, almost demolished, and in every way cruelly oppressed.

Such was the state of the North of Italy at the moment of Frederic's accession, and it is not to be wondered at that, while ideas of Roman liberty were thus rife throughout the land, Rome should be alive to them. Influenced and guided by Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, the Romans had expelled the Pope, and were proceeding to organize a temporal Republic, improving the church by impoverishment—the most dangerous and detestable of heresies!

Frederic had not yet established in Germany such a degree of tranquillity as admitted of his leaving it to visit Rome, and there celebrate his coronation, when his attention, which had been drawn to Italian affairs by applications from Pope Adrian for succour against the Romans, and from various Apulian barons for support against the tyranny of their king, was yet further stimulated by pity and resentment. Two inhabitants of Lodi, chancing to be present at a German Diet, were impelled by admiration of his inflexible and energetic administration of justice, to throw themselves at the Emperor's feet, detail the wrongs of their townsmen, and appeal to his supreme authority against the outrages of Milan. Frederic despatched an indignant remonstrance to that arrogant city, together with an authoritative command

to re-instate the inhabitants of Lodi in their possessions and freedom. This mandate the haughty Milanese tore in pieces, and trampled under foot, and proceeded to inflict additional evils upon those who had provoked what they deemed an insult. Upon Frederic's coronation journey, he restored Lodi, replaced its inhabitants in their former condition, and severely chastised the disobedience of some smaller towns; but, from want of leisure or of strength, he avoided any contest with Milan, save as to the provisions which it was the feudal duty of every town and province to supply during his stay or passage. Concerning these, great and probably unreasonable dissatisfaction arose on both sides. With this increase of mutual heart-burnings, Frederic hastened forward towards Rome. Upon reaching its vicinity, he conciliated the Pope by seizing and delivering up to him the arch-heresiarch and rebel, Arnold, who was forthwith burnt; concluded a treaty with the Holy Father, in which *he* surrendered forms, and the Pontiff pretensions; declined a pompous offer of the Romans to bestow upon him the crown of the universe, in consideration of an imperial gift of 5000lb. of silver; and entering the Eternal City with Adrian, escorted by his army, was solemnly crowned, ere the sovereign people were well aware of the rejection of their munificent proposal. Frederic fought and vanquished the Romans, and reinstated the Pope in the Vatican; but a feudal army was not quite so docile as our modern troops; his German followers held their duty discharged, and refused to enter Apulia, or remain longer in Italy. Upon their return northwards, Verona, the subject or ally of Milan, attempted to free Lombardy from so formidable a sovereign, by building an insufficient bridge for his passage over the Adige, and providing masses of timber to float against and carry it away. But Frederic marched faster, and the timber floated slower than had been calculated. His army crossed safely, and the fall of the bridge was fatal only to the Italians, who hung upon its rear.

Two years actively spent in Germany brought that country into perfect tranquillity; and Frederic, in the plenitude of his power, returned to Lombardy, to chastise the insolence and tyranny of the Milanese, who, in the interval, had entirely destroyed Lodi, because its inhabitants would not swear submission to the recently established Lombard League, of which Milan was the head, without a reserve of their previous oath of allegiance to the Empire. He first restored Lodi, and then besieged Milan, which, after a short defence, surrendered upon favourable terms. He afterwards held a solemn diet in the plains of Roncaglia, where he received the homage of all Lombardy, and appointed a commission of doctors of law to inquire into and

settle the legal relation betwixt himself and the Italian towns, professing his willingness to allow his absolute authority to be controlled by law. The sacrifice was, in fact, not great. The doctors, imbued with the jurisprudence of the Roman Emperors, so decided every contested point, as to leave the Lombards scarcely the shadow of liberty. But Frederic was triumphant. The laws of Roncaglia were accepted, and sworn to by the Lombards, including the Milanese.

Here, too, the Emperor invested his maternal uncle, Welf of Bayaria, with the splendid inheritance of Matilda, as heir to a former Welf, her husband, and his uncle. This inheritance, claimed by the Emperors as an open fief falling to the Empire, though illegally bequeathed by her to the Roman See, had long been a subject of strife. Its gift produced new differences with Adrian, who secretly encouraged the Milanese to violate those laws to which they had so lately sworn at Roncaglia. The turbulent burghers declared their purpose by an attack upon the lives of the imperial envoys sent to instal the new consuls and *podestas*,* the nomination of whom was one of the prerogatives adjudged to the Emperor at Roncaglia, though previously ceded to Milan by the capitulation. Frederic, however exasperated by the outrage, showed no precipitate spirit of revenge. He referred the matter to legal investigation. The diet pronounced against the Milanese, dooming their goods to confiscation, their persons to slavery, and their city to destruction. This severity it was hoped would compel them to treat; but rarely does immoderate severity succeed. The Milanese began hostilities, and Frederic's leniency was altogether exhausted. He besieged Milan, and when famine at length forced its citizens to offer terms, refused to listen to any thing short of unconditional surrender. Even to this, necessity compelled submission, and he then coldly told the prostrate burghers, that he forgave them their lives, but must consider of all besides. In fact he referred their fate to an assembly of German and Italian nobles, before whom appeared deputies from such Lombard towns as were envious of the superiority of Milan, or had suffered under her tyranny. The sentence was, that she should be destroyed, as she had destroyed Como and Lodi. This implied the dissolution of all municipal union. The Milanese were dispersed, and fixed in four separate villages. Their allies were heavily taxed and other-

* The *Podestà* was a singular sort of annual chief magistrate, chosen, to obviate the triumph of one faction over another, from some foreign state; meaning thereby some other Italian city. The office seems not to have been a very desirable one, as we find the individual appointed sometimes requiring hostages for his personal safety, ere he would undertake it.

wise oppressed. The Ghibelline cities were rewarded with the free election of their own magistrates.

But this submission of the Lombard League was not of a kind to last. During many years the emperor was incessantly summoned from Germany to Italy by rebellions, which his presence and personal exertions usually suppressed; but, at the very moment when he thought finally to crush his Lombard foes, his hopes were frustrated. His favoured kinsman, Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavarin and Saxony, (whom despite all laws to the contrary, he had suffered to hold two duchies, restoring Bavaria, of which Conrad III. had deprived him, and whose pretensions he had invariably sanctioned) refused to obey the call which summoned an army of the Empire to support the emperor in Italy. He alleged various causes of complaint, one of which was, that their common uncle, Welf, had made Frederic his heir instead of himself. The probability is, that the imperial grants and his own conquests over the heathen Slavonians had raised Henry too high to brook the dependence of vassalage. His subsequent fate has tended to create a prejudice in his favour, but seldom has revolt against lawful authority been more unprovoked. He agreed to an interview with Frederic, at Chiavenna, near the Lake of Como, of which we extract Raumer's account, as a specimen of some of his merits and faults.

Frederic, after hearing and refuting his cousin's excuses, thus proceeded:—

“ ‘Above all German princes hath God raised thee in power and wealth, that thou mayest be an example to the rest, that through thee the tottering empire may recover. This example, I gladly acknowledge it, thou hast hitherto admirably offered. Bethink thee that I have never denied thee aught, have always promoted thy power and honour, have suffered no foe to stand against thee. And wilt thou now draw back, when Germany's honour, the emperor's reputation, the object of my whole life is at stake? I will not speak of the oaths thou hast sworn to the empire, I will recal only the sacred ties of blood, which should hold fast even when all else lawlessly and arbitrarily dissolves. Now, in my present exigencies, this once only, support me, thy lord, kinsman, and friend, with all thy force, and be assured, thou shalt ever after find me ready to comply with thy wishes.’

“ Thus spoke the emperor; but the duke, unmindful of the benefits freely conferred upon him through so many years, persisted in his refusal; and at last offered, in exchange for great sacrifices in Germany, a miserable pecuniary aid. The emperor deemed this conduct selfish and unworthy; he, as chief of the empire, required that Henry should discharge his duty as a prince of the empire, not bargain and haggle with him like a merchant who calculates every advantage, and profits by every distress. The existing distress was however so urgent, and Frederic

had so much at stake, that eschewing no means, he descended from his seat and clasped his cousin's knees. Henry was shocked, and endeavoured to raise the emperor, but persevered in his refusal. One of his men, Jordanus Truchsess, had even the audacity to say, 'My lord, the crown you have seen at your feet shall one day be yours!' Another subjoined, 'My lord, I fear it may crush you!' All were now silent, indescribably moved by this unexampled scene. The empress then majestically approached her consort, and said, 'Rise, dear my lord, God shall grant you assistance, when you ask it in remembrance of this hour, —of this arrogance!' The emperor arose, the duke mounted his horse and rode off."

Notwithstanding the failure of his mightiest and most trusted vassal, Frederic collected an army, but for the first time lost a battle. Although not very much weakened by his defeat, he now judged it expedient to negotiate with the Pope. He gave up an anti-pope whom he had previously supported, acknowledged Alexander III., and obtained from him fair terms of peace. Through the papal mediation, he also concluded a six years' truce with the Lombard League, which, in 1183, was converted into the Peace of Constance. This treaty mitigated the severe laws of the diet of Roncaglia, secured to the Emperor the rights of suzerainty, and to the Lombards much the same as those of the free imperial cities.

Sismondi's account of these transactions differs from that of Raumer chiefly in dwelling upon the stern and often cruel inflexibility of the emperor towards the Milanese, and their allies, and upon the irritating disorders inseparable from the passage of armies undisciplined as those of feudal chiefs. But although as Britons we must, like him, sympathize with the efforts of the Lombards to shake off a foreign yoke, rather than with those of Barbarossa to rivet it, we cannot but see the injustice of branding the Emperor, as the lawless and ambitious invader of a free people. The modification of the old Lombard relation to the Empire was really the sole point in dispute; and the emperor would have grossly neglected his duty, had he suffered one imperial city to destroy another. Cruelty was the fault of the times, and equally imputable to both parties.

The news of the Italian pacification startled Henry the Lion, in his triumphant career against the Slavonians, and encouraged his weak and injured German neighbours to attempt the recovery of the lands of which he had despoiled them. Three ecclesiastical princes simultaneously invaded his dominions, and he, as of yore, boldly appealed to the Emperor. But he now found an offended sovereign, instead of a partial kinsman; though in Raumer's narrative we see nothing of the vindictiveness ascribed to Frederic by

Messrs. Hallam and Sismondi. Accusations poured in from all sides against the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria. Distrusting, as judges, those states of the Empire which he had made his enemies, he did not appear at any of the three diets to which he was successively summoned. The imperial diet solemnly and legally pronounced the ban of the Empire against him, and the forfeiture of all the Duke's possessions as the penalty of such contumacy. Frederic, however, summoned his cousin to a fourth diet, and even permitted him to appear by deputy; nor was it till this stretch of favour was disregarded, that he confirmed the sentence. Henry pertinaciously resisted its execution; but when Frederic led the army of the Empire against him, his towns and castles surrendered, his most faithful adherents fell off, he was speedily constrained to acknowledge the authority of the diet, and personally to implore its clemency. Frederic wept over his kinsman's degradation; but his indulgence was restrained by the jealousy of the princes of the Empire; he could only restore to Henry the original patrimony of his house, Brunswick, and limit the term of his exile to three years. The Lion sought refuge with his father-in-law, Henry II. of England. His possessions were divided amongst many, and their disproportionate magnitude thus destroyed.

Frederic had now tranquillized Italy and Germany, and extended the sovereignty of the Empire northwards, over the Slavonian conquests of Henry the Lion, and over Denmark, which acknowledged him Lord Paramount, by submitting to his decision a dispute, between the two sons of a recently murdered king, for that precarious crown, none of whose wearers seem in those days to have died in their beds. In the zenith of his prosperity, in 1184, Frederic Barbarossa held a diet at Mentz, to solemnize the knighting of his son Henry, the splendor of which appears to have absolutely dazzled his contemporaries, and may, in Raumer's opinion, have served as a model to the author of the *Nibelungen* Lied* for some of his descriptions. He soon afterwards effected the marriage of Henry with Constance, the presumptive heiress of the Norman kingdom of the two Sicilies.

Raumer's account of Frederic Barbarossa's death, drawn from contemporary and oriental authorities, is somewhat different from most other accounts that we have met with. According to this

* The Lay of the Nibelungs. This is one of the earliest efforts of the modern muse that has been preserved to us, and has for years been an object of delighted attention in Germany. It is a long poem upon the adventures of Siegfried the Dragon-slayer, his assassination, and his widow's revenge of his death. Hagen, an eminent German critic, who carefully edited the *Nibelungen Lied*, believes it to have been written by Henry von Aterdingen, about the year 1200. If this date be correct the poet might easily have attended the Mentz Diet. A translation of this poem will be found in Weber's *Northern Antiquities*, 4to. 1813.

narrative, it was by an over-zealous discharge of his duty as general, not by an injudicious indulgence, that the great leader of the crusade against Saladin was cut off. The main body of his army was crossing the Kalykadnus by a very narrow bridge, when anxiety to confer with his son, Frederic, Duke of Swabia, who led the vanguard of the army, prompted him to attempt swimming the river. The old man's physical powers were not equal to his spirit, and the current overpowered him: he was dead when taken out of the water.

The reign of his son and successor, Henry VI., an implacable and rapacious, but able tyrant, we shall pass over. His untimely death left the Empire and his wife's inheritance, the kingdom of Sicily, both full of disturbance and insurrection, to an infant not three years old, his son Frederic, already elected King of the Romans. Almost at the same moment, the demise of the aged and infirm Celestin III. transferred the tiara to perhaps the greatest of the Popes, Innocent III., a man of prodigious abilities, indefatigable industry, and proportionate ambition, in the very vigor of his age. The gloomy views which Innocent took of the world and of human nature, as they are depicted in his treatise, *De Miseria Conditionis Humane*, were well fitted to produce contentment in the cloister; in the papal chair they tended, by exalting his sense of the propriety of ecclesiastical ascendancy, and his contempt for temporal sovereigns, to counteract the influence of any such kindly feelings as might have partially checked his steady and overwhelming career.

Innocent immediately asserted his claim of suzerainty over the kingdom of Sicily, and although he confirmed the regency to the Empress Dowager Constance, he extorted from her a surrender of all disputed points concerning pontifical pretensions. Upon her early death he assumed the regency; but failed to suppress the mutual animosities and encroachments of the great vassals and crown officers that desolated Sicily and Naples throughout Frederic's minority. In Germany, he assumed the right of deciding between the rival candidates, Barbarossa's youngest son, Philip, Duke of Swabia, his own ward, Frederic, King of Sicily, whom the German princes universally rejected on account of his youth, and Otho, a son of Henry the Lion. Innocent, of course, pronounced in favour of the Guelph Otho, who in return promised to surrender to him Matilda's disputed heritage, and to be ruled by him with respect to the Lombards. But an emperor could not long remain the friend of a pope. Innocent entered into negotiation with Philip, whom he relieved from the excommunication under which he lay; and soon after the unaccountable assassination of that amiable monarch by Otho of Wittelabach, Count Pala-

time, who was under the greatest obligations to the Hohenstauffens, he excommunicated his former *protégé*, the Emperor Otho, and sanctioned the invitation of the Ghibellines to Frederic, the sole male remnant of Barbarossa's numerous family, to repair to Germany, place himself at their head, and assert his right to the imperial crown. Over the other sovereigns of Europe, Innocent claimed, and pretty well established an almost equally effective supremacy. He compelled the haughty Philip Augustus of France to repudiate his beloved consort, Agnes de Meran, and take back Ingeborg of Denmark, whom he had rejected upon their bridal day; the King of Leon to part from two successive wives; the Kings of Arragon, Portugal, and our English John, to acknowledge themselves vassals of, and tributary to the Holy See; and he regulated the right of succession amongst the princes of Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and even amongst the Asiatic rulers of Armenia. Against the Albigenses, in the south of France, Innocent directed that horrible crusade, in which Simon de Montfort first exercised, in the name of religion, atrocities that remain to this day an indelible stain upon the cause of which he was the champion. But Innocent trusted not the maintenance of orthodoxy wholly to temporal arms. More in consonance with the genuine spirit of Christianity, he employed the mendicant orders, whose institution he had recently sanctioned—the Franciscans to preach sound doctrines, and the Dominicans to scrutinize the faith of suspected heretics. This last commission afterwards, during the pontificate of Innocent IV., ripened into the terrible tribunal of the Holy Inquisition; but under the third Innocent's rule, the inquisitors into faith did not deviate from the ordinary forms of legal investigation. Another crusade, organized by the indefatigable Pope, in the hope of profiting by the dissensions amongst Saladin's successors, to recover the kingdom of Jerusalem, disappointed him in its results. Instigated by Dandolo, the blind and ninety-four-year-old Doge of Venice, the crusaders turned their arms against their fellow-Christians, took Constantinople, and founded the Latin Empire of Greece. The subjection of a schismatic realm to the Roman See reconciled Innocent to this unwarrantable breach of a solemn vow, and he exerted himself to enlist fresh crusaders for the defence of the one, and the recovery of the other conquest. The duty of taking the cross for these purposes he earnestly inculcated in a general council, the most numerous ever held in the Lateran, which he summoned in 1215, in order to strengthen the church by reforming her discipline. Innocent lived not to see the fruits of his labours, dying a few months afterwards, in the 55th year of his age.

We now come to Frederic II., the object of yet greater obloquy than his grandfather, Frederic I., and Raumer's especial hero. He was in truth the most extraordinary man of his race and times, so far outrunning those times, that it is hard to think of him as the contemporary of St. Louis. This however will be best seen when we come to speak of his legislation and internal policy. Frederic had barely completed his seventeenth year, though already a husband and a father, when he was invited, in 1212, to Germany. In opposition to the advice of his queen, Constance of Arragon, and of his Sicilian counsellors, Frederic accepted the perilous invitation, and hastened, in the first instance, to Rome, where he concluded some arrangements with his ex-guardian, Innocent. We shall translate the description of his journey thence to Germany, as a specimen of Raumer's happiest narrative style.

"From Rome, Frederic, for greater security, re-embarked, and reached Genoa without accident in May. The Genoese took his part with a zeal quickened by their desire of surpassing their old enemies the Pisans, who in every way supported the Emperor. But the favourable disposition of Genoa was insufficient to protect him beyond her own domains; and as the Count of Savoy and the Piedmontese cities, Milan and the greater part of Lombardy, were partizans of Otho, all the roads to Germany were obstructed. Six months Frederic sojourned there at the expense of the town, which he and the Pope in return endowed with ample privileges; but longer he could not endure this oppressive and injurious delay. The Marquises of Este and Montferrat, the Count of St. Bonifazio, and several nobles and town deputies, who in Genoa assured him of their fidelity, inflamed his courage, and on the 15th of July, defying all hostility, he set forward by way of Montferrat and Asti, and happily reached Pavia. But his perils were now rather enhanced than overcome; for the Milanese, receiving intelligence of his arrival, made immediate preparation for taking him prisoner upon his further progress. Deceiving their vigilance, he hastened by night from Pavia to the Lambro; but scarcely had he crossed that river, when the Milanese appeared upon its right bank, and a warm engagement ensued betwixt them and Frederic's Pavian escort, who were returning home, and of whom seventy were taken, and the greater part cut to pieces. So great and imminent a danger did the King luckily escape, and was next escorted by Marquis Azzo past Cremona and Mantua to Verona: thence the Count of St. Bonifazio conducted him to the foot of the mountains, where Frederic, through apprehension of Otho's partizans, quitted the main road, and turning to the left, crossed the highest ridge of the Alps by untrodden paths, probably passing through the district of Worms, the Upper Engadin, and the valley of the Albula, to Chur. Here he was received by the Bishop as his King; and the Abbot of St. Gallen, who came hither with men at

seems to meet him, attended him onwards over the Altstetten and Rupan, towards Constance. But how alarmed was the Abbot, when the tidings met them by the way that the Emperor, upon the news of Frederic's approach, had ended the Thuringian war, hurried by forced marches through Germany, and was now with 200 knights and other troops at Überlingen, upon the further shore of the Lake of Constance, and that his cooks and quarter-masters were already in the town, providing for the advancing forces. Frederic had only 60 men, but with these he precipitated his march. He reached Constance first, and his and the Abbot's persuasive eloquence prevailed upon the wavering Bishop and burghers to declare against Otho. The Emperor found the gates closed, and abandoned his scheme. Had Frederic been three hours later, he might never have seen Germany."

Frederic's success was thenceforward steady though gradual; he was successively joined by various princes and states of the Empire; and in the year 1215, at the age of 21, was solemnly crowned King of the Romans at Aix. His reign was distracted, like those of all his family, by the enmity of the Pope and the Lombard League. Schmidt, the national historian of Germany, blames him for wasting his great talents in fruitless struggles with them, to the neglect of Germany; though he acknowledges that the subjugation of Lombardy would have made him the most powerful sovereign in Europe. In fact, the very geographical position of Lombardy between his extensive but divided dominions, rendered its possession, if not necessary, yet irresistibly alluring to him. Our own opinion we have already stated,—that the extent of his dominions was a source of weakness. Be that as it may, although the belligerent parties were the same as before, the character of the contests was now materially changed. The Lombards had obtained by the peace of Constance (as is admitted even by Sismondi) as much liberty as ought to have satisfied them, certainly as much as was compatible with allegiance to the Empire; but their object now was to throw off that allegiance entirely. The liberty thus acquired, many of these vassal republics had already forfeited, falling under the yoke of domestic tyrants, termed *signori*. The North of Italy, divided into petty republics and lordships, was further divided into the hereditarily inveterate enemies of the Hohenstauffen dynasty, and its devoted adherents, distinguished as Guelphs and Ghibellines, the former of whom attached themselves to the Popes by the ties of common hatred. In many of the towns both factions existed, and then the republic changed sides according as either obtained the ascendancy. The extravagant violence and animosity to which, in cities thus internally embroiled, party rage was carried, is not to be described.

Guelphs and Ghibellines were distinguished, amongst other characteristics, by the fashion of laying the cloth for, and carving at, dinner: and the Florentines sacrificed the architectural uniformity of a public palace, rather than build upon a piece of Ghibelline ground, sentenced to desolation.

An analogous change had occurred in the nature of the disputes between the Emperor and the Popes; the latter were not now struggling to effect the emancipation of the Church from lay control. As temporal princes, the pontiffs dreaded the increasing power of Frederic, whose dominions in a manner inclosed theirs; and the drift of papal policy, during his whole reign, was the separation of the kingdom of Sicily from the Empire. This Frederic repeatedly promised to effect, by resigning one of his crowns to his son, probably without any intention of ever executing his engagement, and to this the Pope endeavoured to compel him, by instigating and encouraging the Lombard hostility. The disputed inheritance of Matilda was another apple of discord, though rather nominal than real, being now almost entirely occupied by signori or republican towns. The crusades formed a third cause of dissatisfaction; but highly interesting as the recovery of Palestine should seem to be to the Popes in their pontifical capacity, some parts of their conduct towards Frederic awakened a suspicion that they deemed it secondary to the separation of the Two Sicilies from the Empire. That Frederic did not rigidly execute his own laws for the burning of heretics, was perhaps rather matter of complaint than of serious dissension.

Frederic had taken the cross on the very day of his coronation, but Germany was not in a state to allow of his immediate absence upon a crusade. He had still to fight for the empire against a previously crowned Emperor; and, after Otho's death, to pacify the troubles that had arisen during his own and his uncle Philip's contests with him. For these purposes, Innocent's successor, Honorius the Third, allowed him to defer his departure, but vehemently urged his immediate resignation of Sicily to his son Henry, according to his promise given to Innocent. Frederic, who had no inclination to part with a kingdom, evaded compliance; and in 1220, by surrendering to the German prelates some oppressive prerogatives, carried his great point, Henry's election as King of the Romans, without the Pope's concurrence. Honorius yielded to what was irremediable, and Frederic, considering German affairs as settled, re-crossed the Alps. Avoiding all collision with the Lombard League, he repaired to Rome, and there, after solemnly promising to proceed within the twelve-month upon his crusade, he received the Imperial crown from the Pope. But the Emperor had now to provide for the tran-

quillity of his Sicilian and Neapolitan dominions, and to reform the abuses that had crept in during his minority and eight years' absence. As this could not be accomplished in a year, he was obliged to request more time of Honorius. Although he sent troops, the Pope became dissatisfied, and at length, after applying the spur of self interest to quicken his zeal, by arranging a second marriage for Frederic, then a widower, with Jolante, heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem, he allowed him until August 1227, to order his Sicilian affairs, upon condition that if he did not then set forward upon his crusade with a stipulated number of knights, he should, *ipso facto*, incur excommunication.

Frederic employed the interval in bridling his mutinous barons, encouraging commerce, founding universities, and converting a disorderly and dangerous Saracen colony into loyal subjects. He then summoned the King of the Romans and the great German vassals to meet those of Italy, at a diet to be held in Lombardy. But the Milanese and their allies occupied the passes of the Alps, and prevented Henry and his company from obeying the summons. Upon this declaration of hostility, the Emperor referred all disputes between himself and the Lombard league to the Pope's arbitration. Honorius placed the rebellious aggressors and the aggrieved Emperor upon a footing of equality; commanded a mutual release of prisoners and suspension of arms, and only enjoined the Milanese to supply 400 men at arms for Frederic's crusade. The sentence was rejected by the stubborn burghers.

Gregory IX. who succeeded to Honorius, urged on the crusade with redoubled ardour. But the zeal for the recovery of the Holy Land had been cooled, and diverted into other more commodious channels, viz. against the Albigenses and Slavonians. Frederic found great difficulty in assembling the stipulated force by the appointed time. He was unavoidably detained until the height of summer, when the heat of Italy, as usual, produced sickness among the northern troops. He embarked, nevertheless; but sickened himself of the prevailing epidemic; and was obliged to re-land and seek health at the baths of Puzzoli. The crusaders, whose hopes rested entirely upon the presence of the Emperor, immediately abandoned the enterprise; and the Pope, exasperated at this disappointment of his confident hopes of such a crusade as would reflect lustre upon his pontificate, forthwith excommunicated the Emperor, whose allegation of illness he taxed with falsehood. This is an imputation which Frederic's evident interest in recovering his wife's inheritance renders improbable; he repelled it with indignation, and

his resentment overpowering the reverence he had hitherto manifested towards the Holy See, as the protectress of his youth, he now publicly charged the Popes with avarice, ambition, and encroachment upon the rights of sovereigns, declaring that the Roman Church was no longer the true Church of Christ.

Regardless, however, of his excommunication, or expecting thus to appease the incensed Pope, he urged forward his preparations for the crusade, and in August of the following year sailed with a small army. But the harsh Pontiff seems to have considered this step, taken without his concurrence, as rather an aggravation than an expiation of the offence. He despatched Franciscan preachers to the East, there to publish and enforce the excommunication of the leader of the crusade; and the Emperor's orders were consequently disregarded in his own camp, until he issued them, not in his own name, but in that of God and Christendom; whilst the Templars even offered to betray him to the Saracens. So circumstanced, Frederic could have effected little by arms; but before he left Europe, he was in treaty with Saladin's nephew, Krameel, Sultan of Egypt, whose dominions embraced Palestine. The deterioration of the Emperor's condition through the Pope's enmity, and the improvement in the Sultan's through arrangements concluded between him and his rivals, gave the negotiation a less favourable turn than Frederic had anticipated. Still he obtained the restoration of part of the kingdom of Jerusalem, including the Holy City, upon condition of the Mahometans retaining the temple built upon the ruins of Solomon's, regarded by them with peculiar reverence. When the Emperor had reached Jerusalem, and performed his devotions, no prelate would crown him King of Jerusalem. Taking the crown, therefore, from the altar, he placed it with his own hand upon his head, and made a very conciliatory speech with regard to the Pope. In return for which, the Patriarch of Jerusalem laid the city and holy places under an interdict, as profaned by his presence.

This treaty, and Frederic's short stay in the East, were subsequently the subjects of bitter invective against him. His return to Europe had, however, become imperatively necessary. His Neapolitan vicerents were engaged in warfare with the Pope, whose forces had nearly subdued Apulia, when the Emperor's arrival turned the tide of success. Gregory was now both alarmed for himself, and angry with the Lombard League, which had neglected to send him the stipulated succours; and Frederic was impatient to be relieved from the burthen of excommunication. A peace, of which both parties were alike desirous, was therefore

easily negotiated, and upon tolerably fair terms. A personal interview seemed even to produce friendship between the Spiritual and Temporal Heads of Christendom.

This interval of peace Frederic employed in legislation—a work no where more wanted than in the South of Italy, where the disorders incident to the encroaching spirit of the clergy and the uncontrollable licence of the nobles were enhanced by the confused mixture of laws under which different individuals, according to their descent, professedly lived; i. e. Roman, Grecian, Gothic of all the various tribes that had successively over-run the country, Norman, Saracen, and Ecclesiastic. This bewildering and often contradictory variety of codes did Frederic undertake to consolidate and reform, with the assistance of Pier delle Vigne, his Chancellor or Grand Judge, whom for his abilities he had advanced from a mendicant scholar to that high post. If the task was not performed quite in the spirit of modern codification, its execution exhibits a political sagacity which we are little accustomed to ascribe to feudal kings. We shall select and condense some of Raumer's details upon the subject, as illustrative of Frederic's character.

Frederic's legislative views with regard to Church affairs may be briefly despatched. He endeavoured to deprive the clergy of their exemptions from the jurisdiction of lay tribunals, and from public burthens. Wholly to succeed in such objects was impossible; but he regulated and repressed what he could not abrogate, by both prohibiting the bequest of lands to ecclesiastical bodies that would neither pay taxes, nor render military service, and enjoining on pain of forfeiture, the sale of lands so bequeathed, within the year, to some one capable of these duties.

But Frederic's main object seems to have been the imposition of some check upon that excessive power, which enabled the feudal nobles to hamper and annoy their sovereign, and to tyrannize without control over their inferiors. To effect this, two changes were indispensable; the substitution of paid troops for the feudal army composed of nobles and their retainers—and the transference of the administration of justice, and the right of allotting pecuniary contributions amongst the lower orders, from the baronial courts, to judges and other officers appointed and salaried by the monarch. The consent of the nobility to the evident curtailment of their privileges by the second of these measures was obtained by confirming and extending the heritability of fiefs; and by giving to the first measure, as far as it could be introduced, the colour of an indulgence, a permission to individuals to purchase exemption from particular military duties,

for which soldiers were hired with the money so paid. This practice had begun under Frederic Barbarossa;—Frederic the Second enlarged and promoted it to the utmost.

To the manifest improvement in the situation of the lower classes produced by the above-mentioned alterations, Frederic added the right of appeal to himself in every case of extortion, or unfair taxation, for which redress through the local authorities should prove unattainable. The inhabitants of towns shared equally with the peasantry in the advantages of this emancipation from baronial tyranny, and were greatly enriched by Frederic's encouragement of commerce. Such benefits might have sufficed to acquit the Emperor of the charge brought against him, of enmity to the middling and lower classes of his subjects. A great predilection for municipal privileges and burgher independence could indeed hardly be expected from a monarch who personally and hereditarily, had met with so much annoyance from the republican temper of the Lombards. But the law subsequently promulgated by him in Germany, which has been considered the proof of an anti-civic disposition, is in truth only calculated to restrain the encroachments of the cities upon the established rights of nobles and prelates. Perhaps to this very check of the ambitious pretensions natural to men first breaking the heavy chains of servile dependence, may be partly attributable the difference between the German free imperial cities, and the licentious, tyrannical and immediately enslaved municipal republics of Italy. That the German free cities did not feel themselves aggrieved by Frederic, may be argued from their faithful adherence to his cause, during the less prosperous portion of his reign, when princes, nobles, and prelates abandoned him. But this is from our present business.

Frederic not only granted to his Sicilian and Apulian towns such rights as were consistent with thorough subjection to himself, but raised them at once to political importance, by associating them in the deliberations of their superiors. He instituted provincial assemblies of nobles, prelates, local authorities, and deputies from the towns, to be held twice every year, simultaneously in different districts. These assemblies were presided by royal commissioners, and investigated the administration of each province, and whatever local matters they thought proper. An account of their deliberations was transmitted to the King.

These embryo parliaments were assuredly not intended to control the royal authority; but they were designed as restraints upon ministerial abuses, the most universally sensible evils perhaps in absolute monarchies. Against such abuses Frederic took other precautions. He established an audit of accounts, as a check upon the High Treasurer; and required all the principal

government officers to deliver annually to the King, a detailed account of their ministry, they receiving similar statements from their own underlings.

The judicial establishment consisted of an ascending series of judges, from town and village magistrates, up to a Lord Chief Justice, to whom appeals lay from all inferior tribunals, even from the remaining baronial courts, and whose own judgments were in their turn in some measure controlled by a council of assessors. This grand judge presided over the high baronial court in which nobles claimed to be tried by their peers; and the capricious or partial decisions of the warlike members of this tribunal were further restrained by an oath required from them, to judge according to the new code. All judges were salaried by government, and forbidden, not only to receive presents, but even to purchase lands, or to marry in the districts assigned them. This last prohibition was borrowed probably from the custom of Italian cities in choosing their *podestas*, who were sometimes subjected to the additional restrictions of not bringing their wives with them, and not inviting their temporary subjects to dinner. But lest the gratuitous administration of justice should foment litigation, the losing party in every suit forfeited to the royal treasury a percentage upon the object in dispute, and advocates were sworn not to undertake unjust causes.

The laws to be thus administered were good, but severe. Death was no unfrequent penalty, and in some cases, as high treason, or personal violence offered to women, the accuser who failed to substantiate the charge was executed instead of the accused. Private wars were prohibited upon pain of death and confiscation; every minor act of private revenge being visited with proportionate punishment. Legal investigation was substituted for trial by ordeal or battle; although in cases of treason and murder, if the presumption were strong, and the evidence defective, the prosecutor was indulged with his old privilege of challenging the accused party. The use of torture, though not abolished, was limited like the right of challenge. The value of evidence, both in civil and criminal cases, was measured with whimsical precision by rank; the oath of one count balancing those of two barons, of four knights, or of eight burgesses. The police regulations were strict, enforcing cleanliness, and controlling not only markets, prices, wages of labor, expense in dress, &c. but likewise the education of physicians and surgeons, who were obliged to study philosophy as well as medicine and anatomy.

With this account of Frederic's legislative labors, Raumer connects much curious information respecting his general policy and private life. Upon the formation of an army and navy, Frederic

bestowed much care, but the changes in progress could not be so rapidly effected, as adequately to supply his wants. Of his mercenary troops the Saracens were in every respect the best. Of ships he had sufficient to protect the growing commerce of his dominions. Internal trade he left unrestricted, and negotiated with foreign States for the equalization of duties. The corn trade indeed, he monopolized, using his monopoly however with a liberality that might almost propitiate the political economist. He replied to his treasurer, who upon the royal exporter's incurring a loss, proposed to recover it by new restrictions: "We must not study our own profit only, but that of our lieges. We desire to have wealthy subjects, whose property may improve and increase during our prosperous reign. The secure and affluent condition of the governed gives fame to the ruler." He encouraged manufactures, established great fairs, and protected the Jews. His credit was such, that pieces of leather stamped, upon an emergency, with the impression of his coin, passed current. A large proportion of the monarch's revenue in those days arose from royal domains. In the management of these Frederic reminds us of Charlemagne. In the midst of his most urgent and dangerous affairs, he wrote minute farming instructions to his bailiffs, and directed that the maid servants in his empty palaces should be employed in spinning.

Frederic resembled Charlemagne in another point, neglected by almost all sovereigns, save our Alfred, during the interval separating those great emperors—the protection and advancement of learning. He collected from all parts of the known world a larger library than any prince had for centuries possessed. He caused many of Aristotle's previously little known works to be translated for his own benefit; and instead of indulging an idle vanity in their exclusive possession, or confining their use to his own universities, he transmitted copies even to hostile learned bodies. His present to the University of Bologna was accompanied by a letter, in which he says—

"Government, legislation, and the art of war must be associated with learning, lest, yielding to ignorance and to the allurements of the world, they be lost in indolence, or licentiously transgress their due bounds. Therefore have we from our youth diligently cultivated learning, and loved her in her peculiar form. Latterly, indeed, the cares of empire have often withdrawn us from study; but never have we suffered a spare moment to pass idly, devoting it with joyful earnestness to reading excellent works, thus enlightening and strengthening the soul by the acquisition of knowledge, without which the life of man has neither law nor freedom. These excellent works we caused to be translated for our own use. But as that noble possession, knowledge, instead of being lessened or lost by extension and communication, increases in duration and far-

tility in proportion as it is extended and communicated, we will not conceal the fruits we have laboriously acquired, or deem our own possession thoroughly enjoyable, until we shall have shared it with others. To such participation none can be better entitled than those men who judiciously lead new streams from the ancient reservoirs, and present the cordial draught to thirsty lips. Accept this work, then, as the gift of your friend the emperor, and for the sake of his recommendation, as well as of its intrinsic excellence, add it to those to which your expositions give new life."

In another letter he observes—

"We believe that affording our subjects means of instruction redounds to our own profit; for thus cultivated they will conduct legal affairs more ably, and, relying upon the noble support of learning, will better defend themselves and their country."

In consonance with such opinions, Frederic had early founded an University at Naples, with every protection and privilege that could attract students, promising immediate advancement to such as distinguished themselves. We may appreciate his esteem for learned men, from the circumstance of his writing a letter of condolence to the students upon the loss of an eminent professor, whom he had drawn to Naples.

He protected and encouraged artists; he built splendid palaces; and we are told that a statue of himself at Capua, which was perfect until mutilated in the wars of the French revolution, offered no unfavourable specimen of the skill of his sculptors. A cast, taken ere the head was destroyed, is the original of the portrait of Frederic, which, with those of other sovereigns of those times, adorns Raumer's volumes. His coins, still preserved in various collections, further attest the talent his patronage had elicited. Frederic was moreover a collector of antiques, in search of which he made excavations, the first, we believe, on record.

He was particularly fond of, and versed in, natural history, and possessed a *menagerie* of strange animals from distant countries. A Treatise on Hawking, written by him, is not only the best book known upon that species of chase, but also an admirable ornithological work, displaying much knowledge of comparative anatomy. A Treatise of the same kind upon the Horse was written under his especial direction by his grand marshal, Jordanus Rufus. His court was as celebrated for literary eminence as for its magnificence and gaiety. The emperor presided at poetical contests, judged the relative merits of the compositions, and crowned the victor. He was himself a poet, and the inventor of some difficult and complicated metres, which prove great command of the language, then only bursting into life,* and owing much of deve-

* The Sicilians are conceived to have been the first who wrote Italian, and no compositions remain of a date anterior to Frederic II.

topment and cultivation to him. His example was of course followed—his sons, his courtiers, his ministers, were all versifiers. To his chancellor, Pier delle Vigne, is ascribed the oldest Italian sonnet extant, which is said to excel many of later date. If he showed less predilection for the German tongue, he must still be reckoned amongst its encouragers and benefactors, since he was the first emperor who employed it in public documents.

The fault of Frederic's character was gallantry; but his was a gallantry refined far above the licentiousness of his contemporaries, and neither that, nor his general love of pleasure, diverted him from the duties of sovereignty, or even from study. Raumer asserts, that as a husband he was faithful; and if the date of his favourite son Manfred's birth seems to contradict this, we must observe that, falling in the first year of his marriage with Isabella of England, his third wife, it does not prove the continuance, during that union, of his intercourse with the mother, the beautiful Bianca di Lancia, whom, after Isabella's death, Frederic seems in his last illness to have wedded, thus giving legitimacy to Manfred. The popes accused him of heresy, atheism and astrological superstition. That an emperor so enlightened, so philosophic, and so tormented by popes, may have entertained some heretical, that is to say, some Protestant opinions, is highly probable; but the famous blasphemy imputed to him, "that the world had been deceived by three imposters, Moses, Mahomet and Christ," Frederic most positively and solemnly denied, accompanying his denial with a sort of profession of faith; and most of the learned men who have investigated the subject, especially Tiraboschi, agree with Raumer, that no book *De Tribus Impostoribus* existed before very modern times. An astrologer Frederic certainly did entertain in the person of "the wizard Michael Scott;" but he appears to have employed him more in translating Aristotle, than in calculating horoscopes.

In 1231 Frederic again summoned an Imperial Diet to meet in Italy; and again the Milanese, professing mistrust of its object, occupied the Alpine passes, and prevented the attendance of King Henry and most of the German members. The circumstance proved most unfortunate for the young King of the Romans, who thus separated from his father, was easily persuaded by the associates of his licentious pleasures to aim at entire independence. He had leisure to mature his schemes, and to intrigue with the Milanese; whilst Frederic was prevented from giving the requisite attention to German affairs, by his quarrel with the Lombards, and with the Pope, (whom he endeavoured to conciliate, supporting him against the mutinous Romans,) and by revolts in Palestine, where the crown legitimately appertaining to Conrad, the son

of Frederic and Jolante, was claimed for Henry, the yet minor King of Cyprus, who sprang from the younger sister of Jolante's mother. His disputes with the Lombard league Frederic repeatedly offered to submit to the Pope's arbitration. The Milanese sometimes rejected Gregory's sentence, though as favourable to them as that of his predecessor Honorius; sometimes took no notice of the proffered mediation. At length, in November 1234, they formally accepted it; which acceptance was followed in December by intelligence of their having signed a treaty with the King of the Romans, acknowledging him as their sovereign, upon his engagement never to make any further demand upon them.

Gregory upon this occasion took the emperor's side, and wrote sharply to the partizans of the revolted son. Frederic hastened to Germany. By the celerity of his movements and the smallness of his escort, he foiled, as upon his former journey thither, all the Lombard attempts to intercept him; and upon crossing the Alps was, as then, received by loyal adherents. He promptly assembled a powerful army, and compelled Henry to submission. The filial rebel was forgiven and received into favour; but neglecting to comply with the conditions of his pardon, and acting in other respects suspiciously, he was imprisoned; and never expressing any repentance for his misconduct, remained during the rest of his life in captivity in Calabria, where he died A. D. 1242. Guelph historians have charged Frederic with unjustly sacrificing his eldest to exalt his second son, Conrad. At this distance of time the truth or falsehood of such imputations is hardly to be ascertained, but our opinion is favourable to the emperor, whom Raumer decidedly acquits. Of Henry's rebellion there can be no doubt, though some may be admitted as to the compatibility of his long-continued punishment with parental affection. Raumer inserts a letter of Frederic's upon Henry's death, in which he says—

“The pride of the living king could not bend, but my son's death has deeply moved me. . . . Even the sharpest pang caused by the unnatural disobedience of children is no preservative to parents against the grief occasioned by their death.”

The melancholy occupations incident to Henry's rebellion were followed and relieved by the celebration of Frederic's third marriage with the young and beautiful daughter of our King John, when the splendid rejoicings and profusion of the German nobility were carried to an excess, which even the gay and magnificent emperor saw fit to check. In the following month he held a diet at Mentz, surpassing all former ones in splendour, except the memorable one held there by Frederic Barbarossa. This diet pronounced Henry's forfeiture of the crown, and took into consideration the substitution of Conrad in his place, though the latter

was not elected before 1237. At this diet Frederic promulgated laws, as nearly in the spirit of his Sicilian code as the temper of the country and his more limited authority would allow; introducing legal forms, restricting the practice of private war, and enjoining the demolition of the *Raub-Schlosser*, or robber-castles—fortresses whence the noble proprietors issued to plunder passing travellers. These were the first laws published in the German language. At this diet also, the seemingly endless contentions of the Hohenstauffen emperors with the Guelph family were terminated; Otho, the only male descendant of Henry the Lion, formally surrendering his hereditary possessions to the Emperor, receiving them back in fief as the Duchy of Brunswick, and abjuring all pretensions to the lands forfeited by his ancestors. Here too Frederic received the homage of the Counts of Provence and Thoulouse—a large portion of the present kingdom of France then constituting part of the Empire.

Frederic had dismissed without punishment the Lombard deputies whom he had found with King Henry, but was soon afterwards provoked, by the conduct of the League, to renew the war, which thenceforward assumed a character of exasperation somewhat resembling the temper of those waged by Barbarossa. But if Frederic II. with similar sternness refused to listen to any terms short of unconditional surrender, he treated the towns that did surrender with a lenity beyond what they had ventured to ask as the price of capitulation. He was powerfully supported by his chief Italian partizan, Ezzelino di Romano, surnamed the Tyrant,* at the head of the Lombard Ghibellines; and the Imperial arms were so successful, that the Pope, whom Sismondi as well as Raumer accuses of encouraging the Milanese in their obstinacy, took fright at the emperor's increasing power. Gregory now interceded warmly in behalf of the Lombard League, and endeavoured to divert the storm by prevailing upon the emperor to undertake a crusade for the preservation of Jerusalem and Constantinople. Frederic deferred all distant enterprises until the Lombard League should be subdued, rejected the proffered mediation, and further irritated the Pope by conferring the title of King of Sardinia upon his natural son Enzius, recently married to Adelasia, who claimed the sovereignty of a large part of that island. About the period of Frederic's committing these various enormities, Gregory had for the tenth or twentieth time got the better of the refractory Romans, and was reinstated in the Vatican. Feeling no present need of that imperial aid which had so often replaced him there, he without more procrastination thundered a second excommunication against the emperor.

* The hero of our countryman Lord Dillon's recent epic.

This violent measure seems to have produced little effect. No serious insurrection against Frederic could be excited, and those to whom the Pope offered the Imperial crown, the Dukes of Sleswick and Brunswick, and Robert Count of Artois, brother to St. Louis, all declined the dangerous gift. Ere the last-named prince returned his answer, St. Louis sent an embassy to question Frederic concerning his faith, and was so thoroughly satisfied with the result of the inquiry, that he not only sanctioned his brother's refusal, but interposed in the emperor's behalf by such earnest remonstrances to the Holy Father, as in themselves, proceeding from so devout a monarch, are strong evidence in Frederic's favour. The only new allies Gregory acquired were Venice and Genoa. These great commercial cities seem to have been influenced in their politics chiefly by envy of the prosperity of some Ghibelline towns, especially Ferrara, which was so flourishing and wealthy, that the principal complaint of its citizens was of the insult of being taxed too low. Ferrara was besieged by the Guelph allies, and betrayed into their hands. Frederic avenged its fall by the capture of divers Guelph towns, about the same time that his naval forces attacked and defeated the Genoese fleet, which was conveying a large company of prelates to a Council summoned by Gregory, the holding of which, as from its mode of constitution necessarily inimical to himself, the emperor was determined to prevent. But this seizure of Christian prelates injured Frederic's character far more than their detention from the Council could benefit his interests.

The virulent hostilities now carrying on between the Pope and Emperor, long prevented Bela, King of Hungary, from obtaining the succours which he solicited from both, as the acknowledged heads of Christendom, against the Mongols. These barbarians, who under Gengis Khan had inundated and desolated Asia, had turned their course westward under his sons and grandsons, threatening equal destruction to Europe. Russia and Poland had been already overrun; Silesia was invaded in the spring of 1241, Breslau laid in ashes, and Henry the Pious, Duke of Lower Silesia, who, with forces far inferior, met and engaged them at Liegnitz, was defeated and slain. But his self-devotion saved Germany. Such sanguinary victories suited not the taste of the Mongols, and, combined with his widow's spirited refusal to surrender the castle in which she had taken refuge with her children, determined them again to change their direction. The next victim was Hungary, where the ravages committed by the Tartar hordes, and the consequent misery, were too horrible for description. Fortunately for Europe, the death of Gregory IX., at nearly 100 years of age, soon afterwards enabled Frederic, who had always represented the quarrel as personal to Gregory, and himself as a

dutiful son of the Church, to declare the war at an end, and to dispatch Enzius with a body of troops to assist Conrad against the Mongols. The two brothers completely defeated them, and though it was long ere Hungary was fully cleared of the invaders, or Europe freed from her terrors, the overwhelming torrent of barbarism was from that moment effectually stemmed.

In Gregory's stead the cardinals elected Sinibaldo di Fiesco, a staunch imperialist, who assumed the name of Innocent IV. Frederic checked the exultation of his court at this choice by the remark, "I have lost a friendly cardinal, to find another hostile pope. No pope can be a Ghibelline." These anticipations were immediately realized; Innocent renewed the war with an asperity even surpassing his predecessor's. The emperor, anxious to be relieved from excommunication, had recourse to negotiation, and agreed to terms so advantageous to the Roman See, that the Pope's dissatisfaction is incomprehensible. Innocent complained of unfairness in the treaty, professed a sudden dread of being surprised and captured, and summoning the cardinals to attend him, fled from Rome, embarked on board a Genoese fleet, which he had previously requested might be sent for him, quitted Italy, and established his court at Lyons—a town nominally belonging to the empire, but actually independent.

The ambition of Innocent IV. seems to have been less tempered by judgment than that of his predecessors. He encroached nearly as much upon the rights of the clergy as upon those of monarchs, was exorbitant in his exactions, and involved himself in disputes with the chapters of various sees, by endeavouring to monopolize all vacant dignities for his own relations. The canons of Lyons threatened to fling all such intruders into the Rhone; and the alarmed and irritated Pope applied to the Kings of France, England, and Arragon, for an asylum in their dominions. All declined the honour of receiving so troublesome a visitor, and Innocent, observing, "We must crush or make friends with the Dragon (the Emperor), then we shall easily master these little serpents, these fractious kinglings,"* remained at Lyons; whither, in 1245, he summoned a council, to deliberate upon the state of the Holy Land and of the Latin empire of Constantinople, upon the danger impending from the Mongols, and upon the dissensions between the Empire and the Holy See. He invited Frederic to appear in person or by deputy, and defend his conduct; in the meanwhile renewing his excommunication. In our account of this council we shall endeavour to give an idea of Raumer's style of history.

* *Regulos*, which Raumer translates *Königlein*.

The council assembled about Midsummer, and was attended by the Emperor of Constantinople, by ambassadors from most European states, by the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Aquileia, but only by 140 prelates. The opening was disturbed by disputes concerning precedence. When these were settled; the patriarch of Constantinople painted the distressed state of his church, and the English bishops pleaded for the canonization of Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury; but Innocent impatiently deferred the consideration of such matters until more important affairs should be concluded. The chief of the Imperial mission then arose.—this was Thaddeus of Suessa,

“ a man of penetrating intellect and captivating eloquence, equally skilled in war and in law, and so just, that his enemies voluntarily submitted their interests to his arbitration. He now advanced at the head of the Imperial envoys, excused the absence of his master upon the plea of illness, and offered in his name peace and friendship, the re-establishment of the Latin empire of Constantinople, the deliverance of the Holy Land, help against the Mongols, the restoration of church property, and compensation for certain injuries. ‘ Have you,’ inquired Innocent, ‘ full powers to make such offers ?’ But when Thaddeus, contrary to the Pope’s expectation, answered in the affirmative, displaying a document that bore the golden bull,* Innocent evasively proceeded: ‘ How great, how admirable are the Emperor’s promises! but never are they fulfilled. Now, when the axe is at the root, he would deceive the assembled council, dissolve it, and gain time. Let him heartily observe the sworn treaties, and I am content. Yet should I grant his desires, who shall secure me against his inconstancy? Who constrain him, if reluctant, to execute his engagements?’ ‘ The Kings of France and England,’ returned Thaddeus, ‘ will be his securities, and compel the execution of his engagements.’ ‘ They suit me not,’ rejoined Innocent; ‘ for should the Emperor, as I anticipate, break his word, the Church must chastise his guarantees likewise; she would have three enemies in lieu of one, and those so mighty that none in Christendom may compare with them.’ ”

His speech is too long for insertion; he accuses Frederic of perjury, sacrilege, and heresy. Thaddeus, in answer, rebuts every charge, save the attendance upon divine worship in the teeth of his excommunication, and the detention of the captive prelates; concluding thus:

“ ‘ In order that my lord the Emperor may send me instructions concerning these, for the most part, unexpected accusations, or may come hither in person to justify himself completely, grant but a sufficient delay.’ ‘ Far be that from me!’ said the Pope interrupting him. ‘ I dread the snares I have so recently escaped; if he comes, I go. I have no taste for martyrdom or captivity.’ ”

* The golden seal of the Emperors.

The Bishop of Catana now commenced a virulent invective against the Emperor; but Thaddeus interrupted him with the remark, that his speech was prompted by revenge, his father having been lawfully convicted of high treason and executed. The bishop was silenced, but his place was supplied by a Spanish archbishop. Him too Thaddeus silenced, by observing upon his distance from the scene of the transactions in question. A violent wrangling concerning the imprisoned prelates next followed, and produced a strong sensation against Frederic. Innocent pursuing his advantage, dropped a hint about deposition. This roused the English envoys, who feared the consequences to Isabella's children, and the French envoys joined with them and Thaddeus in soliciting time. Innocent, affecting moderation, granted twelve days, a period in that age of slow travelling barely sufficient to send to Turin, where the Emperor then was, and receive his answer.

The arrival of this intelligence at Turin produced earnest discussion amongst the Emperor's ministers, upon the propriety of his repairing in person to the council, as he inclined to do. But it was decided to be both unsafe and unbeseeming his imperial dignity, and he dispatched the grand master of the Teutonic Order, with Pier delle Vigne, in his stead. The new plenipotentiaries had not yet reached Lyons, when, on the appointed twelfth day, Innocent, who had used the interval to gain over the members of the council, disregarding Thaddeus's supplications for three days more, held the third session. Here, after the usual formalities were gone through, he delivered a bitter philippic against Frederic, and was proceeding to extremities, when he was interrupted by an English envoy, who in the name of the whole kingdom of England presented and read a long complaint of the oppressions and extortions of the papal legate. The Pope, after a long silence, answered, that the business required mature deliberation, and notwithstanding the English mission's urgency for immediate redress, resumed the discussion concerning the Emperor. In the midst of this he suddenly produced a bull, prepared without the knowledge of the council, in which, after recapitulating all Frederic's real and imputed transgressions, he formally deposed him, released his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and commanded the German Princes to elect a new Emperor, reserving the disposal of Sicily to himself and the cardinals. After this bull had been read, a *Te Deum* was sung, and the usual ceremony of extinguishing the torches performed.

In already divided Italy a few conspiracies were the only perceptible results of this step. The war continued as before, and the Ghibellines rather gained the advantage. In Germany, the

temporal states were indignant at the Pope's pretending to dictate to them; but the ecclesiastical states obeyed, and after vainly seeking a better candidate for the Imperial crown, they elected Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia, nick-named the Parson's King. He was a man of talent and courage, but unprincipled, hard-hearted, and infamous for his treatment of St. Elizabeth, the widow of his elder brother, and her children. At first Henry gained some advantages, ascribed by Raumer to church gold, over Conrad, who defended his own and his father's cause. But Conrad received such energetic support from the free imperial cities, as enabled him, ere long, to subdue his antagonist. Henry did not long survive, and William, Count of Holland, was the only successor that could be found, to support whom Innocent allowed such as had taken the cross against the Moslem, to fulfil their vow by turning their arms against Frederic and Conrad.

The short remainder of Frederic's life was passed in these conflicts and in sorrow. His son Enzius was captured in battle by the Bolognese, and, notwithstanding the most lavish offers of ransom, at once doomed to imprisonment for life. His minister and favourite, Pier delle Vigne, was either corrupted by the Pope, or so much calumniated as to make his guilt appear certain. Frederic confiscated his immense wealth, perhaps blinded him, and certainly threw him into prison, where he dashed out his own brains. The Emperor soon after died, A. D. 1250, in the 56th year of his age.

This article has already run to such length, that we can afford but little space to the remaining Hohenstauffens. But there is a romance about the history of Manfred and Conradin, which we cannot quite overlook; whilst the absurd and inveterate calumnies heaped upon the former (amongst others the murder of his father, brothers, and nephews) urge us so far to do him justice, as to 'speak of him as he was.'

Manfred was by his father's will appointed lieutenant for Conrad in Sicily, and acted in that capacity with equal talent and fidelity, but speedily lost the favour of his brother, probably because the superiority of his abilities rendered him an object of jealousy. Conrad, at his death, committed the regency, during his son Conradin's minority, to Margrave Bertold of Hohenburg; and Manfred seems to have submitted to the arrangement without resistance.

It was not until the disorders excited by Innocent, who was hawking the Sicilian * crown about Europe, had scared the Mar-

* Richard Earl of Cornwall declined the proffered kingdom, observing, that the offer was much like saying, "I make you a present of the moon—step up to the sky and take it down."

graye into surrendering his arduous office, that Manfred interfered with the government. Then the barons proclaimed him regent, and swore fidelity to him and to Conradin, whose presumptive heir they declared him. But the new regent found the Pope's power and influence in Sicily and Apulia so formidable, that he deemed it expedient to seek reconciliation, by admitting the Papal claim of suzerainety; and in his nephew's name he did homage for the kingdom. This step proved fruitless. Innocent promised fair until he was in the heart of Apulia; he then slighted Manfred, and discovered in his conduct no intention of respecting the rights of Conradin, though acknowledged, by receiving Manfred's homage. In fact, he was at that moment in treaty with Henry III. of England, for bestowing the crown upon his second son, Edmund. Upon occasion of a casual affray between Manfred and an old enemy, which ended in the death of the latter, who had been the aggressor, the Pope displayed such marked hostility towards him, that the Regent was advised by his friends to provide for his security.

Manfred's flight to his father's faithful Saracen warriors is a subject worthy the pen of Sir Walter Scott. Guided by two Apulian nobles, Manfred quitted Acerra at night with a small train, to seek Luceria, the Saracen colony. His road lay through a mountainous region, past the towns and castles of the hostile faction. One castle they shunned in the night by taking a precipitous and almost untrodden mountain path. At the gates of a town which they necessarily passed in the morning, they gave themselves out as the retainers of Margrave Bertold, who had joined the Pope; but were notwithstanding denied entrance, and narrowly escaped detention. Manfred next reached a castle belonging to his guides, the Capece. Here he was honourably and joyfully entertained by the noble ladies of that family, who, according to Nicolo di Jamsilla, thought themselves much honoured by the prince's sitting down to table with them, which the prerogatives of the sex enabled him to do without degradation. The worthy Chronicler's thinking such a remark necessary, seems to intimate that the maxims of chivalrous courtesy and gallantry had obtained more slowly in Italy, than amongst the northern nations, who, from the earliest of our knowledge of them, were accustomed to respect women. The castle of the Capece was too weak for security, and after a short repose, Manfred pursued his hazardous way. Upon his road he learned that the commandant of Luceria was gone to Capua, to ask the Saracen district of the Pope, as a principality for himself, and that his deputy, Marchisio, had sworn to admit no one, not even Manfred, into the town during his absence. After another night-ride, in which the perils of the former

were enhanced by weather so tempestuous as to bewilder even the huntsman who acted as guide, Manfred reached Luceria at dawn, rode up to the gate attended by only three equerries, and demanded admittance. One of the warders proposed to send to Marchisio, who was still in bed, for the keys. Another replied, Marchisio would not give them, and advised the Repent's entering the town through a drain, which he pointed out, as the moment he was inside all would go right. Manfred sprang from his horse in compliance with the suggestion, while the rest exclaiming that their Prince should not enter thus ignominiously, fairly broke down the gate, put him in possession of the place, and compelled Marchisio to submit. Scarcely had this been effected, when a hostile party appeared before the gates, but was obliged to retire, disappointed. The treasures which he found at Luceria enabled Manfred to hire troops, and his valour, activity, and military talents, soon triumphed over the Papal forces. After one thorough defeat, the leaders fled, the underlings declared for him, and before long he had recovered the kingdom. The news was Innocent's death blow.

Hitherto, all Manfred's exertions had been made faithfully on behalf of his nephew. But now comes the questionable part of his conduct. All classes, intoxicated with his splendid qualities and success, invited him to ascend the throne. A rumour arose, how is unknown, that Conradin had died in Germany; and Manfred, at least willingly believing it, was crowned at Palermo, A.D. 1258. Subsequent intelligence of Conradin's existence did not induce a recal of the measure. The new king replied to the remonstrances of his widowed sister-in-law, Elizabeth of Bavaria, that Conradin had been despoiled of the kingdom by the Pope; that he himself had won it with his sword, and received it from the favour of the barons; but that he was ready to acknowledge Conradin as his heir. The dowager empress seems to have been satisfied with this explanation.

During these transactions, the death of William of Holland had been followed in Germany by the double election of two absent Kings of the Romans, Alfonso the Wise of Castile, and Richard, Earl of Cornwall, which virtually produced the interregnum, that, as we have already observed, destroyed altogether the connection of the Empire with Italy. This interregnum, and the disorders inseparable from it, lasted beyond the period of our history, ending only in 1273, with the election of Rudolf of Habsburg, the glorious founder of the reigning house of Austria, a godson, favorite, and faithful follower of Frederic, and a friend of Manfred.

The new king of Sicily seems in every respect to have governed

justly and temperately. His court and conduct were nevertheless loaded with all the obloquy that had been heaped upon Frederic's. The Pope, Alexander IV., required from him impossible acts of submission, and upon his refusal excommunicated him. Urban IV., his successor, at length found a candidate for the crown of Sicily in Charles of Anjou; an able warrior, whose good and bad qualities were alike derived from one source, cold-blooded ambition. It was treachery, far more than superior military skill, that foiled all Manfred's judicious measures for the defence of his frontiers, and occasioned his defeat at Benevento, in February 1266, notwithstanding his heroic efforts to turn the fortune of the day. He fell upon the field.

A few months' experience of Charles's ambitious, avaricious, and ruthless disposition, served to exasperate alike his subjects, and his Italian allies, whom he had reduced to far stricter subjection than they had ever endured under the Hohenstauffens. All eyes turned towards Germany, and the Ghibellines despatched envoys to invite Conradin to come forward, and, supported by the friends of his family, to claim his patrimonial kingdom.

This last scion of a noble race had barely numbered fifteen years, and had been somewhat austere educated by his maternal uncle, the duke of Bavaria. The boy was delighted at being thus early called to act the man. His uncle, and his mother's second husband, the count of the Tyrol, approved of his obeying the summons of his hereditary subjects. With their assistance he assembled 10,000 men, and crossed the Alps in the autumn of 1267. The Lombard Ghibellines received him with transports of enthusiasm; but they expected from him rewards which success only could enable him to bestow. His uncle obtained from him, in return for an advance of money, a cession of his remaining Swabian domains, and then returned home, leaving him with forces reduced to 3,000 men; whilst the Pope, Clement IV., adopted measures of unexampled harshness against him and his adherents, placing them out of the protection of the law, and prospectively depriving their descendants for many generations, of all civil rights.

But Conradin's heart was high; he persevered in his enterprize, and ere long all promised success. Charles was universally detested; the Saracens of Luceria declared for the grandson of Frederic II., and their Christian fellow-subjects joined them. Apulia and Sicily were in open insurrection. Milan and her allies, offended with Charles and the Pope, suffered Conradin to pass unmolested. In Tuscany he gained a victory, and took Charles's marshal prisoner. Hence, avoiding the strong town of

Viterbo, where lay Clement well defended, he proceeded to Rome. The Roman senator, Henry of Castile, provoked by the ill-treatment of his kinsman, Charles of Anjou, had hoisted Ghibelline colours, and received Conradin into the Eternal City. During the youthful adventurer's advance from Lombardy, the fleet of the ever loyal Pisa had defeated the usurper's naval forces, and rode mistress of the sea.

Conradin, exulting in so prosperous a career, and reinforced by Henry of Castile and his Spanish followers, set forward from Rome. Avoiding the regular road, which Charles had fortified at every point, and taking his way by unfrequented mountains, and narrow valleys, guided by the natives, he surprised his enemy near Tagliacozzo. By this skilful march the enterprising heir of the Hohenstauffens was superior in numbers to any forces Charles could assemble upon the instant, and must have obtained the triumph he so well merited, but for the bold—and may we not say inhuman—stratagem of the *Chevalier de Valery*. By his persuasion, Charles placed himself in ambuscade with the largest portion of his troops; looked quietly on whilst the remainder were entirely cut to pieces, and a knight clad in his armour was slain; and then, when Conradin and his army, rendered careless by victory and the supposed death of Charles himself, proceeded to divide the booty, and refresh themselves by disarming, and even bathing, he rushed with fresh troops upon defenceless men. The issue could not be doubtful,—the victory was Charles of Anjou's. Treachery delivered up Conradin and his chief friends to the conqueror.

Charles caused Conradin, and his almost equally young friend and kinsman, Frederic of Austria, to be tried for high treason. A doctor of laws, Guido di Suzara, boldly and clearly, proved the irrelevancy of the accusation, and all the judges save one, Robert di Bari, acquitted the prisoners. Upon the strength of the single condemning voice, Charles sentenced them to death. Just two months after the fatal battle, Conradin, Frederic, and their friends were led to the scaffold, where, in Charles's presence, Robert di Bari read their doom to them. The count of Flanders, Charles's son-in-law, indignantly drew his sword and slew this servile judge. The sympathy excited by this action amongst the enthralled multitude, spent itself in murmurs, as did the emotion created by Conradin's few words of self-justification. The princely victim then flung his glove amongst the crowd, requesting, according to Raumer, that it might be carried to Peter of Arragon, the husband of Manfred's daughter Constance. Conradin now laid his head on the block, raised it to say, "Oh, mother, what grief I must cause

this it replaced it. Frederic's shriek, as he saw the axe fall, produced universal tears; but the execution was uninterrupted: he and all their friends followed.

This mockery of justice, the torrents of less noble blood that were shed, and the atrocities rendering murder an act of mercy, practised by Charles of Anjou and his foreign partizans, teach one to regard the terrible retaliation of Italian vengeance in the Sicilian Vespers, with little other regret, than that it neither extended to Naples and Apulia, nor included the chief criminal.

We end abruptly, without one additional word of contemporaneous events, having been led to transgress our usual limits by the desire of making the British public better acquainted with a race of really great men, to whom no justice has hitherto been rendered, out of their own country.

ART. VIII.—*Réponse à Sir Walter Scott sur son Histoire de Napoléon.* Par Louis Bonaparte, Comte de Saint-Leu, l'ancien Roi d' Hollande, Frère de l'Empereur. Paris. 1828. 8vo.

WHEN we arrived at the end of this pamphlet we were tempted to exclaim,—And is this all that can be said against the “Life of Napoleon?” The respectable character of Louis Bonaparte, and his intimate knowledge of numerous circumstances in the life of his brother, which could but be imperfectly communicated to a stranger, certainly authorized the expectation of some important corrections. The ex-king, however, seems to have been led to take the field rather by the warmth of his temperament than the weight of his arguments: and like all men who are very angry without good reason, he deals much more in bad language than becomes an “ancien roi.” We reluctantly come to the conclusion that this “*Réponse*” will prove more prejudicial to its author than his antagonist. His preliminary statement avers that the best answer he could make, would be an accurate statement of all the facts as they took place, and, at the same time, he dwells on his competency as a witness. He lived with his brother from the time he was eleven up to seven-and-twenty, at which age he went to Holland. This being the case, we should have been much better satisfied with his history of “things as they were,” than with this “protest against the exaggeration, the injustice, the falsehood, the calumny, nay, the atrocious calumny, with which the work of Sir Walter Scott is filled.” The answer of Louis is categorical in its form, and he straightway proceeds to attack, deny, and correct, in the order of the errors he has discovered.

The first correction is insignificant enough:—Sir Walter has

spelt the patronymic of Napoleon with a *u*.^{*} Under the difference of Buonaparte and Bonaparte Louis discerns a deep scheme to *unfrenchify* his brother—a grand crime: for it would appear that the height of all virtues is to be “*véritablement Français*,” that it was Napoleon’s greatest pride, “that he was French in heart, in head, in soul, in birth, and finally in name.” It was doubtless politic in Napoleon to identify himself as much as possible with his subjects, and to flatter an egotistical people with boasting a pride in belonging to them. But we see no object in keeping up the farce now. There are many reasons for believing that Napoleon did not consider himself so very *French*, and that he was not invariable in the lofty opinions of French valour and virtue which he often found it convenient to boast. One of the most remarkable proofs of this is given by Louis himself with a most amusing unconsciousness. In speaking of the intention, attributed to Napoleon, of establishing Italy as a separate kingdom, and making Rome its capital; he says, “I was with him (Napoleon) one day when he received a report, from an aide-de-camp of Marshal Soult (if I mistake not), of some successes in Spain, and amongst others, of one in which the Italian troops had greatly distinguished themselves. One of the persons in his presence exclaimed at this news, that the Italians showed themselves worthy of independence, and that it was much to be desired that the whole of Italy should be united in one nation. ‘*GOD FORBID!*’ cried Napoleon, with involuntary and spontaneous emotion, ‘*THEY WOULD SOON BE MASTERS OF THE GAULS.*’”†

The next grand error discovered in Walter Scott is, that he has asserted that although of Italian origin, Napoleon had no taste for the fine arts; this is a matter of opinion, and not of the first importance. Louis quotes in disproof the grand works which the emperor originated—his roads and canals; and again his assemblage of pictures, collected from all parts of the world, in the Louvre. But all this, without entering into so trivial a discussion, may be accounted for on quite another principle. The glory of these achievements is motive enough, to say nothing of a natural desire to benefit his own empire, and to enrich it in those things which are at once the envy of others and the trophies of success.

Walter Scott has said that there was some relationship between General Paoli, the Corsican patriot, and Napoleon; Louis asserts there was none. Still there is no great harm done.

* We have not the French translation at hand, but suppose that the author’s preface has been omitted in which he states that the retention of the *u* was a mistake not discovered till the printing was too far advanced.

† The capitals are the author’s, not ours.

There are inexactitudes in the narrative of Sir Walter respecting the abandonment of Corsica by the Bonaparte family: they are of no importance. The biographer has been led into greater inaccuracies concerning the early progress of Napoleon, which it is quite as well should be corrected; they do not however deduct one iota from the true glory of Bonaparte, but on the contrary, by a certain confusion in the details of the history of his rise, give his rapid elevation a still more extraordinary air. The common story of Barras having suggested the employment of Bonaparte on the 13th Vendemiaire to Carnot and Tallien, in the words, "I have the man you want;—a little Corsican officer, who will stick at nothing;" is to be added to these errors. It is very clearly proved that such a speech could not have been made: Bonaparte was well known to all three directors, and occupied a position with respect to them inconsistent with the terms of the anecdote.

On another occasion Louis takes offence unjustly at the term *soldier of fortune*: the translator has termed it "simple soldat de fortune." Now before the revolution, this phrase meant a man who had risen from the ranks. Every Englishman understands that the original expression means a person who has made the army his profession, and who looks to it alone for the means of advancement in the world. To the phrase thus interpreted, Louis could not have objected.

The ex-king seems shocked at the confidence which Sir Walter expresses in the power of the British, to have resisted the invasion of Napoleon. Louis commanded a brigade of the army of the coast; he was asked his opinion at the time of the enterprise, and gave for answer that a maritime expedition without a superiority at sea appeared to him a contradiction. It is somewhat in opposition to this sensible remark, that he observes immediately after, that the French and Spanish fleets would have been sufficient to sweep the Channel, until London had been taken, and perhaps until the return of the French army. We do not see that he has any reason to quarrel with Sir Walter for his opinion: he says nothing to refute it, and certain it is, that none but an Englishman can judge of the energies of the British nation; we have but one weak point—Ireland; a truth foreigners are more apt to understand than the English.

With respect to the "*catastrophe du Duc d'Enghien*," if Louis had nothing better or more novel to tell us, than that Alexander slew Clitus, that Charlemagne massacred millions of Saxons, and Titus crucified numbers of Jews, he might as well have been silent. He seems however not wholly to rely on these historical comparisons for his brother's exculpation, since he also states it

to be his opinion, that the real truth of this transaction is not yet known to the world.

In some observations on the continental blockade, Sir Walter seemed to have charged Louis with favouring the contraband trade with England on the grounds of his own interest. This is denied. Louis allows that he disapproved of Napoleon's continental system, that he considered it ruinous to the interests of Holland, and that, though he never sanctioned an evasion of the Imperial decree, still he never enforced it with zeal. But if his biographer was wrong, so was Napoleon himself, for it is well known that he used to call the ex-king of Holland the greatest *smogleur* in his kingdom.

In Louis's censures on the sixth volume, he corrects some of Sir Walter's statements respecting Holland; they are of an unimportant description, and relate to matters of detail. Our surprise is, that he has not been able to discover more matter for censure.

In some long remarks upon the secret mission to England, Louis rather explains than refutes the statements of Sir Walter, and as he (Louis) was a party concerned, and has no interest in the concealment of truth, his authority is conclusive. To these explanations he adds some particulars respecting himself, in which Sir Walter has erred; and though they are mostly of the most unconsequential nature possible, we could not help being struck by one remark, honourable enough to any man, but truly singular in the mouth of the brother of the greatest conqueror and sacrificer of life the world ever beheld.

"I have rejoiced as much as any one else after a victory; but I declare also that, even then, the sight of a field of battle has not only filled me with horror, but even affected me to sickness; and now that I am advanced in life, I cannot conceive any more than when I was only fifteen years of age, how beings who call themselves rational, and whose existence is but provisional, can employ their brief career, not in mutual love and aid, in order to pass through it as gently as possible, but in using every effort to destroy each other, as if time itself did not take care that we should pass away with sufficient rapidity.

"The opinion which I held at fifteen I still hold—that war and the punishment of death, which society takes upon itself, are nothing but organized barbarism—the remnant of a savage state, disguised or advanced by ingenious institutions or a false eloquence."

Louis's observations on the Russian expedition are sensible and judicious, but we do not observe that they are inconsistent with any part of the narrative of Sir Walter. He is very severe on professors—alluding to Botta,—and on romancers and poets—referring to Scott,—who pretend to criticise the military movements

of the greatest tactician that ever lived. This is a charge which amounts to nothing. An able man, *after* the event, with the assistance of all the remarks that are made subsequent to the actions of national concernment, may be able to discover the errors of even the greatest professor of his art: if not, none but military men must write history—and not only military men, but soldiers of at least equal talent with the soldiers they criticise. The Peterboroughs, Wellingtons, Marlboroughs, and Bonapartes must set up a system of mutual biography. In discussing this question it should not be forgotten, that it was a civilian who first devised the great stroke of naval tactics, called breaking the line, so successfully practised by Nelson, but which was first exemplified by walnut-shells on a table after dinner.

“We think it true that in attributing the Corsican trait of revenge to the character of Napoleon, Sir Walter was mistaken. Louis remarks in his brother—justly in our opinion—a too great facility of temperament. The term *rancune* certainly is not applicable to him.

“We have really no patience to proceed any further in an examination of Louis’s objections. There follows a numerous fry of small remarks;—some are angry—some are confirmatory—some are wholly obituary; and on one occasion he indulges in an anecdote which, after abusing Sir Walter for letting down the dignity of history by “*ses plaisanteries et ses comparaisons triviales*,” we are surprised to find in so angry a pamphlet. Sir Walter may insert it in his next edition. “A French grenadier was fighting heroically under the walls of Paris, when he was apostrophized by one of his enemies:—‘How canst thou show such courage and devotion for thy emperor, when he does not even let thee have thy pay, and owes thee such a quantity of arrears?’ ‘Well,’ answered the fine fellow, ‘and what is it to thee if I choose to give him credit?’”

The truth is, that this pamphlet is a mere collection of *marginal notes*, which some injudicious friend has persuaded the ex-king to send to press, instead of sending them to Sir Walter Scott himself, who might have benefited by some of them, and may still in a future edition. The author would then have been exempt from the ridicule which always attends the failure of a man in a passion: it is the purity of his motives which can alone save him.

ART. IX.—Gysbert Japicx *Friesche Rijmlerye ijn trye deken forschaet: d'eerste binne Ljeafd in Bortlijske Mangel-deuntjes: t'ourde sinte Gemeene af hwozmannen Peteur, in oare Katerge: 't efterste iz: Hymmsch Harp-Luwod, dat iz to sizzen, ijtlyjke fen Davids Psalmen. De tredde Druwck op nijz trognoaze in forbettere trog E. Epkema. To Ljeauwert, 1821.** (Gilbert Jacob's *Frisian Rhymings, in three parts; consisting of Amatory and Humorous Poetry, Common and Household Discourses, Divine Harp-Tones, with Translations of David's Psalms, &c.* Third Edition, improved by E. Epkema.)

WE embrace the occasion given us by the publication of a new edition of the works of Gysbert Japicx, the poet of Friesland, to give some account of the literary history of a people whose close affinity, and according to many, whose identity with the Anglo-Saxon race, ought to render them objects of some interest to Englishmen. And we are the more encouraged to this undertaking, because the field is unexplored. We are about to speak of a nation, whose forefathers were our forefathers, whose language and manners have a close resemblance to our own, and who, though placed in the midst of political and physical changes, have preserved their distinguishing nationality for more than two thousand years. Of the different races which occupy the Netherlands, they alone stand separate from the rest. Batavians and Belgians are untraceable amidst the crowds of settlers with whom they have been blended for ages. The Frisians retain their existence compact and unbroken. Their country has been often over-run by invaders and conquerors; it has been deluged again and again by devastating floods;† it has been frequently visited by destructive diseases; its government has long ceased to be independent; its language has been excluded from scholastic or religious instruction, and committed to the unfaithfulness and uncertainty of oral communications alone; yet, with all these disadvantages, there are about one hundred thousand ‡ persons speaking the Frisian tongue, who still represent their an-

* This work is dedicated to the late Governor of Friesland, Baron Idseerd Aelingsen Humalda, a nobleman in whom we have had frequent occasion to witness the zeal and liberality with which he has encouraged the literature of his native province, and to whose courteous attentions and hospitalities towards those who have had occasion to pursue literary or scientific inquiries in Friesland, we ourselves must bear a cheerful and a grateful testimony.

† Of these a succinct account may be seen in J. van Leeuwen's Introduction to his *Geschiedkundig Tafereel van den Waterloed en de Overstromingen in de Provincie Friesland, &c.* Leeuwarden, 1826.

‡ The whole population of Friesland was, according to the last census (in 1826) 205,016; but in Leeuwarden, Harlingen, Franeker, Sneek, and many of the great towns, the Low Dutch is constantly used, and the Frisian language not even understood.

cestry, and appear likely to be represented through many coming generations.

From time immemorial the Frieslanders have looked with great jealousy on the intrusions of strangers. Their earliest MSS. are fragments of the old Frisian laws, which they suppose (we believe, erroneously) to belong to the 8th century.* Their attachment to their native idiom has withstood all attempts to shake it, and the boasts of their fidelity to it are not always uneloquent. One of their poets says,—

Cæsar with his banded legions
Planted slavery, planted speech;
Friesland's never-conquered regions,
Struggled 'gainst the sway of each.
Counts of Gaul have trampled o'er her
Fierce Batavians razed,—but she
Holds, as Sparta held before her,
Language linked to liberty.†

In the same spirit, another bard yet living says,—

Seek me him th' old leaves who gathers
Bright with Friesland's mother-speech,
For the freedom of her fathers,
He to lasting time shall teach.
He shall bear her ancient banners,
Save her laws, her fame, her manners,
Keep her language as his dower,
And her words as words of power.‡

There is in Number LXIII. of the *Edinburgh Review*, an article on the "Ancient Laws and Constitution of the Frisians," which, though it contains much interesting historical matter, has given currency to many of the errors fallen into by Wiarda, who, though well acquainted with all that regarded East Friesland, had very little knowledge of the modern state of Friesland Proper. We have reason to believe, indeed, that he never visited it, though almost within sight of his abode;—but his historical research exhausted the field on which he laboured, and shows what

* Epkema speaks of a book whose title is, "Oude Friesche Wetten in het Oud-Friesch," "Old Frisian Laws in the old Frisian language," printed by Jr. (Baron) Hidde van Cammingha, in the Convent of Anjum, about 1460. We have never seen it, nor had Epkema.

† Schepper.

‡ Sjoet m'op al-oâdde bladren
Deu prunkt Friezlanz moedertal
In de fryheyt fen hjar fadren
Ta en yvich segeprall.
Sjoet m'op Friezlanz uodde schieden
Wetten, kâsten in minnieren
In nimt dear by ljar tael yn acht
Dan ha hjar wirdden folle kracht.

a flood of light sagacious industry can pour upon periods of time, and portions of the globe, from which the eye of inquiry has been long turned away.

We were rather surprised that so sagacious and erudite a writer as the author of the article in the *Edinburgh Review*, after affirming that the "ancient authorities are unanimous in stating that a considerable portion of the population of England was composed of Frisons," should put forward as the first and foremost authority, "the ancient chronicle of Kolyn," a chronicle undoubtedly apocryphal, and of no authority whatever. It has no one character of antiquity, its language is veiled modernism, its versification smooth and hodiernal. It scarcely deceived any body when it appeared,—and has since been set aside by the almost universal concurrence of literary men.

There are many inaccuracies in the statements of the *Edinburgh Review* critic, respecting the language of Friesland Proper. Far from the Frisian language being forgotten, it is spoken throughout all the open country of Friesland, and in many of the smaller towns. The specimen he gives is most incorrectly written;* it consists of eleven words,—of which nine are erroneous. Upon one of them he hangs a bad joke, and a good blunder. "*Guth*" is not a Frisian word; "*Goed*," or "*Goe*," is. The "*Frisick* peasants," he says, "retain the original pronunciation of the Anglo-Saxon *Theta*." Indeed! We never heard it, nor did any body else, at least in the Frisian tongue, for it is curious enough that even in the time of *Gysbert Japicx*, not a single word in the Frisian language begins with *Th*, except the word "*Thuwz*," (at home,) which is an abbreviation of *to huwz*, and "*Thauwerye*" and its derivatives, wherein the *h* is superfluous, and which is pronounced *Towerye* (*Zauberey*, Teutonic, *Toverij*, Batavice.) It is very obvious, that in neither of these cases is the *theta* represented: and, by the way, we cannot avoid remarking here, that the *Edinburgh* reviewer has passed on Sir William Temple a judgment far too precipitate. There are few books which teem with evidence of such remarkable sagacity as his little volume upon the United Provinces. Its details are seldom erroneous; its deductions almost always philosophical and wise. The reviewer thinks many of his conjectures respecting Friesland are "gratuitous," and his "assertions unfounded." They appear to us

* And so is the old Frisian shibboleth. It should stand thus:—"Der is nin klerck sa krol, as dy readhierige Klearkamstrei klerck! heere! dy klerck is hjar alre ta krol:" i. e. "There is no clerk so airy as the red-haired Clara Camster Clerk, gentlemen! that clerk is for them all too airy." There are other unutterables with which the Frisians perplex the stranger. "Fjouwer lottere, klearre, lieppe asiën yn ien fenne herme yn ien nest." And, "Read, hire, reck rierren herre." Wiarda mistranslates *krol* by *wuth-willig*, wicked.

the suggestions and the queries of a mind singularly observing and intelligent. Sir William Temple's "reflections" are founded "upon the particular reports given to him of the province of Friesland," and "hasty," "gratuitous," and "unfounded" though they be, we must confess, our observations have borne out his "reflections." To say the truth, the analogies of language and national character first engaged us in the inquiry; at every step we found new points of resemblance; we could have fancied ourselves among Anglo-Saxons in a more advanced stage of intellectual culture. Phrases like antiquated English constantly met our ear; when the Frisians talked of their old rights and customs—of their *grietsmans* and their *meene mentes*—of their representatives of towns and districts—we could not but trace a marvellous resemblance between them and our ancestors; and fancy filled up the vacancies left in the picture.

Wiarda has given, in his *Asega* book, specimens of the ancient East Frisian language, which are Anglo-Saxon almost to a letter, but these specimens consist only of a few words. Independently of the very curious researches respecting the laws of the Frisians, his works are all full of valuable philological matter. His erudition, wanting discernment, however, is a rich mine for inquiry. Wherever he is left to himself, he is a mere groper among the vestiges of antiquity—a guide-post to other authorities—a gatherer-up of all which is to be found of East Friesland in departed days. Most of his theories are unobservant, while his admiration of every thing connected with his subject, often blinds him to realities and facts. He says that the Frisian tongue has been extirpated on the north of the Ems by the Low German, and on the south of the Ems by the Low Dutch.* The first position is well founded—the second groundless. The language of ancient Frisia has been modified—corrupted, if he will—by time and poli-

* See his "History of the dead old Frisian or Saxon Tongue," p. 25, (*Geschiede der ausgestorbenen alten Friesischen oder Sächsischen Sprache*) in which he represents the Frisian language as existing only in the two small towns of Molquerum and Hindelopen—in both which places there are indeed separate dialects of the idiom—which he supposes to have been the dialect of Gysbert Japicx—but this poet wrote in the common language of the country, to which that of Hindelopen and Molquerum (the latter is nearly extinct with the town where it was spoken) form exceptions. There was an almanack, published in the Hindelopen dialect, by Johannes Hilarides, in 1679, and Wassenberg has given specimens of the Molquerum, in a Translation of the New Testament, in his *Bydragen*. We give the Lord's Prayer, as it is scarcely likely the book has fallen into the hands of any of our readers:

Molquerumsch.

Uis wæer, dy't jy ynne hymmelen binne, jys næme woarde heylige. Jys kenningryk komme. Jys wille geschiede, lyken as ynne hymmel æk op æerde. Uis dagelyks bræ jou uis joe. In voarjæ uis uis schiolden lyken as wy voarjæ uis schioldners. In bring uis naet in voarsieking, maar bevrje uis voar de quæ! Want jys is it keuningryk, in de kræft, in de hærljckheid yn yeuwigheid.

tical change—but it still exists—and the wonder is less that so much should have been lost, than that so much should have been preserved. It would not be easy to fix on any one spot in Friesland where the ancient idiom is spoken; but some words of it are preserved in one part of the province, and some in another—the elements and characteristics of the language every where—so that a dictionary tolerably complete might be constructed of the ancient Frisian out of the terms still employed by the peasantry. And when it is considered that the language is really the object of persecution—that it is never employed in the schools, nor in the pulpits, nor in the epistolary communications of the province—that its existence is purely and solely oral—hanging on nothing better than man's breath, the marvel will be that it should have maintained itself with so much pertinacity and power.

But Wiarda goes yet farther in the preface to his *Old Frisian Dictionary*; for he says, "In the present provinces of Friesland, Groningen and East Friesland, the old language preserved itself longest. In the 13th and 14th century it was in all its glory; in the 15th it was shaken by the Flemish and Low Saxon—in the 16th it existed only in some remote districts and in some ancient families, though it was already much corrupted, and then it wholly died away."*

Elsewhere, however, he speaks of the corruptions which the 13th century introduced into the Frisian tongue. A groundless fancy, as appears to us, growing out of the idea that the Anglo-Saxon and ancient Frisian were one and the same. Previous to the 13th century we know of no specimens of the Frisian tongue of undoubted authority. In the 14th century more reliques are found, and all that can be said is, that they are not pure Anglo-Saxon, nor would they most probably have been so, had they been two centuries older. He thinks the first Frisian laws were contemporaneous with Ethelbert, and he brings forward passages which he deems parallel. They do not convince us; on the contrary, we see nothing to which we should assign a date remoter than the 14th, or at the very highest, the 13th century.

Wiarda's *Dictionary of the Ancient Language of Frisia* is very imperfect, and not always to be trusted even as far as it goes. We know of one individual, whose collection of Frisian words is *four times* greater than the whole which are to be found in Wiarda's pages. The *Idioticon Frisicum*, of Wassenbergh, contains a considerable number of words and phrases peculiar to Friesland. All those found in Gysbert Japick are collected

* Prologue § 1 to the *Altfriesischer Wörterbuch*.

by E. Epkema, and with a very needless elaboration in his *Woordenboek op de Gedichten en verdere geschriften van G. J.* The introduction is a sort of rambling comparison between the Frisian and the Low Dutch. A good grammar of the idiom would have afforded better materials for judging of affinity (for affinity is as often remarkable in the construction as in the orthography of a language) than a congregation of independent words. Epkema takes for granted that the Dutch is a descendant of the Frisian—a position more easily asserted than proved.

Professor Rask published at Copenhagen, in 1825, his *Frisiæ Sproglære*. It was intended, with his *Islandic and Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, to complete the views of these three closely-resembling daughters of a common mother. Unbounded are the services Mr. Rask has rendered to philology, and they are the more meritorious and remarkable, inasmuch as he has frequently gone over untrodden ground, and with equal erudition and modesty brought contributions the most valuable and the most unexpected. His *Frisian Grammar* is built out of the materials which Wiarda and Von Wicht have provided.* We think some light might have been thrown by him on the language prior to the period when Wiarda's documents commence, and certainly much on the period succeeding that where his researches terminate. The Professor's book is rather a grammar of the language of the East Frisian laws than a general grammar of the Frisian tongue. There is too little that is old—too little that is new. It is the grammar of a book—the *Asega* book—not of an idiom. But it has great value from the comparisons instituted throughout between the Frisian and its kindred dialects; and we are glad to see that the Copenhagen Royal Society, in furtherance of Rask's inquiries, has proposed to reward the best Essay on the affinities between the Frisian and Islandic tongues. Other learned bodies are directing their attention to the subject, and a prize discourse has been lately published by Nicolas Outzen, of Beekum in Sleswick, containing a Frisian glossarium. The Groningen *pro excolenda* Society has from time to time printed valuable papers; and in the *Monumenta Groningana* of Mr. Driessen, the Archivarius of the province, are many documents throwing light on the Frisian language. Others have been lately discovered both in Groningen and Friesland, and we are persuaded materials now exist—if industry and learning were engaged in collecting them—to furnish matter for a satisfactory history of this long-neglected and remarkable branch of the old Saxon stem. Independently of

* We do not mean to say that the learned Professor has not consulted many other works; in truth, he gives a list of several others in his preface, but they have not furnished him with many materials.

direct sources, there are many auxiliaries to information, and the local histories of the towns and districts of Southern and Western Germany will be found to furnish a great deal of elucidatory and instructive matter. The study of *dialects* has been much neglected, from the prevalence of a very erroneous notion that many local idioms, though of undoubted antiquity, are only corruptions of a parent tongue. It is in these the history of language must be traced, and seldom in the national speech, which is usually made up of modern concessions; while old words and phrases must be sought in the remoter districts, in which fashion and change produce their weakest impressions.

The days of the week in modern Frise are *Moandey, Tyesdey, Wansdey, Tongersdey, Freed, Sniawn, Sneyn*. We quote these for the purpose of remarking that *Sniawn* is synonymous with the German *Sonnabend*, being an abbreviation of *Sinne-jawn*, or *Sun-evening*. *Sneyn* is probably a compound of *Sinne* and *eyn*—Sun's own.

Among the Frisians, surnames were unused even in our day, and were not adopted by the peasantry till 1811, by a decree of Bonaparte. A few of the noble and patrician families had names taken from their estates, which are still preserved, such as *Beyma thoe Kingma, Harinxma thoe Sloten*, and so forth. But some distinction or other was necessary, as the number of Christian names is prodigiously great, and the curious shades of distinction very remarkable. For *Johannes* there were, for example, *Jaan, Janne, Janke, Jenke, Jenne, Jeen, In, Inne, Intje, Intit, Jon, Jonge, Joon, Jot*; for *Jacobus*, *Jak, Jakko, Jakkelo, Jappo, Japko, Jauke, Jaje, Jayko, Jeb, Jebbo, Jebbell, Jeep, Jemme, Jep, Jilk, Joeke, Jovi, &c.**

There is no history of Friesland in the Friesland tongue. Authors more commonly wrote for the rulers than for the people—

* Consult Ev. Wassenbergh, *Verhandelingen over de eigennaamen der Friesen*. Franeker. 1806.

There is a curious passage in *Emmian* on the subject, though we think that with very little difficulty the strongest affinity might be traced between many common English names and those he has so oddly grouped together.

“Nomina quoque gentis diversa prorsus a gentibus cæteris, usque eo, ut horum argumento genuinum Frisium ab asscriptio inquisitione soleant quondam discernere. Quis in alia gente Germanica audiit Hayones, Boyones, Ubbones, Udones, Focodones, Ucones, Liccones, Sidlones, Peyones, Pibones, Remetos, Ulbetos, Geroldos, Ayoldos, Dicones, Herones, Harones, Kenones, Ocones, Eanones, Edsardos, Emmones, Bolones, Onnonas, Sircios, Emones, Edones, Eddones, Haionos, Aggonos, Sibetos, Mellones, Tiarchones, Tiadoncs, Poppones, Tammones, Lannones, Icones, Willones, Sibones, Reunkoncs, Luerdos, Amsones, Bennoncs, Mañnoncs, Folkerdos, Nikkoncs, Wiardos quæ virorum nomina tritissima habentur in Frisia? Quis Ettas, Tettas, Deddas, Idas, Frouwas, Moderas, Houwas, Liuras, Cyweras, Witias, Sitias, Gelas, Dodas, Tedas, Humas, Hwasas, Hisas, Ewas, Awas, Tetas, Eisas, Iccas, Tracas, Assas, Essas, Liawas quæ cœninarum?”—*Hist. lib. ii. p. 33.*

rather to please those who could distribute rewards, than those who sought truth and knowledge. It is difficult to get at any facts which throw much light upon the domestic and social condition of the many, about whom the historian seldom occupies himself, except when they form part of the pageantry of power, or can be made to add splendour to the splendours of the few, or the one. We shall rapidly glance at the different works which may be referred to as the best sources of information, though there is no one among them (Schotanus perhaps excepted) of much real value.

Okko van Scharl, who lived in the tenth century, wrote a quantity of historical matter respecting Friesland, false and true, discreet and foolish, which he appears to have recorded principally from the narration of Solcke Forteman. Johan Vlytrap "bettered and renewed" the work of Okko, and printed it under the title of *Chroniecke ende waarachtige Beschryving van Vrieslant*; and Vlytrap's labours were yet more elaborated by Andrew Cornelis, of Staveren, who, in 1742, published a new edition, with emendations and corrections.

Sjoerd Pieter's work *De Frisiorum Antiquitate et Origine*, (Franeker, 1698,) is a meagre and unsatisfactory volume. He also wrote a Latin description of Friesland, which is rarely seen and rarely sought.

In the 16th century Ubbo Emmius wrote the History of Friesland, *Rerum Friscarum Historia*, (Lug. Bat. 1616). His work is that which has furnished the best materials to his successors, and is the best up to the period in which he wrote.

Winsemius is honoured by the notice of the Edinburgh Reviewer, who might have spared the sneer with which he speaks of his language, or at least should have spelt his words correctly, when he condescended to quote them. The Reviewer flippantly says of the Netherlanders in general, "*Carent vate sacro*—They have no poets." Indeed! Is "the learned Theban" sure of this? Has he deigned to inquire? Even so said the priests of Arampoora to him of the Golden Foot and the White Elephant, when he inquired who made the splendid robes of English origin which he wore, "Island barbarians behind the mountains—smitten with ignominy and the curse of God." Pierius Winsemius was the historiographer of the States in 1622. His work is called the *Chronique ofte Historische Geschiedenis van Vrieslandt*. It comes down to the year 1622. Its style is bad, and its matter frequently trite or trifling. He also wrote a Latin History of Friesland from the time of Charles the Fifth, (Leeuwarden, 1646).

There is a history of Friesland in Latin hexameters by Martin

Hansen, (Franeker, 1620). It is a confused jumble of fables, obscure traditions, and marvellous stories, in which the "illustrious men and illustrious things" of Frisia are chanted in verses like this :—

"Godschalckumque plium Goelinga stemmata riatum,
In campis Asiæ Cammengha, Ockyngaque vero
Sicco et Watzo," &c.

Schotanus is the best known of the Frisian historians. His folio is a household book in Friesland, and with its plans, maps, and tables, his description of the country is very instructive. He quotes largely from the old laws, but, like some of our own garrulous chroniclers, seems best pleased when he has trifles to discourse about. His history comes down only to the year 1584.

Foeke Sjoerd's *Beschrijving van Oud en Nieuw Vriesland*, in two volumes, has little merit either historical or literary. He had industry enough, but no learning. He published, in 1768, his *Historische Jaarboeken* in five volumes, which brings the history of Friesland down to the year 1447. His works contain; however, a tolerably complete list of the authors who have written on Frisian history, and in this respect his *Inleiding*, or Introduction to his *Jaarboek*, is particularly valuable. He is the last of the Frisian historians. An attempt was lately made, on the suggestion of Mr. Van Leeuwen, to obtain the sanction of the government for the production of a provincial history. The project was recommended by the governor to the minister of the Home Department, but it did not meet with favourable attention. There is much curious matter, and many interesting documents are to be found dispersed through the provinces, or collected in the different municipal archives.

The *Landboek* of **Kempo van Martena** (*Annael ofte Landboek*) was written in 1531, but not printed till 1782, when **Schwartzenberg** rendered a great service to the historical literature of his country by the publication of the *Groot Placaat en Charter Boek*, of which Kempo's labours form a part. Schwartzenberg's folios (four of which appeared during his life-time, and the fifth, edited by **Herbell**, and bringing down the materials to 1686,) are a valuable collection of the charters, decrees, and public documents of the province, written both in Frisian and Dutch. **Herbell** died after having completed one volume. **Baron Schwartzenberg** also printed a folio volume, entitled *Van Friesland Beneficiaat Boeken*, giving a detailed description of all the benefices and church lands, of which the reformation had deprived the clergy; but the states of Friesland being, or pretending to be, greatly alarmed lest the history of confiscations should disturb the quiet

possession of the confiscated property, obtained the suppression of the work. No apprehension could be more chimerical than that by which they justified their arbitrary interference. As some numbers of the work are, however, *in esse*, the labours of the collector and compiler are not absolutely lost to the world. We have had a copy of this volume before us.

Peter Thaborita's *Historie van Friesland*, lately edited by Visser and Amersfoort, in the Archives of Frisian history,* is an important addition to our historical possessions.

We do not propose to treat much at length on the ancient laws of Frisia, but refer to the article in the Edinburgh Review, to the *Asega book*, and to a small volume of Wiarda, which appeared to us one of the most interesting, though the least known, of his erudite productions on the *Upstalboom*,† whose history has always strikingly reminded us of the Oak of Guernica of the Biscayans. It is pleasant when the tales of freedom are associated with the beauties of nature. Liberty has more than the "two voices" of the sea and of the mountains—the trees of the forest have been sacred to her; and Dodona has respired to her inspirations. The "free Frisians," the title by which the race is always distinguished, meeting under the branches of the oaks of Upstal, listening year after year to the popular laws, and discussing the modifications which time and experience suggested for their improvement, are, in our minds, among the most interesting objects of the olden times.

We must, however, observe, that we doubt the very remote origin of the laws of the *Asega-book*, which profess to be contemporaneous with Charlemagne, or even of higher antiquity still, that is to say, "a confirmation by Charlemagne of a more ancient bill of rights." In their present form they must be some centuries posterior to the time of Charlemagne; in fact, we know of no Frisian MS. of a period anterior to the 13th century, though the introduction to Gysbert Japicx speaks of works many centuries prior to this. Whether these are translations into the Frisian tongue from the Latin is very uncertain. The question is one which is warmly discussed to the present hour, but we are rather disposed to opine that the Latin laws are the translations, inasmuch as the rude metrical form of many parts of the Frisian, has quite the

* *Archief voor Vaderlandsche en inzonderheid Friese Geschiedenis, Oudheid en Taalkunde, bijeenverzameld door H. W. C. A. Visser & Amersfoort. 2 vols. Leeuwarden, 1824 & 1825.*

† Thiu forme Urkere aller Fresena is thet hin ense a jera to gadera koma te Upstals-boona. Theysdeis and thera Pinxtera wika anda thet ma thiene ther birethe alle tha Ruchte, thet tha Fresna haelde scolden, ief aeng mon eng rucht betera wiste thet, lichtere sette anda ma thet betere heelde. Laws of Upstalboom.

character of an original, and not of a version. They begin with a very rignarole story about patriarchs, saints, and emperors; and like many of the productions of the middle ages, blend in strange confusion, religion and mythology, fable and history, priestly intolerance and popular rights.*

Charlemagne, as has been often remarked, was one of those popular and victorious princes from whom nations wish the merit of deriving their institutions. There is an old Frisian fragment, introductory to a law, which speaking of King Pepin, says—

“ And sin sunn, thi minnera,
Kerl hì was minnera,
And hi was bettera
Hi stifte and sterde,
Triwa and werde.
And hi sette thera kenega jeft,
Andere alle luide kest,
And londriucht
Ande allera londe eccum siu riucht.”

In a similar style do some of their laws end—

“ Ut send ta riucht—
En ik ben self twera en Godes kniucht,
Thise riucht keran Fresa;
And bad hein,
Kerl ti hebbane,
And te heldane;
To helpe and to nethum
Alle Fresum.
Forth scele wisse balda,
And God scel wisa walda
The rechte and thes stitha,
And alle unriuchte thing sell wi forræutha.”

We do not believe that the Frisian tongue was ever synonymous with the Anglo-Saxon as spoken in England. There is evidence enough of resemblance—none whatever of identity. The affinity is great, and there is reason to believe that English teachers made themselves well understood by the Frisian people, who received most of their religious instruction from the bishops and priests who from our island visited the continent. The subdivision of language into dialects is, we imagine, of much higher antiquity than it is generally deemed to be. The influence of literature reconciles them, breaks down their varieties, and produces out of the whole an idiom in which their peculiarities are swallowed up by the overruling influence of the whole.

* Wierdsma published, in 1782, two Frisian statutes of considerable antiquity. Mathias von Wicht's volume of the Laws of West Friesland (printed at Aurich) contains much instructive matter.

The Frisian laws lay down the rights of property in the following words:—"Thet is thet forme londriucht aller Frisina, thet allera monna twek an sina goda besitte, and an sina eina haun umberaand,"* and their definition of morality is sweeping enough:

"Thet is allera londa fere thet ter nen mon erge ne doe."† Some of the laws are amusingly put:—"If Peter mean to smite Paul with a stick or a stone, and Paul run away, and Peter follow him, and Paul stumbles and breaks his leg, then shall Peter be held guilty, because he did that which it behoved him not to do.‡

The form of taking an oath was, to raise the hair on the left side of the head with the left hand, and to place upon it the two first fingers of the right hand, and "then shall the Asega (judge) administer the oath."

These are the occasions on which permission is given to break through the church door without the authority of the bishop. 1. Where a woman is abused in the church. 2. Where a man is dying and asks for extreme unction;—and 3. Where the key is lost when a child is brought to be baptised.

The law against unpremeditated patricide or fratricide sounds awfully, both for its pity and its punishment. "If a man in a passionate mood shall smite his father or his mother, his brother or his sister to death,—to him shall no priest write, but long as he lives shall he wander, and weep and fast:—or he shall abandon the beautiful world for ever,—he shall go to a cloister,—become the servant of the abbot, and do as it shall be commanded him:—but never more shall he enter the House of God with other Christian people—he must stand behind the door, and supplicate for the mercy of the God our Lord." §

Some of the laws are poetical in their composition, as well as humane in their character; for instance, that for the orphan which has lost its father: "The third necessity is—If the child is stark-naked, and houseless, and exposed to the dew, or the mist, and the cold winter;—and every man goeth to his garden, or into his house, or to his own corner—as the wild beast seeks

* This is the first right of all Frisians, that every man possess his own goods; and of his own havings be unrobbed.

† This is proper for all lands that no man evil do.

‡ Wann Petrus Paulum will schlaen eder schmyten, and Paulus nimt de fugt unde de schlaenge tho verloepen, and Petrus folget em na met stocken, and Paulus falt and breikt een been eder sick anderes feriget—so is Petrus schuldig wente he dede dat, dat em nicht behoefde tho doen.

§ Ja hwasasinne feder sinne moder sinne swester ieftha sinne brother our bulgers mode todade cloith sa ne ni him nen Prestere skriva, buta also lange sare libbe siel hi wendria and kriapa and festia. Jeftha hi skil alle there skene skena wralde otstonde, and gunga anna en claster and wertha tha abbete underdenoch and dwe alsare him twe hese and nimmermar ne mot hi anda Godis hase wesa mith ore kerstene liidon. Hine gunge efta tha durum stonda and bedde to sinre helde Godis wres hana.

the hollow tree and the shelter of the mountains to protect its life—while the yearless child cries and weeps—mourning its nakedness and homelessness;—and its father, who should have screened it from hunger and the winter's cold damp, that he, so deep and dark, under four nails, and under oak, and under earth concealed and covered—then must the mother dispose and sell so much of her child's possessions, and watch over it so long as it is young, so that frost and hunger may not destroy it.” *

The Ten Commandments are thus recorded by one of the Frisian law-givers.

“Thet erste bod: Minna thinne God fore feder ende moder mith inleken herta.

Thet other bod: Minna thinne euncristena like thi selva.

Thet thredde bod: Fira thena sunmandei end there helche degan.

Thet fiarde bod: Minna thinna feder end moder hu thu longe libbe.

Thet fyste: Thet thu the nowet ne owerhore.

Thet seyte: Thet thu nenne mon ne sle.

Thet sogende: Thet thu nowet ne stele.

Thet achtende: Thet thu thi nowet ne resere ne neu faleak withacip.

Thet niugende: Thet thu nenes thines euncristena wives ne gerige ne driue.

Thet tiande: Thet thu nenes thines euncristena godes nejere.”

But they are given rather differently in the preface to the *Aesga* book, and with another orthography.

Thet was thet erste bod: Thin God thet is thi ena, ther skipperere himself-rikes and irthrikes tham skalter thjana. Thet was thet tweede bod: Thet ne skalt thines Godes noma nawet idle unfu: ther mithi send thi wroden alle menetha. Thet was thet thredde bod: Thu skalt fina thene helega sunmandei, hu anti God hini reste, tha hi eskipan hede himulrike ind irthrike thannude skaltu jerne fina thene helega sunandi. Thet was thet fiarde bod: Thu skalt ena thinne feder and thine moder thettu theste langor libbe. Thet was thet fyste bod: Thu ne skalt nenne monslage dua. Thet was thet sexte bod: Thu ne skalt nen hor tha nen overhor dua buta mith thinere afta wive skaltu godilike libba. Thet was thet sjugunde bod: Thu ne skalt nene thjwoethe dua, and ne skalt nawet jeria ova thines icenkerstena haca, ther thi fon rjuchta nawet wertha ne mugan. Thet was thet achunde bod: Thu ne skalt nen vnrjucht tjuch dua. Thet was thet njugunde and thet tiande bod: Thu skalt minnia God thine skippere mith renera hirta and

* “Dyo tredde need is: Als dat kynd is al stoknaken, jessa huuslaes, ende dan die tio efsen nebel, ende calde winter oenkomt, so faert aller menick oen syn bof, endesyn haas, ende an waranne gaten, ende da wylda diernaket dyn holla beam ende der hergha hey aldeer het syn lyf oenbehalda mey; so weiuet ende sorgt dat onjessig kind ende wyst dan syn nakena lyae, ende syn huuslaes. en syn sides, deer him reda sculd to jenset dyn honget. ende winter nebil cald dat hi so dipe ende dinnt, mita flower naylen is onder eke ende onder da eorda besloten en betraecht, so moet die moder her kindes eerwe setta ende sellu, om dat hio da behield hadde, ende bilwaas, also lang so hit onjerig is, dat het oen forste ner oen honget asst forfere.”

It will be very obvious that this law is much more modern than the other. The language is half Hollandized.

thinne winkerstena like thi selva. Thesse tta bodo beslutath alle tha others bodo."

In 1617, Sibrand Siccama published at Franeker a collection of the Frisian laws in Latin, of which a second edition was printed at Leipzig in 1750. Siccama was born at Bolsward in 1570, and wrote many works on Jurisprudence, of which Professor de Wal has given a list in his *Oratio de Claris Frisæ Jurisconsultis* (Leeuwarden, 1825.) The old Frisian laws continued in force till the Saxon period, when they were superseded by the *Statuten en Landrechten* of the Saxons.

From the end of the fifteenth century, down to the beginning of the seventeenth, there is an absolute blank in the literature of Friesland. No name of an author—scarcely a fragment of the language is to be found through which can be traced the changes which are so remarkably prominent in the writings of Gysbert Japicx;* but it is quite clear that the language in a very perfect state must have existed ready formed at his hands. His genius was not creative, nor are his writings many,—but he possessed great facility of versification, remarkable readiness of expression—and turned to account the riches of a language which afforded him all the materials for the expression of every shade of thought and feeling.

In the seventeenth century, *Gabbema*, the historiographer, complained that no one was to be found, who would redeem the language of his country from oblivion; and as the most acceptable service he could render, he published with that view the works of *Gysbert Japicx*. The first edition was printed at Bolsward in 1668;—the second at Leeuwarden, 1681,—that which professes to be the third, with the date Franeker 1684, being only the Leeuwarden edition with a new title page. The edition of 1821, which we have placed at the head of our article, contains all the writings of Gysbert Japicx in the Frisian language—(his Dutch compositions have very little merit)—consisting of sundry poems, ballads, and songs—Translations from the Psalms,—a short and very imperfect Frisian grammar in Latin,—a fragment on the Frisian alphabet,—a specimen of the old Frisian tongue,—some of the author's correspondence,—the story of Dorilis and Cleonice,—and a translation of Mornay's Essay on Living and Dying.

Wassenbergh† published in 1793, an academical Thesis on the life and writings of Japicx. One of his objects was to trace the influence of the ancient poets, and especially of Anacreon,

* Even if the fact can be made out, (which we believe it cannot,) that the dialects of East and West Friesland were one and the same.

† Of Wassenbergh an interesting account is contained in the *Narratio de Vita et Scriptis Ev. Wassenbergh*, by Professor J. W. de Crane. Franeker, 1828.

Catullus and Horace on the Frisian bard. There is some exaggeration in the praises he bestows, and we suspect Japicx knew very little about those fountains of classical knowledge, from which he is supposed to have drawn so liberally. He probably received that sort of instruction, which has for some centuries been communicated to all in Holland, who are tolerably at ease. That he knew Latin is certain; it would be then, as now, an almost needful acquisition for a Dutch schoolmaster in a considerable town. He had intercourse with many of the learned of his day, and Latin would undoubtedly be the medium of correspondence: he quotes Latin frequently—so to quote was the prevailing taste of his time; but the passages which have been brought together to show how thoroughly he was imbued by the true spirit of antiquity, prove nothing of the sort. He has no pretensions, and makes no pretensions to be sublime. He is the poet of simple nature, in her social and domestic visitations, a moral, often an emphatic, but never an exalted writer. The harmony of his verse, the appropriateness of his phraseology, the tones of virtuous feeling which are every where present, recommend him to our sentiment and to our affections. Even his early amorous poems are far less tainted than those of his contemporaries with the lubricity of passion. As a monument of the language, all his works are exceedingly valuable.

Gysbert Japicx (the name betokens Gilbert the son of Jacob, surnames being then unknown in Friesland,) was born at Bolsward, in 1603, and died there in 1666. An undoubtedly antique and veracious portrait of him exists at Amsterdam, in the possession of Professor Koopmans, one of the few literary men who have paid attention to the Frisian tongue. Its expression is that of hundreds of English faces, particularly of the same period, tinged, however, with a gloominess very unlike his poetry, but probably the result of indisposition. He was schoolmaster and parish clerk at Bolsward, and though little known beyond the boundaries of Friesland, his countrymen elevate him above all the writers of Holland; even over Hooft and Vondel who were his contemporaries. That his life was much disturbed by bodily suffering, we gather from his correspondence. Though now unknown or forgotten beyond the limits of Friesland, in his day he must have had great reputation, for he enjoyed the friendship of many eminent men, and especially that of Simon Abbe Gabbema, the historiographer of Friesland. Franciscus Junius* took up his abode with him for a long time, for the express purpose of

* Den grooten Junius, 't orakel van veel talen,

Quam in Bolsinnas stad en leerde 't van dees man.

It appears that while in Friesland he took the name of *Nadabus Aginonius*.

studying the Frisian tongue under his auspices, and it was probably under the roof of the poet, that the philologist wrote the papers which he bequeathed to the University of Oxford, and are now in the Bodleian Library.* All Gysbert's compositions now present him in the most amiable point of view; they breathe the best sentiments of courtesy, kindness and beneficence.

It was the custom of Japicx's time for men to take to themselves some motto, as their rule of life; *Sljuecht and Rjuescht* (right and upright) was the device of Japicx, and a very appropriate one. All the facts, which can be gathered from his own writings, and all the stories of tradition, represent him in the most amiable point of view, and were it only out of respect for the veneration, which in Friesland, universally attaches to his name; "a household word familiar to the tongues" of all the inhabitants, we should hold ourselves justified in making his writings better known. In our minds his best composition is his "Grandmother's Sea-anguish," which has been translated into Dutch by Bilderdijk, and by Koopmans, and which we shall give at length in a free version, wishing rather to preserve its spirit than its *verbatim* form.

Tjesck Moars See Ængste.

Will † no more will delve the gravel;
Will to see the world will travel,
Will is weary of the plough;
Burn the plough, and blast the cattle,
Will will hear the billows rattle,
Will will be a hero now.

"Stay at home?—let cowards do it.
Stay at home?—and stay to rue it;
Drag the barrow—drag—and die;—
No! I'll go and hunt for knowledge,
All the world shall be my college;
Thousands do so—why not I?

"Thee I'll follow, noble Peter ‡,
Thou wert nobler far and greater,
Than the noblest, home-kept lord,
Battling like an ancient Roman,
For his country with her foeman,
Whom he chased with fire and sword.

"I will be a Dunkirk rover,
Ships that sail the wide waves over,
Laughing at the storm I'll see"—
So he seized the sword and banner,
And the fleet, tho' heroes man her,
Sees no braver man than he.

On the shore his mother wept him,
Long, O! long her fancy kept him
Imaged in the watery bier.
Kept him—but 'twas fancy only.
She was there—there late and lonely;
But her William was not there.

"Will!" she cries, "O! sad careerings
Will! O whither art thou steering!
Will!—and is the world too small.
Will! my head with thought is shaking
Will! my heart with grief is breaking,
Will! the grave will cover all,

* This collection consisted (according to the catalogue) of Frisian Poetry, Frisian Laws, with his own Annotations, a Frisian Dictionary, and some Tracts.

They are numbered in the catalogue, 5189, 5220—22, and 5226.

Very many interesting particulars respecting Junius and his family are in the erudite J. Guil. de Crane; *Oratio de Vossiorum Juniorumque Familia, sæculo præsetitum xvii. Insigni eruditiois laude clara, optime de literis apud posteros etiam mèrita.* Groningæ. 1821.

† The original has *Wif* (Wave) designating the restlessness of the hero.

‡ *Groote Pier*—the Groot Pier of the Hollanders, one of the most famous of their naval heroes of the sixteenth century.

" Then the sea rolls loud and louder,
Shrouding billows shroud the shrouder,
Mantling, mounting, mingling, mad;
Waves in opening waves ensheathe them,
While the great-fish toss beneath them.
Solemn scene—sublime—yet sad!

" Now they fling them up to heaven,
Now to deepest depths are driven,
Heaven and hell are sporting here.
Shipwreck'd bark!—can aught avail her?
O the melancholy sailor!
Waves his grave-place and his bier!

" Horrid, horrid thought to waken—
This the life that Will has taken;
He is on that dreadful sea.
Why so rash, and why so silly,
Why not build thy fortune, Willy,
Out of busy traffickrie? *

" Pale I see him midst the fighting,
Death is there on all sides smiting;
Discord, darkness and despair.
Death is there, I see him wrestle;
Lo! he flings the crashing vessel,
On the maddened breakers there.

" Thoughtless Will! why wouldst thou sally
From the green sheep-covered valley,
Where sweet maidens sung and smiled?
Birds among the green wood watching,
In the streams the fishes catching,
Chasing game across the wild!

" Nosegays of rich flowers they bound thee,
Branches of fair fruits they found thee,
More than thy desire would gain;
Death is on the waves, thou wearest
Folly's warlike plumes—and dearest!
All my words are spent in vain.

" Well then—I'll to heaven commend thee,
May it bless thee—and befriend thee,
Let no mischief to thee come;
I will pray that God will save thee,
When the whirling waters lave thee,
And his angels guide thee home.

" Will denies me, Will deceives me,
Will neglects me, Will he leaves me,
Will—(O heart, how hard thy beat!)

Japicx's Address to the Sun is a curious collection of epithets.

" Wolkomm' freugde fenne wrâd,
Haed-leacht oerre stierren,
Griente-kruwd in blomme fâd,
Mietter fen uws jieren;
Himmel-eag dy't al oer sjocht,
Dy uwe dawwe in miste ontjocht;
Dy uws 't fyld bemiellet,
Ja mey goud o'er striellet.

He is on the fierce waves floated,
O! I see him—death-devoted,
Midst the billows as they meet.

" And I thrill with anguish shaking,
When I see those billows breaking,
High as mountains, deep as dells;
Cables snapping, masts are crashing,
And the waves like demons dashing,
Fiercer as the tempest swells.

" Shrieks and—silence! flung from ocean,
On a cliff, no voice, no motion
Of that clamour—not a breath;
Wildly yet the waves play round her,
O the shock!—I see her founder—
Thou hast done thy deed, O Death!

" Can it be that mortal creature,
Bound for death by law of nature,
So precipitates the day;
Seeking that dark doom, which nothing,
Whether loving death or loathing,
Nothing can seduce or stay.

" Yet the hurricane is quiet,
And the breakers cease to riot,
When God's mandate bids them cease.
He from death his prey oft seizes,
Ship and souls with gentle breezes
Wafts into a port of peace.

" Shall not prayers, and songs, and praises,
Wait upon his name, who raises
Blessings from the seeds of woe;
Yes! for me—my heart is thawing
Into hymns that sweetly flowing,
Bring refreshment as they flow.

" In the darkest hour, if brightness
Shine—how thankless is the lightness
That mistrusts Him;—I will bend,
Bend in gratitude and meekness.
God will mercy find for weakness!
God, my father and my friend!

" Try him, trust him, the controller
Of the waves—the thunder-roller,
Lord of storms, and source of bliss;
Will shall yet return—O keep him.
I will watch—I will not weep him!
Love, prepare thy welcoming kiss!"

Welcome joy of the world!
Head (ruling) light over the stars,
Father of green plants and flowers,
Meter of our years;
Heaven's eye that all o'ersees,
That chases our mists and dews;
Which adorns our fields,
And o'erstrews them with gold.

" Kerne in laempe fenne dey,
Uwle fynne, Jisteyer,
Monde-stuwwer, droeggewey,
Nacht-in-froast-lorjeyer;
Ljeapper oer it wiet in't druugh,
Ruwnomrinner, nummer-slaug;
Yer in let alline,
Wolkomm, wolkomm, Sinne! "

Candle and lamp of the day,
Owl-hater, ice-thawer,
Mud (dust) stirrer, way-dryer,
Night-and-frost chaser;
Leaper over wet and dry,
Round-runner, never slow,
Early and late alone,
Welcome, welcome, Sun!

We think this picture very pretty:—

Go to the city! You shall see,
A piece of painted scenery;
Bought with a fortune—water, grass,
A farm, a hill, a cow, an ass—
But I—for asking—will supply,
A fairer picture to your eye,
Fields richer than e'er painter wrought,
Or wonder-working poet thought;
And you shall see, the more you look,
The more bright pages in the book.
To-day, to-morrow, it shall pour
Out beauties never seen before,
You shall see buds and blossoms waking,
And catch the odors they are shaking.

There shall be life the spot to cheer,
The friaking kid, the graceful deer;
You shall have snowy sheep, and birds,
And music's soul-subduing words.
You shall see summer grasses grow,
And happy swains go forth to mow.
You shall have change of light and shade,
Fairer than genius ever made.
And you shall hear a water-fall,
Singing a gentle song for all!
And—but come forth—come forth with
me—
And nature's glorious tablet see!*

In another vein he says:—

You leave me then, I see—God be your guide!
Yet—blunderer!† yet—one parting word abide!
Run thro' the world:—as thro' the land you run,
Thro' field and forest, over hedge and hill,
Your heart and all its griefs are with you still;
You cannot leave them—they and you are one.
You may change place—but pain is with you ever;
Change but your heart—and pain shall greet you never!
We are our own tormentors—our own foes;
Firm virtue laughs at all that can befall,
Fixed on itself—a strong and brazen wall,
Though the waves dash and though the whirlwind blows.‡

He has the spirit of the times upon him, and has frequently sharp satires directed against the clergy. He talks of—

" Priestly gall,
The bitterest and the worst of all."§

Japicx's Pastorals are among the best of his day. They have little exaggeration. The versification is smooth and flowing. We give one with a verbal version:—

" Da wier ick yn myn schik, je Feynten! 'k wier so ryck,
'K tocht, ynne wyde wrâd iz nimmen mij allyck,

* Y sjeanne' ynn' sted in achilderye.

† Swierbelle (blockhead).

‡ Sape 'y fortjea ney 'k her, God wol jo liede.

§ ————— "Priesterlycke gall,
Dy sier de bitterste is boppe al."

Myn *Ynts*, jae wier et al, myn *Ynts* ja wier myn wille,
 Myn hert dat wier so licht, en goeseplomm' 'koe 't tille,
 O fyn-gouwne eerste jeer! ho red roonstu ney 't eyn!
 Wy syllen meye pream, wij jottjen meye weyn,
 Ney Oorebeytes nu, den ney uwz *Ynskes* mygen,
 Oef ney myn Yeme oef M6yts dear wy den huwz rie kryggen,
 Diz gearren wy it goed to gearre mey uwz twaen,
 Ho! for Graef Hindricks steat woen wy uwz lock naet jaen."

There was I in my happiness (state) yes! Feyntjen! I was so rich,
 I thought, in the wide world is no man like me,

My *Ynts*, you were all—my *Ynts* you were my will.

My heart—that was so light a goose plume could load it.

O fine-gold first year! how fast runnest thou to the end.

We sailed with [the] boat (pram), we jolted with the wain.

We visited our grand-fathers and our *Inskes* families,

And our uncles and aunts to get our household goods.

Thus we gear the [manage with] good gear (management)—with us twain.

Ho! for Count Henry's state we would not change our lot!

In his description of a country life he says—

Here none is scorned as awkward or ill-bred,

Nor by fair words—but foulest deeds—misled;

Man speaks his thought, his honest garments wears;

The sage, a sage—the knave, a knave—appears;

And all the license, all the lies of state,

Intrude no jealousy and plant no hate! *

In 1823, a great festival was held at Bolsward in honour of Gysbert Japicx. It was attended by all the *literati* of the province, with the then governor, Baron *Æbinga fen Humalda*, at their head. The poet's bust was placed in St. Martin's church, and all the sons of Frisian song were inspired on the occasion, so that a volume has been collected of their contributions, and of sundry matters having reference to the proceedings of the day.

We remarked that Gysbert Japicx's writings were very important as philological materials, and we have extracted from them some words, for the purpose of instituting a comparison between our language and that of Friesland, as it existed two centuries ago.

The employment of the modifying particles is, as in most of the Germanic idioms, far more extensive than in English, and the prepositions become an integral part of the verb. *Æf* (synonymous with *of* or *off*) makes *æfbreken*, *æfdraeyen*, *æfgien*, *æfsotten*, *æfwachten*, to break, draw, go, sit, watch off. So also *Æf-God*, False-god, (*Abgott*, Teut.); *Be* (Anglicè *be*); *beblet*,

* Hier soume elck so zin guwch oen stecke.—p. 72.

beblood; *bedychjen*, bedyke, (surround with a dyke); *befestigjen*, befasten; *hefryen*, befree; *begean*, be-go, (tread upon); *beglorjoerjen*, beglow, (to spread brightness); *bejean*, begive, (transfer); *bekennen*, beken, (make known); *beklaeyen*, *bekladdjen*, beclothe, beclad; *bekommen*, the common Germanic form for to come at, (to obtain); *belibbjen*, belive, (to live on, to enjoy); *beminnen*, belove: (This verb is a ramification of *minne* (love), most of whose derivatives are lost in the German and in the English idioms; *minne-lied* and *minstrel* remain, but in the greater part of the Teutonic dialects the root and its conjugates are constantly employed.) *Be-plaaytsen*, bepluck, (collect the fruit); *beschamjen*, beshame, (make ashamed); *besetten*, beset; *bestoppjen*, bestop, (cover up); *bestryppjen*, bestripe, (cover with stripes); *betinckjen*, bethink; *bewandieljen*, bewander, (roam far and near). For (Anglicè *for*); *forachten*, despise; *foranderen*, (for another,) to change; *forbetteren*, to mend; *forbreydjjen*, to spread; *fordegenen*, to defend with a dagger; *furdincken*, to consume much liquor; *fordwaen*, to misdo; *forfalschjen*, to falsify; *forfolgjen*, to pursue; *forgean*, to pass away, (perish); *forgreatjen*, to become great; *forheagjen*, to mount; *forjeugdjen*, to grow young, also *forjongjen*; *formeerjen*, to increase; *fornyen*, to renew; *forproppjen*, to prop up; *forquichjen*, to quicken; *forwachtjen*, to wait for; and a great many others. Yu (Anglicè *in*); *yndjiep*, very deep; *ynfiern*, from afar; *yingoe*, thoroughly good; *ynljeave*, deep love; *ynnimmen*, to take in; *yasetten*, to plant; *ynswicte*, very sweet; *miz*, (mis,) *misdiel*, misdeed; *mizfallen*, uncomfortable; *miz-gong*, misgoing; *miz-moed*, discouragement; *miztreastig*, mistrusting; *mislyk*, unlikely; *oer*, (over,) *oerbly*, overblythe; *oerboadig*, overbanking, (overflowing); *oerfleun*, overfly; *oergreat*, overgreat; *oerkrestigten*, to overstrong, (subdue); *oerljeafste*, over-belovedst; *oerlostig*, over-lucky; and so in hundreds of words. Om (Teut. *um*), around, about, as *ombuwikjen*, hew around: on (Anglicè *un*), as *onbuone*, unbound; *onfree*, (i. e. unpeace, disquiet): and so with *onder*, under, and various other participles.

A few words of remarkable affinity are the following:—*great*, great; *have*, (possessions); *heap*, heap; *him*, him; *her*, her; *hird*, herd; *hearst*, harvest; *hoarz*, horse, sometimes written *horse*; *hoed*, hood; *æck*, eke; *aple*, apple; *bern*, child, (bairn); *bier*, bier; *bregge*, bridge; *cay*, key; *cu* or *kuw*, cow; *eupar*, cooper; *duey*, dough; *daveren*, to fade, (a word still preserved in Devonshire—a *davered* flower); *drift*, drift; *ear*, ear; *eylan*, island, (probably from *ey*, an old word for water); *fier*, far; *fyld*, field; *finger*, finger; *fisk*, fish; *flaegs*, flax; *floede*, flood; *gidze*, guide; *goes*, (and, what is remarkable, the plural) *giez*,

goose, geese; hogge, knife, (*hog* is still used in some parts of England); *jeld*, *eld*, (old age); *eg*, edge; *jier*, year; *kern*, kernel; *kijckebo*, (an interjection used in Devonshire, where it is pronounced *cachipo*, denoting an awkward, left-handed fellow); *klaey*, clay; *klange*, clang; *kleate*, clout; *kortelasse*, cutlass; *kauze*, Cupid; (can *Cosy*, loving, be hence derived, if not, whence?) *leaf*, leaf; *leck*, lack; *ljeap*, leap; *loam*, loam; *lock*, lock, (of hair); *mig*, mug; *moarn*, morning; *mouwe*, mow; *near*, near; *neb*, nib; *neyllo*, nail; *noag*, enough; *noaz*, nose.

One of the remarkable peculiarities of the Frisian tongue is its power of heaping up epithets—a power which G. Japicx sometimes employs with great success; as for example, *æg-gloerckjen*, eye-glowing; *al-fjuecht-winste*, all-fight conquering; *nacht-grim-gruwle*, night-grim terror; *ær-glanze-prealle*, honour-glancing-state; *rin-streamune-floe*, stream-running river; *jouw-loax-nimmend-jaen*, giftless taking-giving, (i. e. taking gifts and making no return); *slinger-fjoerig-weer-licht*, flung-fiery-weather-light, (i. e. the hurled lightning). A description of the sea runs thus:—

“ see wetter,
Suwz-ruwz-bruwz-hol-bol-hobble-tob,”

the buzzing, rushing, foaming, topsy-turvy-tossing, toiling sea; *nacht-in-froast-forgeyer*, night-and-frost driver, (the sun); *nacht-rest-bejearte*, night-rest-beads * (i. e. prayer); *dey clear*, day clear, (mid-day).

Walter Gribbert's *Wedding* is one of the best productions in the modern Frisian tongue. It was first printed in 1712, under the following title:—*Waatzje Gribberts Briloff; dat is acht aerdtige en geneuglycke Uitkomsten: vertoonende den slechten Boeren aerd, plompe zeeden, ende drollige reden: seer Geneuchlyck en vermaeckelyk om te lesen: in 't platte Friesch:—gedruwckt midden ynne wraad.*† It is a comedy, translated from the Westphalian idiom. Wassenbergh published an edition of it; he wrote a valuable preface, but he was not aware of its origin.

Jan Althuysen published a volume of very dolorous rhymings, in 1755. He completed some of the unfinished Psalms of Gysbert Japicx. The book is entitled “*Friesche Rymlery: Lionwerd*, (Leeuwarden), 1755. It is as heavy, though not quite so bombastic as Sir Richard Blackmore. No human patience can tolerate his dull meanderings.

* The word *bead* originally meant prayer—to tell his beads, to say his prayers—which, as is well known, were reckoned by the beads of the rosary.

† Walter Gribbert's *Wedding*; that is, eight pleasant and pretty scenes, (entrances), showing the way of the low boors, their clownish manners and comical sayings—very agreeable and pleasurable to read. In low Fries. Printed in the midst of the world.

The language has undergone considerable changes since the time of Japicx. The Dutch is gradually making inroads on it, and in a few generations will probably overwhelm it. It is not used any where for the purposes of instruction, whether scholastic or predicatorial: and though the Frieslanders of the open country still employ it, they only do so in the absence of strangers, and seem to attach to it notions of inferiority, which can have had their origin only in the contempt with which those who have not understood it have been accustomed to treat it. The circle of those that speak it becomes more and more narrow. The old families which, a generation or two ago, made it a point of pride, of duty, and of nationality, to employ it, have ceased to do so; and the language must be considered as quietly passing away, as the ancient British language decayed and was extinguished in Cornwall, three or four generations ago.

An attractive part of the Frisian literature is their proverbs, both as illustrative of their manners and conservatory of their language. We have, independently of various small printed collections, seen several MS. volumes, consisting of many thousand words still employed by the peasantry, or, as they are called, the *Boere Fries*. We shall give some of them, with translations and explanations when necessary. They will hardly be deemed unworthy of preservation.

Amme brea is swieter az memme koeke. Nurse's bread is sweeter than mother's cake. A warning to mothers who do not nurse their children, that the affections of the infant will be transferred to those who have the care of them.

Ayn wera, macket Hera. A proverb of great antiquity, which may be rendered, Own land makes grand—betokening that family honour is represented by being lords of the soil.

Az dy bergen kealje, dan donset it wetter. When the mountains bring forth the waters dance—i. e. One great event is followed by another.

Az di moane fol iz shynt dy oeral. When the moon is full, it shines over all.

Az ick wist dat myn himbd it wist dan offere ick it oon't fjoer op. If I knew that my shirt knew it I would offer it to the fire; i. e. If my secret were known even to my own shirt I would burn it.

Az wy di buwter op it lan finne, dan binne dy tyennen betjoend. When we find butter upon the land, the churns are bewitched.

Boette des wedeles worp xxi molles foeta. Beyond the profane heap (of ground) twenty-one feet of mould. This proverb records the ancient Frisian law, that there should be a free path to the village church, of not less than twenty-one feet wide.

" *'Brittenkrused jaget di tonger ta de door wot.* British plant (*Lapathum aquaticum*) drives the thunder out through the door. Scheltema (P. C.) says, that in some parts of Friesland he has seen this vegetable hung upon the balconies as a preservative against thunder.*

Cam heat mey Noach ynne arcke weast. Cam was with Noah in the ark. The Cammingas are of the oldest families of Friesland, and call themselves descendants of the Camga, who are said to have visited Rome in Nero's time.

There is a collection of Frisian proverbs by Jacob Henrik Hoeufft,† of Breda. His authority is not very great on matters of criticism, as he is not well acquainted with the language, and, as we have heard, has never visited the country. But he has gathered many curious matters together, and has sometimes ingenious annotations on his texts. We will extract a few proverbs from his pages. They will serve to exemplify the language in an instructive shape.

' Aad jold, aad hæ, aad bræ, stiel ien wol to stæ. Old gold, old bread, old hay, are well by one to stay.

Almans frioun is almans gick. All men's friend is all men's fool.

Deer de nuwt wol yte mot ze krecke. He who will eat the nut must crack it.

Eyn hirt is goud wurd. Own hearth is gold worth.

Hoe eeler bëm, hoe boeghsamer twiegh. The higher the tree (beam) the more flexible the branch (twig).

Kræckjende weijen doerje allerlangst. Creaking waggons endure the longest of all.

Lang festjen is nin bræ sperjen. Long fasting spares no bread.

Lyts to let, jolle to let. Little too late, all too late.

Mey lege hannen ist quæ haucken fæn. "With empty hands men may no hawkes lure."—CHAUCER.

Neste Boer sibste frioun as't kæl yne groppe leyt. The next door is the nearest friend when the calf lies in the pit; (*sib*, Scöttice.)

Nin ting mey'er hæst as fien to fæn. Nothing in haste except to catch fleas.

Ont de hicke is finne duam soo rint oural schiep en laam. If the gate is from the dam, so run o'er all (both) sheep and lamb, i. e. if the gate is removed the flock goes through.

'Des 't is attijð fet yn ien oormans schuyttel. 'Tis always fat in another man's platter.

* Versameling van Spreekwoorden, &c. door P. C. Scheltema. Franeker, 1826.

† Taalkundige Aanmerkingen op eenige oud Friesche Spreekwoorden. Breda, 1812.

'Tis *yn-onglik schil patten of aren afnyen, sey, de Faam.* 'Tis unfair choice—a kiss, or to lose one's ears, said the maid.

Wa de hynst krie wol, dy smyt him nê mey de tøm forre holle. He who would catch the horse does not smite him with the bridle on the head.

Wol begunn is hast spunn. Well begun is hastily spun.

Too late, we fear, to redeem what is most interesting in the philological history of Friesland, but still in time to rescue much from oblivion, a society has been formed at Franeker,* for the purpose of historical, antiquarian and lingual researches, and, as we trust, with good hopes of success. And we would venture to suggest to our Anglo-Saxon students, that they will be richly rewarded by devoting a portion of their attention to the Frisian writers, while we have reason to know that the Frisian Society is exceedingly desirous of the co-operation of all those who feel interested in the origin or history of any of the Scandinavian or Germanic dialects. The society has directed an almanack, in the manner of our annuals, to be published under its auspices. It has proposed various questions connected with the local history, some of which, and particularly those regarding the Danish irruptions, may serve to illustrate the cotemporaneous history of Great Britain; and it has instituted an inquiry into the present cultivation of Anglo-Saxon literature in England, and whether it can be made to produce a beneficial influence on the Frisian. It is greatly to be wished that a closer comparison should be made of the three kindred languages, the Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, and Frisian. Though many materials are wanting, some still remain, and the sooner they can be turned to account the better. We regret that Mr. Rask did not visit Friesland before he published his Grammar, as he travels no where without gathering knowledge, and never returns home without diffusing it.

Of the character of the Frisians it becomes us to say a few words. They have retained much of their ancient simplicity. Their nationality is remarkable. Between them the bonds of union seem exceedingly strong; and they live in a separate district of the Netherlands, alone as it were,—an united and a social people. They have a quiet and composed exterior, even more remarkably so than the Batavians, but their faces have a much greater resemblance to the people of England than to those of Holland. We were exceedingly struck at finding ourselves on one occasion surrounded by Frisian portraits, which, with

* The regulations of the Society are entitled "*Wetten van het provinciaal Friesch Genootschap ter Beoefening der Friesche Geschied-Ouheid en Taalkunde.*" The present President is Professor J. W. de Crane of Franeker.

very few exceptions, would have passed with a physiognomist for Anglo-Saxon countenances. They are, on the whole, less affable than the Dutch, more indifferent to the opinion of strangers,* uncomplimentary in their courtesies, not very accessible, but when a traveller is well introduced among them they are kindly but not profusely hospitable. They resemble the Dutch in appearing little interested in public events, but are very unlike their adventurous brethren (the Hollanders) in their rooted love of home, which the Frisian seldom abandons. Industrious and persevering both in their labours and in their affections, they generally accomplish what they undertake, and do not easily forget either the love or the hatred which has once taken possession of their mind. Their passions are of slow growth but permanent when developed. Their attachment to the study of natural philosophy, and especially to mathematics,† has been particularly noticed in them, by all who have attended closely to their character. Among them have appeared some astronomers of profound sagacity, and we have seen calculations of eclipses and of the returns of comets, made by the peasants, which were alike evidence of great patience and accurate knowledge. Some instances of it are so remarkable, and will so well serve to illustrate the structure of their minds, that we shall state a few particulars.

Among the most remarkable works of modern industry and ingenuity, is the Planetarium of Franeker. It has lately been purchased by the government for the use of the Athenæum. It was the work of Eise Eisinga, a woolcomber, born at Drourijp, in 1744, and lately dead at the age of 84. In 1774, communicating his thoughts to no one, he began to fabricate that complex and beautiful machine, which represents the motions, and records the astronomical changes of the solar system. Hidden from all eyes—deprived of all encouragement—he completed a work which has been the object and the admiration of all who have seen its correct and quiet imitation of the grander movements of the spheres. This extraordinary piece of mechanism induced Professor Van Swinden to devote an octavo volume to

* The expression might perhaps have been stronger. Even towards their Dutch neighbours they have no feeling of strong sympathy. One of their oldest proverbs attributes all sorts of suffering to their communications with Holland :

De Leydsche lape
In Haarlemmer tape,
In Schiere iel,
Bringt Friesland yn 't wiel.

Leyden cloth, and Haarlem tap (drink), and Schiere eel, bring Friesland into a well.

† Consult C. Ekama, *Oratio de Frisia Inferiorum Mathematicorum imprimis fertilis*. Leovardim, 1809.

its description,* in which he establishes a comparison between the Planetaria of Roemer, Huygens, Desaguliers, and Wright, and gives a detailed account of its operations and its machinery.

Scarcely less distinguished than Eisinga was Arjen Roelof Roelofs, a Frisian boor, the constructor of the two largest telescopes in the Netherlands. He is lately dead, after writing many valuable works on astronomy, hydraulics, and many of the branches of natural philosophy. Nor can we forget a peasant, Peyma, who is still living, whose volume upon the Sea-Dykes of Holland,† the most wonderful of all the national works of the Netherlands, merits great attention, and have been honourably mentioned in the Governor's Speech to the States of the present year.

How and when the old language of Friesland was lost in the neighbouring province of Groningen is a question we cannot answer. It seems to have been extinguished by sudden death—there is no quiet, gradual blending of the old Fries with the Low Dutch dialect now spoken there. The speech of the present day is by no means the descendant of that which preceded it, though many words are preserved of Frisian origin. There are two works, lately published, which may be consulted on the subject. One is the prize essay of M. T. S. Swagman (Groningen, 1827) in answer to the question proposed by the Academy of Groningen, on the affinities and influences of the Belgian, German, English and Scandinavian tongues on the dialect of that province;‡ and the other the specimens given for the better understanding of the Groningen dialect, by M. T. Laurman (Groningen, 1822).§

* *Beschrijving door I. H. van Swinden van een Kunststuk verbeeldende een wolledig bewegelijk Hemelsgestel uitgedacht en vervaardigd door Eise Eisinga.* Franeker, 1824. i. e. I. H. van Swinden's Description of a work of art, showing the complete movement of the Heavenly spheres, conceived and completed by Eise Eisinga.

† *Verhandeling over de beste wijze van aanleggen van Zeedijken en de hervorming derselve bijzonder met betrekking tot die der provincie Friesland—door W. van Peyma, Landbouwer te Ternaard, &c.* Franeker, 1827.

‡ It is in truth very nearly Dutch: but we give a short example in a not unamusing epitaph:

Hier liet *Her* Jan Macarius,
Was publicus notarius,
Mar *seine* leive Sophey,
Was noch publicker *as* hey.
Here lies John Macarius—he
Was a public notary,
And his wife Sophia, she
Was more public *e'en* than he.

§ *Proeve van kleine taalkundige Bijdragen tot beter kennis van den Tongval in de Provincie Groningen, door M. T. Laurman, Predikant to Westerbroek.* There is a little pamphlet, "*De Postwagen*," which contains specimens of the dialects of Friesland and Groningen, and of the two varieties of their capitals, Leeuwarden and Groningen. See also *Schuitpraatjes in Groningerland grootendeels in den Groninger Tongval.* Groningen, 1827.

Of the living writers of Friesland there are one or two whom we cannot pass over without particular notice. R. Posthumus, a village minister of Waaxens, is the author of the *Priuwcke fen Friesche Rymmereley*—Grinz, (Groningen,) 1824. He has also been engaged in a translation of Shakspeare's plays, some of which we have seen, and deem them to be among the most faithful versions which have ever been produced. The rhythmus is throughout preserved, and the rendering so close and verbal, as to fit it for a text book of the language. Posthumus is a man more likely than any man we are acquainted with to redeem the Frisian tongue. We give—it will serve to show the present state of the language, and as a comparison too with the Low Dutch—the last verses of his translation of Borger's (himself a Frieslander) beautiful verses to the Rhine.

ORIGINAL.

Noem' hij dese earde een hof van Eden,
Wie altijd mogt op rozen gaan;
Ik wensch geen' stap terug te treden
Op de afgelegde levensbaan.
Ik reken ieder' dag gewonnen,
Met moeite en tranen doorgesloofd.
God dank, mij draaiden boven 't hoofd.
Reeds meer dan vijf en dertig zonnen!
De tijd rolt, als dees bergstroom, voort.
Druk sucht mijn dooden, lijkgesteentel
En dek ook eerlang mijn gebeente,
Bij 't overschot, dat mij behoort.

FRISIAN.

Neam hij dizze ijerde hymmel-slig,
Wae stees oon mocht op rozen gean:
Ick 'bin to nin oerbeck-tred willig
Op mijn aef-leijnne libbens-bean.
Ick rekenje' elcke deij is bianen,
Trog-sloave moeijte'-in triennen-fol.
God tanck, mij draeijden' oerre holl'
Al meer den fjf in trjttig snnen!
De tijd hâdt as disz' berg-stream feart.
Druwck seaft, mijn deaden, ij grâf stiente!
In deekje' ijn 't kirt eack mijn kâd biente
Bij 't jinge' oer-sjiet in mij to heart.*

There are three brothers, the Halbersmas, a minister, doctor, and merchant, who have all done good service to the young literature of Friesland. Under the pseudonyme of Gabe Skroor, they printed not long ago, a little work entitled *De Lape Koer*, which is an excellent specimen of the now-spoken language, though the orthography sometimes appears capricious, and not suited to the derivations of many of the words. Justus Halbersma, of Deventer, is an excellent philologist, whose labors will undoubtedly unravel many etymological difficulties. He is, we are much pleased to know and to report, engaged on a Frisian Dictionary, which will be a work of great value and importance to all interested in the

* Call earth an Eden, joyous-hearted!

Whose path-way smiles with rosy flowers;

No step, not one, of all departed,

Would I retrace of vanished hours.

My days are blest, returning never,

For every day is drenched in tears,

Thank heaven, that five-and-thirty years

Are with their sorrows fled for ever.

Time rolls, as rolls this mountain-tide,

Press lightly, tomb! my lov'd ones over,

And soon my wearied ruins cover,

Fallen, and reposing by their side.

study of the ancient English tongue. In etymological knowledge, we are compelled to allow that most of our dictionary makers are sadly deficient, and the Frisian dialects will afford much matter for the thorough understanding of many antiquated words or forms. We give a short translation of an ode of E. Halbersma, beginning—

Forjit mij net az bolle wijtjes waaije
 In ik oon 't roer mijn sankje sjong :
 Az kroese weagen 't gledde schip omaaije,
 Forjit mij net !

THE SAILOR'S SONG.

Forget me not, when midst the winds' careering,
 I pour my song of tenderness to thee,
 When o'er the waves my joyous bark is steering,
 Forget not me !

Forget me not, when million stars are beaming,
 And the fair moon is shining tranquilly,
 In thought's sweet visions when thy heart is dreaming,
 Forget not me !

Forget me not, when all those stars are melting
 In the morn's light—and the sun's rays we see,
 Where late night's lamps the firmament were belting,
 Forget not me !

Forget me not, when the storm-spirits waking,
 Make war on man, and tempests furiously
 Pillars of earth and dome of heaven are shaking,
 Forget not me !

Forget me not, when into fury dashing,
 The swarthy billows furrow the deep sea,
 When all the elements are fiercely clashing,
 Forget not me !

Forget me not, in twilight—morn or even,
 When on the waves the stars sink smilingly ;—
 I think of thee—as saints converse with heaven,
 Forget not me !

A schoolmaster at Wons, (Salverda) gave out in 1824, a small collection of Frisian poetry, entitled *Ytlike Friesche Rymcken*. There are also written by him, sundry small compositions in the Frisian almanacks, the style and language of which are pure and flowing. Some other specimens of the modern Frisian poetry exist also in an octavo collection of poems, entitled *Proeve van Dichterlijke Mengelingen*, (Zaandam, 1822,) written by a Frisian lady (Miss Van Assen,) and P. Deketh, a member of the Literary Society at Franeker, of which we have spoken.

For those who want information as to the statistics of Friesland, we know of no better work than that semi-official one en-

titled *De Tegenwoordige Staat van Friesland*. (The Present State of Friesland.)

Connected with Friesland are many inquiries which we are wholly unable to answer. Were the languages of East and West Friesland identical? When was the Frisian tongue superseded, and how, in Groninger-land,—which, placed as it is in the centre of ancient Frisia, would seem to be peculiarly well situated for the preservation of the tongue? We have seen documents in Frisian of the fifteenth century, written in Groningen; but there are also those of an anterior date in Dutch. The most complete obscurity hangs over the history of Friesland for many centuries. It would scarcely seem credible that the date of an event so important as the formation of the Zuyder Zee cannot be defined.*

But rest we here. If what we have said has little attraction for the general readers, we would fain hope it will encourage some few inquiring students to go more deliberately over the ground which we have just passed through. We have sought in our progress to deposit from stage to stage materials which the philosophic philologist may possibly turn to some good account.

We should have been glad to have spoken more at length on the peculiarities of the Frisian people, and to have recorded in minuter details, the impressions we have received of their simplicity, urbanity, and hospitality, to have spoken of the inhabitants of Hindelopen and Molquerum, retaining the dress and manners of a very remote antiquity, to have accompanied the peasant to his *boere plaats*, and the *grietman* to his *Hof*, but space fails us.

ART. X.—*Reise Sr. Hoheit Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen Weimar Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826*. (Travels of his Highness Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar Eisenach, in North America, in the years 1825 and 1826.) Weimar, 1828. 2 vols. 8vo.

DUKE BERNARD of Saxe-Weimar is the youngest son of the late Grand Duke, and, as we collect from some incidental statements, about thirty-six years of age. Like the cadets of many other noble and princely Houses in Germany, he has found it necessary to seek employment in foreign service, and he has been, we observe, lately appointed Governor of the Dutch East India possessions. Few Europeans visit the United States for pleasure, and it may, we think, be regarded as a symptom of coming change when young German nobles, educated amidst feudalism and military parade, cross the Atlantic to study the

* We are glad to announce that Jacobus Schellema of Utrecht is engaged in writing a history of the Zuyder Zee.—It cannot be in better hands.

institutions of the American democracy. Hitherto, from a very natural prejudice, which induces men to venerate whatever is ancient, the course of travelling has generally run counter to the course of improvement, and new and advancing nations have sent out crowds of travellers to old and declining ones, from which they have received few visitors in return. Greece sent multitudes of travellers to Egypt, while Egypt sent none to Greece; though in the exchange of arts and knowledge, the latter country had beyond comparison most to gain. At this day a hundred Englishmen visit Italy for one Italian who visits England; and yet if social improvement were the object of travelling, an Italian has much more to learn in England, than an Englishman in Italy. On this ground we commend the good sense of Duke Bernard, in turning his steps to the United States. If the country is not rich in curious antiquities or splendid monuments, it presents what is much more worthy of study, especially to statesmen, a social system novel in its character in many respects, and which, whether good or bad in the abstract, has been productive of a more rapid developement of intelligence and industry than has ever before been witnessed in the world. The family to which Duke Bernard belongs, is distinguished for its political liberality; and we find in the volume before us many proofs that the course of his education and reading had made him feel no small interest in the history and institutions of the North American republic. If we might hazard a conjecture, we would say, that he was probably smitten in his early youth with that political enthusiasm which is so prevalent among the young men attending the German Universities, and that this was the source of the desire he felt to visit the United States. As the servant, however, of a foreign prince, and kinsman to several royal families, he could not prudently avow very liberal sentiments, supposing he entertained them; and he is accordingly extremely reserved upon political subjects, though with some trifling exceptions he was highly pleased with the people and the country. The book is in the form of a journal, and consists merely of the notes he took from day to day while travelling, printed almost without alteration. He has little power as a writer, and as he seems to have had no special object of inquiry and research, and is very sparing of general remarks and reflections, the work neither conveys much new information, nor possesses any great interest for general readers. In Germany, however, where books of the kind are less numerous than with us, it will probably be much read. He visited every thing deemed curious, but the objects to which he paid most attention were the military establishments, the forts and arsenals, the prisons, and the humane and charitable insti-

tutions. He records faithfully, and often at the expense of being tedious, all the visits he made or received. We cannot say that he presents us with many new traits of American society, but these details of his daily intercourse with the people give us a very favourable impression of his personal character. Apparently he carried none of the pride of birth with him, but associated with the republicans as a well-bred, good-humoured gentleman would do, without reserve or ostentation, neither making use of his rank to obtrude himself upon any one, nor to repel the familiarity which is permitted by the manners of the people. As we have no room for long extracts, and the book scarcely affords any materials for speculation, we shall merely select a few facts or anecdotes from his numerous details. We ought to premise, that he spent one year in the country, and visited all the great sections of the Union, including the extreme Southern and Western states.

In the Northern States nothing seems to have struck him with so much astonishment as the great number of churches, and the rigorous observance of the sabbath. He repeatedly remarks that he had nowhere seen religion engross so much attention, and yet it is to be observed, that his fixed residence had been for some time in the Netherlands, the most religious corner of Catholic Europe; and that before he went to America he spent two months in England, which many consider as the strong-hold of Protestantism. At Boston, where he landed, two things surprised him—the personal attention paid to himself by republicans, among whom he thought, very simply, that his title and parentage would pass for nothing; and the interior elegance and luxury of the houses, which he thought was not equalled even in England. He visited the old president Adams, then in his 90th year, and expresses the high delight he felt in embracing one of the founders of American independence. He remarks, that the early settlers had denuded the populous parts of the country so completely of wood, that it is now necessary to plant poplars and other trees of quick growth for ornament. He was pleased to find that in New England women are educated with so much care that they are even taught Greek and Latin, and as he expresses it, are thus qualified to talk of other things besides fashions and local occurrences. We wish he had shown us how a woman's mind is to be improved by a smattering of two languages, the full possession of which would scarcely open up to her a single source of information which could benefit a female, or ought to interest her. The fact shows, that in New England pedantry prevails over good sense in the business of education. At Utica, in the State of New York, he first becomes fully aware

of the amazing strides with which civilization is advancing in the new settlements. In 1794, a single alehouse marked the spot now occupied by this town, which contains 4,000 inhabitants, four churches, two banks, an academy, a printing establishment, several bookshops, and three large hotels, one of which has beds for seventy strangers, and is generally full. Rochester affords a still more striking example of the creations which spring from industry united with freedom. This place which had no existence in 1812, now contains 4,000 inhabitants, one bank, and four churches. At Oneida he met with the first Indian settlement, "and here," says he, with much naiveté, "I thought myself in *civilized Europe*, for a crowd of children followed the coach begging, a spectacle I had not hitherto witnessed in the United States." After visiting Niagara Falls, our traveller made an excursion into Canada, where he thought the appearance of the villages poorer, and the march of improvement much less rapid than in the United States. At Quebec, he found party dissensions running high, and makes the remark, that Lord Dalhousie, according to report, had by his haughty and arbitrary conduct estranged the hearts of the people from the government, and greatly strengthened the opposition in the colonial parliament.

The second volume, which describes Duke Bernard's journey through the Southern and Western states, is the most interesting part of the work, as some of the districts he passed through have been but rarely visited by travellers. At every step in his progress new proofs presented themselves of the evils entailed on the Southern states by the existence of slavery, and of their great inferiority compared with the Northern, in knowledge, the arts, and the spirit of improvement. At Charleston, he found that precautions were taken every night to keep down the negroes, such as are only resorted to elsewhere in a town besieged by an enemy. In the prison, the use of the treadmill has almost supplanted the whip, to the great dissatisfaction of the negroes, who consider the latter as by far the lighter instrument of correction. The Georgians, he thinks, deserve the bad character they bear in the United States. He found a sinister expression of countenance common, such as the traveller observes in Italy; and all the inhabitants have the pale complexion which bespeaks an unhealthy climate. At Sparta, in this state, instead of meeting with Lacedemonian sobriety, he was annoyed by the insolence and drunkenness of one Irishman, who drove the stage coach, and the ferocity of another, who made an unsuccessful attempt to rob the Duke's fellow-traveller in a tavern, and dropped a dagger as he retired. The Irish, he says, are spreading like a pestilence over the United States, (*wie eine böse Krankheit verbreitet*;) and are despised even by the Georgians.

Similar statements are repeated in other parts of the book; and at New Orleans, where the people are proverbially lax in their manners, Irishmen are considered too disorderly even to be taken as soldiers. Such is Duke Bernard's report as to the reputation which our brethren of the Emerald Isle possess in America; and it affords a presumption in favour of his impartiality, that he confesses his countrymen, the Germans, rank next to the Irish in rudeness, and scarcely enjoy a better character. The Americans however are violently national, and it is possible that in their communications with foreigners they screen themselves, by blaming the Irish for outrages they never committed. In the state of Alabama our traveller passed through a district inhabited by the Creeks, the most civilized of all the Indian tribes. These Indians have made considerable progress in agriculture and the mechanic arts. Many of them keep slaves, and one chief, whose residence the Duke visited, had no less than 300 negroes. At Cahawba, the chief town of Alabama, he found the Legislature in Session, and the senators, in consequence of the poverty of the place, living entirely on salt pork, and sleeping three a-bed! The celebrated colony formed in this district after Napoleon's overthrow, by a number of expatriated Frenchmen, who got a grant of land from the American Government, on a promise to cultivate the vine and the olive, has been entirely broken up and abandoned.

The Duke spent several weeks in New Orleans, and relates many interesting particulars illustrative of the degraded state of the coloured population in that town. The child of a white man and a mulatto woman is called a *mestize*; and the child of a white man and a mestiza a *quartermoon*. The latter race differs very little in complexion from the native Americans; but though they are not slaves, such is the taint which the smallest drop of black blood is supposed to carry with it, that the law regards the two races as entirely distinct. Many of the female quartermoons are beautiful, well educated, and superior in their manners and appearance to the white females. Their charms and accomplishments, however, render the latter only so much the more jealous of their influence. By law they are prohibited from marrying with the whites; they are not allowed to travel in the street in a coach by day-light; they dare not come into a chamber or public room where a white woman is, nor sit down in her presence, without her permission; and if convicted, on the testimony of two witnesses, of any breach of the rules, they are punished in the same manner as the slaves. Some of the quartermoon girls are sent to Europe by their fathers, where their manners and the portions they carry with them, enable them to form respectable matches; but their fate in New Orleans generally is to live as mistresses to

white men; and in this capacity, our traveller says that they conduct themselves with a degree of fidelity, modesty and propriety which the married females of the privileged race do not always exhibit. The castes of India are not divided by a stronger line of demarcation than these two classes, between whom nature has scarcely established any distinction. He witnessed much drunkenness in New Orleans, and learned that dinner parties and balls often end in bloody frays, where the parties fight with daggers as well as fists. The Duke was present for a few minutes at a masked ball which terminated in this way, and where twenty persons received wounds.

From New Orleans our traveller ascended the Mississippi by a steam-boat, and after spending a few days at St. Louis, proceeded to New Harmony, where he remained a week or more with Mr. Owen. He has given a very detailed account of that establishment, which even then (April, 1826,) exhibited many symptoms of dissolution. The attempt to make persons associate on a footing of equality, whose manners and education were extremely different, produced disgust and mutual aversion, and was found to be impracticable. Many, too, who were friends to the system, were shocked at the Sunday balls, and the entire neglect of religion. Ludicrous circumstances sometimes arose from the menial offices imposed on persons who had been brought up in fashionable idleness. The Duke mentions a Miss Virginia D. from Philadelphia, who was playing on the piano-forte and singing beautifully, in his presence, when a message came, announcing that the cows were waiting, and that it was her turn to milk them. She went away, says the Duke, almost weeping, execrating the new social system, with the much-lauded equality; and to add to her vexation, one of the cows trod upon her, and another disfigured her clothes! In the course of his journey the Duke visited all the principal German settlements in the United States. He found their language much corrupted, and he admits that they are far behind the Anglo-Americans in intelligence and enterprise. They are, however, an industrious and thriving people, and they are numerous enough to support twelve German Journals.

Our traveller was upon the whole much pleased with America, and expresses his intention to pay it a second visit at some future period.

ART. XI.—*Pétition des Propriétaires de Vignes du Département de la Gironde; adressée aux Chambres, et Memoire à l'Appui.* pp. 10 et 75. Bordeaux. 1828.

THESE are very important documents, and well deserve the attention not of the French only, but also of the English. Besides throwing a great deal of light on the condition of one of the most important branches of industry carried on amongst our neighbours, they show the baleful consequences that have resulted from some of those prohibitory regulations enacted by the French government since the Restoration, that have been the subject of much ignorant eulogy on both sides of the Channel. In this point of view, indeed, the Petition and Memoire before us are quite invaluable. They are subscribed by no fewer than 12,563 individuals; comprising a very large proportion of the most opulent landholders and cultivators of the department of the Gironde, and several of the principal merchants of Bordeaux. The petitioners hardly ever indulge in theoretical speculations. They confine themselves, in most instances, to a plain, and, we believe, an unimpeachable statement of facts. Certainly, however, nothing has been published that sets the utter worthlessness of the prohibitory system in a clearer point of view; or which more strikingly demonstrates, that whatever advantages it may confer on one or more branches of industry, must be obtained by the infliction of an equal or greater loss on others, that are naturally more advantageous. This principle has, it is true, been already repeatedly demonstrated, but it has seldom been enforced by practical men; and it very rarely happens that we are able to appeal to such convincing and irrefragable proofs of its operation, as those accumulated in the papers before us.

It would be a waste of time to attempt to prove by argument, the advantages resulting to France from the cultivation of the vine: it seems as congenial to her soil as the sugar-cane to that of Jamaica, or the tea-plant to that of China. The superiority of most species of her wines is universally admitted—they are everywhere in demand; and such is the nature of the soil in many parts of the south of France, that while it is admirably fitted for the growth of the vine, it could not be profitably applied to any other purpose. Under such circumstances, it can excite no surprise that its culture should have widely extended itself throughout the Southern departments. It is estimated by the most competent authorities, that the quantity of wine annually produced in the kingdom, amounts, at an average, to about forty millions of hectolitres, or 1,060 millions of gallons; that its value cannot be less than from 800 to 1,000 millions of francs, or from 32 to 40

millions sterling; and that upwards of **THREE MILLIONS** of individuals are employed in its production.* In the department of the Gironde, the population of which, exclusive of the great commercial city of Bordeaux, amounts to 432,839, no fewer than 226,000 individuals are supposed to be directly engaged in the cultivation of the vine. Here, then, is a branch of industry naturally fitted to the soil and climate of France, and in which, indeed, she is quite unrivalled: a branch of industry, too, which even now affords employment for about a *tenth part* of her entire population, at the same time that it is susceptible of indefinite extension; affording an article of export to foreign countries in constant demand, and sufficient, almost by itself, to balance the largest importations that could be made under the freest commercial system.

From the earliest period there has been a very great exportation of wine from France, and particularly from Bordeaux. During the five years ending with 1725, the value of the wine, brandy, and vinegar, exported from France, was estimated to amount, at an average, to 26,767,500 francs a year. In 1778, during the American war, the value of the exports of the same articles was estimated at 29,029,631 francs. The consumption of French wines rapidly increased in this country in the years immediately subsequent to 1784, when Mr. Pitt, by a wise and politic measure, greatly reduced the duties with which they had previously been charged; and the demand for them was also considerably increased in Russia and other countries in the north of Europe, as well as in America. Large additions were, in consequence, made to the quantity exported; and it appears, from the *official* returns, that the value of the wines sent from France to foreign countries, on an average of the three years ending with 1790, amounted to 32,368,500 francs, and that of the brandies, vinegar, &c. to 18,627,600 francs, making together nearly fifty-one millions of francs, or above *two* millions sterling, being an increase of about twenty-two millions of francs, or nearly 900,000*l.* sterling, upon the quantity exported in 1778. It is of importance, too, to observe that this great increase of exportation had been wholly occasioned by the extended and more careful cultivation of the vine in France, and by the growing taste for French wines in other countries, more especially in Great Britain and those bordering on the Baltic. It was not the result of custom-house regulations, bounties, or drawbacks. On the contrary, we are told by M.

* These estimates are founded on statements in the *Memoire*, p. 62, and *passim*. They differ in some few respects from those given at page 365 of this Number; but in so far as the questions under discussion are involved, these differences are of no importance whatever.

Chaptal, the accuracy of whose information cannot be questioned, in his work entitled the *Parfait Vigneron*, that the produce of the duties on wine exported to foreign countries, amounted, before the Revolution, to 2,500,000 francs a year.

Bordeaux enjoyed a very large share of this extensive commerce. Of the total exports of wine, brandy, &c. from France in 1778, amounting, as we have already seen, to the value of 29,029,631 francs, those from Bordeaux alone were valued at 17,037,189 francs. The commerce of Bordeaux increased proportionally to the general increase of the wine trade previously to the Revolution. At that epoch, it is stated in the *Memoire* before us, (p. 5,) that from 1,200 to 1,400 vessels, belonging to the different Northern states, annually entered Bordeaux. They imported the different products of their soil and industry, carrying back with them 100,000 tons of wine, 10,000 pieces of brandy, 5,000 tons of vinegar, besides a large quantity of silk goods and other products, as well of France as of her colonies, amounting in all to about 300,000 tons. It seldom happened that there were under 100 sail of foreign shipping in the river, and during the fairs their numbers usually increased to 500 sail.

"Thus," say the petitioners, "the department of the Gironde, which would have been almost nothing without the culture of the vine, was enabled by its means, to make its natural sterility give place to an extraordinary fertility; to acquire a large territorial value; to employ and support a numerous population; to create one of the first cities of the kingdom, and one of the first ports of the world; to establish, upon that single branch of industry, a number of commercial houses, and to bring into activity a still greater number of commercial agents; to attract to Bordeaux a crowd of strangers, and almost all the flags of the world; to open, in this way, a large and constant field for almost all sorts of commercial transactions; and to carry on a very important share, indeed, of the total foreign commerce of France."

Such was the flourishing state of the commerce of Bordeaux, and consequently of the foreign wine trade of France, previously to the Revolution. That great catastrophe, by precipitating France into a lengthened and bloody contest, in which her warlike and commercial marine was almost wholly destroyed, occasioned a very great decline in the intercourse with other countries she had previously carried on by sea. This, however, was partially compensated by the great extension of France under Napoleon, which opened the markets of Belgium, Italy and best part of Germany, to the products of France, without duties or obstructions of any sort. When, at the restoration of peace, France was reduced within the limits she had occupied in 1789, her products no longer found a free vent in the countries now

referred to, being either prohibited or loaded with duties. But what she had lost in this way, might have been more than made up by the renewed intercourse with those states whose vessels had formerly crowded her ports, and carried away so large a quantity of her produce. This intercourse was not, however, allowed to take place, and singular as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that it was not put a stop to by the interference of other powers, but by the French themselves. France had neither a Huskisson nor a Grant in her councils; she has long been, and we are afraid still is, under the guidance of the mercantile school. Napoleon and Louis—ultras and liberals—seem to have agreed in this only, that the best way to promote industry in France was to exclude, as far as possible, all foreign produce from her markets. The prohibitory system has in consequence been carried to an extreme extent; and we may read, in the results it has had in France, what would have been *our* fate, had we obstinately persevered in a similar course, and not wisely adopted a more enlarged and liberal system of policy.

During the war, and the interruption to foreign commerce which it occasioned, several branches of industry grew up in France, or were considerably extended, for the successful prosecution of which she is not, under ordinary circumstances, any-wise fitted. Of these the iron trade may be specified as one. The extraordinary demand for warlike instruments, occasioned by the war, gave a powerful stimulus to this trade; and when peace was restored, those engaged in it were necessarily involved in considerable difficulties. But these, how severe soever they might be in the first instance, were not of a sort that could have continued for any considerable period. Had no adventitious principle been interposed, the manufacturers would gradually have changed their business, and instead of producing cannons and muskets, would have learned to produce those improved agricultural and manufacturing instruments that were either unknown in France, or obtained only from the foreigner. But matters were not allowed thus to adjust themselves. The iron masters represented to government that they were in a state of extreme distress, and that this distress was occasioned by the importation of foreign iron, and not by the transition from war to peace. The government lent a credulous and too favourable ear to these representations; though there are no grounds for supposing, that in doing so it imagined it was adopting a line of conduct that would have an injurious influence on the commerce or industry of the country, which, there can be no doubt, it was anxious to promote. But being ignorant of the nature of commerce, it was led to believe that impossibilities might be reconciled, that is, that the exports

tion of French products to foreign countries might be increased, notwithstanding additional obstacles were thrown in the way of the importation of foreign products into France. In consequence, the duty on foreign iron, which had continued at two francs 20 centimes the kilogramme from 1790, was raised, in 1814, to 15 francs. This, however, was not enough. In 1822, the iron masters represented that this enormous increase of duty was insufficient for their protection; and, in compliance with their wishes, the duties were again raised from 15 to 25 francs the kilogramme, being in all an increase of 136 per cent. on the duty eight years before!

The linen manufacture, like the iron trade, made a considerable progress in France during the latter part of the war, and particularly during the continuance of the continental system. At its close the manufacturers, like the iron masters, were involved in difficulties, and government having stepped forward to their assistance, imposed prohibitory duties on most sorts of foreign linen. A variety of other branches of industry have been treated in a similar manner.

Had the enemies of France set about concerting measures to depress her commercial industry, they could hardly have hit upon any better calculated to attain their object than those now referred to. Not only were they opposed to every sound principle, but they sacrificed the interests of the vast majority of the people to those of a mere handful of speculators. It should be observed, too, as evincing how deeply the French ministry were imbued with all the prejudices of the prohibitory system, and how impervious it can render its votaries, though otherwise acute and intelligent, to the plainest and most convincing statements, that they adopted the measures in question in the teeth of the strongest representations. Petitions against them were sent from Bordeaux and other commercial cities, and from several agricultural districts, in which the injury they would infallibly occasion to the commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of France, was forcibly pointed out. The petitioners represented that all commerce was founded on a principle of reciprocity; that "it was mere delusion to attempt to sell to the foreigner without buying from him;"* that iron and linen were among the principal equivalents which the foreigners in the north of Europe had to give in exchange for French wines, brandies, silks, &c., of which they purchased so very largely; that it would of necessity follow, that by excluding these articles the trade with them would be proportionally diminished; and that a mortal blow

* *Memoire*, p. 12.

would thus be given, not to the commerce only, but to all the great branches of industry carried on in the kingdom. No answer was made to these representations, and for this plain reason, that none could be made. They failed, however, of making any impression upon the government, which has, with a steady perseverance that would have done honour to a better cause, gone on plunging still deeper and deeper into the mire and filth of restrictions and prohibitions, as if they were a copious source of wealth.

We are satisfied, however, that recourse will at no distant period be had to a more enlarged and liberal system. It is impossible indeed, that any government, and, though government were so disposed, it is impossible that any people can much longer tolerate a system which has already had, and must, while it is persevered in, continue to have, the most extensively ruinous consequences. Every statement made by the merchants and others in their petitions to the Chamber of Deputies in 1814, and since, has been more than verified. Peuchet, in his *Statistique Elementaire*, p. 138, confirms the statement already made on the authority of the Memoire before us, that previously to the Revolution the annual exportation of wine from Bordeaux amounted, at an average, to about 100,000 tons. But notwithstanding the greatly increased opulence, and growing taste for French wines in Russia, and other countries in the North of Europe; and notwithstanding the additional demand for them in America, and their increased consumption in this country since the reduction of the duties in 1824, such has been the influence of the prohibitory system, or of the exclusion from France of the principal equivalents that foreigners had to give in exchange for wines, that their export is now reduced to *less than a half* of what it amounted to previously to 1790.

The following is a statement of the exportation of wine from Bordeaux since 1820.

	Tons.		Tons.
1820	61,110	1824	39,625
1	63,244	5	46,314
2	39,955	6	48,464
3	51,529	7	54,492*

It is also stated, in the *Memoire* before us, (p. 33,) that a large proportion of these exports has been made on speculation; and that the markets of Russia, the Netherlands, Hamburg, &c. are

* It is singular how, with this statement before his eyes, M. de St. Cricq could affirm in the Chamber of Deputies in 1822, that the exports of wine from France at that period exceeded those in 1789.

at present glutted with French wines, for which there is no demand.

Some interesting statements are given in the *Memoire*, which show the falling off in the foreign demand more in detail. Thus, it is said, that Dantzic, which formerly drew from Bordeaux alone an annual supply of 6,000 tons of wine, brandy, &c., now only draws from that and all the other ports of France, 400 or 500 tons. The importation of French wine into Prussia has declined from 15,000 to 4,000 tons; and into Holland in about the same proportion. Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, formerly imported 40,000 tons, while they do not at present import more than 15,000. The imports into Sweden formerly amounted to 7,000 tons; but as their cost was wholly defrayed by the Swedish iron sent to France, they ceased entirely the moment it was excluded; so that only 100 tons are now imported for the consumption of the court! The imports into Denmark and Norway have been reduced from 5,000 tons to 1,000; and those into Russia, which has so vastly increased in wealth and population, have declined from 12,000 to 4,000 tons.

This extraordinary decline in the foreign demand has been accompanied by a corresponding glut of the home market, a heavy fall of prices, and the ruin of a great number of merchants and agriculturists. It is estimated that there were in April last, 600,000 tons of wine in the department of the Gironde, for which no outlet could be found; and the glut in other departments is said to have been proportionally great. When such is the case, we cannot wonder at the fall that has taken place in the price of vineyards, the great bulk of which has become quite unsaleable, and at the severe check given to agricultural industry throughout the whole south of France.

Such has been the injury inflicted by the prohibitory system on one of the most important branches of industry carried on in France. A branch that gave, as has been already seen, employment to a tenth part of the whole population of the kingdom, that afforded the principal equivalent by means of which France carried on an extensive and lucrative foreign commerce, and the entire value of whose annual produce has been moderately estimated at the immense sum of from 32 to 40 millions sterling. Let us now see what sort of advantages the restrictions imposed in 1814, and since, have produced, to counterbalance the widespread mischief and ruin they have entailed on the producers and dealers in wine.

The enormous duties laid on the importation of foreign iron in 1814 and 1822 have, as already remarked, been particularly injurious to the trade in wine. What then, it may be asked, was

the extent of the iron trade of France? Where were the Birminghams and Sheffields, whose representations induced her ministers to protect their interests by the adoption of measures inflicting a serious injury on a branch of industry on which no fewer than *three millions* of people were dependent? It would be about as much to the purpose to inquire in what part of Great Britain our vineyards are situated. Notwithstanding their monopoly of the home market, the whole number of persons engaged in the production and manufacture of iron throughout France, does not at present exceed from SEVENTY TO EIGHTY THOUSAND, being about *one fortieth part* of those engaged in the production and preparation of wine! Such is the pitiful extent of that branch of industry to which the French government has not scrupled to sacrifice the wine trade. Were our government to attempt to encourage the manufacture of watch seals at the expense and injury of the cotton trade, it would evince about an equal degree of good sense and discernment.

Nor is this all. It is certain, whatever M. Heron de Villefosse and M. Dupin may say to the contrary, that no degree of encouragement will ever be able to establish the iron trade of France on a solid foundation. It is a species of industry, for the prosecution of which she has neither any natural nor acquired advantage. The coal mines of France are very inferior to those of this country; and timber is there infinitely scarcer and dearer than in Russia or Sweden. She is, therefore, sacrificing, or, at least, materially injuring a great and important branch of industry, for the successful prosecution of which she has greater capabilities than any other country, that she may bolster up a trifling and wholly insignificant branch quite unsuitable for her. It is needless to allege that the quantity of bar iron produced in France is now about double what it was in 1820. What does this show? Does it prove that this extension is of any advantage to France? Far from it: all that it proves is, that the restrictive system has taken effect; that the prohibitory rampart is sufficiently strong to prevent the importation of foreign iron, and that the price of French iron is, in consequence, kept up to an artificial and oppressive height. Were this not the case, what would the iron-masters gain by the prohibition? But they are well aware, that were the duties reduced to the level at which they stood in 1814, or even to 10 francs the kilogramme, all those furnaces that have since been set in motion would instantly be extinguished.

The consequence of this miserable system is, that while the price of hardware in France is more than twice or three times what it is in England, the quality of most articles is in the last degree wretched. It is only, indeed, by bringing the home pro-

ducers into competition with foreigners that any art can ever be perfected; but from such competition the French hardware manufacturers are protected. How costly or clumsy soever may be the articles they produce, they are secured in their monopoly of the market. Invention being thus rendered of comparatively little use, routine usurps its place. A very well-informed writer in the *Revue Trimestrielle*, (No. II. p. 437,) nowise inclined to depreciate the industry of his countrymen, has stated that the form and construction of furnaces in France are such as to excite an emotion of pity; that they are speedily worn out and rendered useless: and do not, while working, yield one-third part of the iron that is yielded by an English furnace.

There is no single circumstance, perhaps, more opposed to the progress of agriculture and manufactures in France, than the high price and bad quality of the tools and machinery employed in them. An intelligent government, anxious to promote the improvement of industry, would have done everything in its power to remedy this fundamental deficiency. It would have exerted itself to remove every impediment to the importation and manufacture of the improved and cheaper instruments made use of in foreign countries; that its subjects might thus have the means of entering on something like equal terms with others, on the career of industry. But the government of France, true to the principles of the mercantile school, adopted a precisely opposite line of conduct. The consequences have been such as might have been foreseen from the beginning. The prohibitory duties on foreign iron and hardware have not only excluded the improved tools and machines of other countries from the markets of France, but have added enormously to the cost of the clumsy and ill-constructed implements produced at home. It is due to the iron masters to state, that they had the candour to admit that the duties laid on foreign iron in 1814 would add 50 francs, or 40 shillings, to the price of a plough! (*Memoire*, page 19.) And surely such an admission ought, had there been nothing else to urge against it, to have prevented government from making the smallest addition to the duties; whereas, instead of this, 10 francs per kilogramme were again added to them in 1822! To suppose that the manufactures of France can, under the operation of such a system, ever attain to a sound or healthy state, to a state that would enable them to withstand the free competition of foreigners for a single twelvemonth, is hardly less visionary than it would be to suppose that the cultivators of the Middle-Mark of Brandenburg or of Kent may succeed in raising claret to come into competition with Lafitte or Chateau-Margaux.

Even admitting that the prohibitory duties on the importation

of foreign iron and hardware into France were productive of no mischievous consequences to the cultivation of the vine or the foreign trade of the kingdom, still they would be in the last degree injurious, seeing that they oppose a formidable, or, rather we should say, an insuperable obstacle to the improvement of the agriculture and manufactures of the country. This, then, is not a case in which a prohibition intended to promote a particular branch of industry has merely been injurious to another equally important branch. When least noxious, every prohibition *must* have that effect. But in this instance the effort to give an artificial and unnatural encouragement to a perfectly insignificant business, has deeply injured the agriculture and manufactures, and paralyzed the commerce of an extensive kingdom.

The increase of the duties on linen, which took place in 1822, when they were made almost prohibitory, has been also in no ordinary degree prejudicial to the commerce of France, and particularly to the exportation of wine. Foreign linens had been chiefly imported from the Netherlands, Prussia, and Germany, and formed one of the principal equivalents they had to give in exchange for the wines, brandies, and silks of France; so that their exclusion necessarily caused that extraordinary decline in the exportation of wine to these countries, which has been already brought under the reader's notice. It is of importance too, to observe, that this prohibition was of no real advantage to the French linen manufacturers. The comparatively high price of their goods unfitted them from being applied to the same purposes as those of foreigners; and when the latter were excluded, the consumers endeavoured, as well as they could, to supply their place with cottons. It should also be observed, that this measure was indirectly hurtful to the trade of France. Her merchants had previously been accustomed to re-export large quantities of German and other foreign linens to the Peninsula, North and South America, the West Indies, &c.; but the prohibition put an end to this branch of commerce, and the ports of France ceased to be *entrepôts* for foreign linens: so that, on the whole, the imposition of the prohibitory duties in 1822, has deprived France of an extensive and valuable direct trade with Prussia, the Netherlands, and Germany, as well as of an extensive indirect trade with other countries, without having been productive of a single countervailing advantage.

In passing from the consideration of the external to that of the internal wine trade of France, with respect to which we shall now take the liberty to submit a few remarks, we are sorry to say that we are not passing from the consideration of a fettered and re-

stricted to that of a liberal and enlarged system. Had such been the case, considering the great extent of France, and the magnitude of her population, the restrictions laid on her intercourse with other countries would have appeared less galling and oppressive. But the state of the home trade presents no such alleviating circumstances: and whatever other complaints the wine merchants of Bordeaux, Nantes, Marseilles, &c. may make against government, they cannot justly accuse it of having placed them in a less favourable situation than the home traders. On the contrary, the condition of the latter seems, if possible, to be the worst of the two; and seeing the various oppressive fiscal and custom-house regulations, to which they are subjected, one would be almost tempted to think that government would be rather well pleased than otherwise if the internal wine trade were wholly suppressed.

John Bull is apt to suppose that he is the only individual who can with difficulty engage in any department of industry without subjecting himself to the *surveillance* of the excise. But his pre-eminence in this respect is by no means so well assured as he imagines. Our brewers and distillers are in a state of freedom compared with the wine growers of France. The moment the juice is pressed from the grape, it is subjected to the inspection of the revenue officers. It cannot be conveyed from one cellar to another, in the same establishment, without a warrant from an officer, and the payment of a duty; nor can it be made use of even by the growers on their estates, without paying a heavy duty. This, however, is the least evil. When wine is to be carried from one place to another, notice must be given to the excise. It then becomes liable to a duty on its departure; and before it can be admitted into any town containing more than 1500 inhabitants, it must pay a duty or *octroi* at the barrier. This duty increases according to the population of the town, and is very heavy at Bordeaux and other large towns, and quite oppressive at Paris. But fiscal rapacity does not stop even here:—for if the wine be imported into a town to be retailed, the retailers have not only to pay for a *patente* or permit, authorizing them to carry on their business, but the wine is subjected to a further duty of 15 per cent., calculated on its value after it has paid all the previous duties, including the *octroi*. “C’est ainsi,” say the memorialists, “que se créant à lui même un aliment, l’impôt trouve dans les énormes droits qu’il a perçus le moyen de percevoir de nouveaux droits encore, et que sa fiscalité se trouve entée sur sa fiscalité même.”—p. 37.

In proof of what has now been stated, we may mention that a ton of wine which has cost the producer 60 francs, exclusive of

the cask, would, if it were to be introduced into Bordeaux, be charged with a duty, inclusive of the *octroi*, of 97 francs, 79 centimes, or 161 per cent.; and if the same wine were to be introduced into Paris, it would have to pay a duty, inclusive of the *octroi*, of no less than 220 francs, or 366 per cent.!—p. 42.

It is not easy, we think, to conceive a more impolitic, absurd, or oppressive system. Not only are the duties exorbitant, as compared with the prime cost of the articles, but they are imposed in the most vexatious way, and are perpetually varying from one town to another; so that instead of one uniform rate of duty all over the kingdom, there are at least 100 different rates! Such a system of revenue requires the employment of a whole army of officers, and the endless multiplication of checks and penalties.

“Any neglect or delay,” to quote the language of the Memoir, “the slightest infraction, in short, of any of the regulations of this complicated system, compromises the proprietor and his wine. The exorbitancy of the duties produces fraud; hence the necessity of a vexatious surveillance insinuating itself into the very bosom of families. But no vigilance on the part of the officers can prevent fraud. It is easy indeed to see that this must be so; for as the duties amount, at an average, to about 200 per cent. of the value of the wine, the smuggler gains 100 per cent., even though he should be detected every other time.”

But the mischiefs of the system do not stop even here. Our readers, who have so often heard of the cheapness and excellence of wine in France, will, perhaps, be somewhat surprised to be told that it is quite as difficult to obtain genuine wine in Paris, and other great towns of France, as it is in London. But that such is the fact we learn from the unquestionable authority of the documents before us. Adulteration is quite in as thriving a way in France as in England. The memorialists state that the dealers in the interior demand only coarse and high-coloured wines, which they mix up with alcohol, logwood juice, oxyd of lead, &c.; and they calculate that not less than six millions of hectolitres, or 159 millions of gallons of this villainous compound are annually consumed in France, to the injury alike of the revenue, the health and morals of the people.

Hume has sagaciously remarked, that there is an extreme point of depression in human affairs, from which, when once attained, they naturally begin to ascend. We incline to think that this remark will be speedily exemplified in the case of the wine trade of France. The difficulties in which the cultivators and dealers are involved are so very great, and their numbers and influence so considerable, that we cannot doubt that some efforts will very shortly be made for their relief. We mentioned, in a previous Article, that a Commission had been appointed to inquire into the

internal and external trade of France; and it is known that the state of the wine-trade has occupied a large share of its attention. That many crude and ill-digested schemes for the relief of the growers and merchants will be proposed by those interested in the support of the present system, may be fairly presumed. But the documents before us show that the growers are thoroughly aware of the causes of the existing distress; and the conviction which their statements, and the experience of the last fourteen years, cannot fail to carry along with them, will, we trust, induce the commissioners to reject all quack nostrums, and to recommend those plain practical measures that can alone be successful. It is but reasonable to expect that the government will, now that the causes of the distress are so clearly established, retrace its steps; that it will, in the first place, make a large deduction from the duties laid on iron, linens, &c., so as to give foreigners the means of again entering the markets of France; and offering an equivalent for her wines, brandies, &c.; and, in the second place, that it will reduce the internal duties on wine; and exert itself to simplify and equalize their assessment. These are the only measures which it is possible to adopt, that will afford any real or permanent relief. Experience has proved that it is a contradiction and an absurdity to attempt to *sell* to foreigners, without at the same time consenting to *buy* from them; and it has farther shown, that an army of excise officers, backed by the utmost severity of revenue laws, is wholly ineffectual for the suppression of fraud and smuggling, so long as the duties remain too high.

That those engaged in the iron manufacture, and other branches of industry promoted by the prohibitory system, will suffer from its modification, is most true; but that is no reason why it should be persevered in. Commercial regulations are always understood, how different soever their effect may be, to have the public advantage for their object. If the iron masters and others could show that the prohibitory duties are not only beneficial to them, but that they are also beneficial, or at least not injurious to the public, they would be entitled to contend that they ought not to be repealed. But as it is impossible for them to show this, and as it has been established beyond all question that the operation of the duties is in the last degree mischievous to the public, what have they to allege against their repeal? Is a serious injury to be inflicted on the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of France, that a few iron masters and others may be bribed to linger on in employments naturally disadvantageous? Such a proposition cannot for a moment be listened to. Those who are protected by restrictions have a right to demand that they should not be suddenly repealed, that a reasonable time may be allowed them to withdraw from their present employments, or to prepare

to withstand the competition of foreigners under a system of moderate duties imposed for the sake of revenue only. This much they have a right to ask and ought to obtain; but if more be granted, the interests of the vast majority of the public, which must always thrive best under a free and liberal system, will be sacrificed to those of a small band of monopolists, living, not by means of their own industry, but at the expense of their neighbours.

Before concluding, we may be allowed to remark, that the Petition and Memoir before us afford one of the most satisfactory proofs that have come under our observation, of the progress of sound information in France. They are drawn up with great judgment. The circumstances which have occasioned the present wide-spread distress are skillfully developed, and the remedies that can alone be effectual to its cure are distinctly pointed out. The petitioners, who, it ought to be observed, are all *practical* men, abjure the miserable aid of bounties and prohibitions. They show that their distresses have originated in the restrictions laid on the importation of foreign products into France, and in over-taxation; and they consistently and earnestly demand that the former should be relaxed and the latter reduced. That they will be successful cannot for a moment be doubted: when practical men, when the agriculturists and merchants of a country join in stigmatizing the prohibitory system as a "deplorable error," as "a contradiction and an absurdity," its downfall cannot be very far distant.

TO OUR READERS.—We do not consider the battles of the goose-quill the most reputable mode of indulging the pugnacious spirit said to be natural to man; and shall, therefore,—until King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, make it the law of the land, that all critics must, upon pain of death, agree in their estimate of the merits of every author who comes before them,—take leave to decline maintaining our opinions *vi et armis*. Our proper business is to make the public acquainted with the present state of literature and science throughout Europe:—a task of sufficient extent and importance to occupy our time and thoughts. And whilst our publisher's ledger shows, that the manner in which we discharge our duty has given some degree of satisfaction, we shall not neglect it, to amuse ourselves with literary tiltings. If any contemporary critic, therefore, should take it into his head that the artists of Italy preceded those of Greece, we shall not quarrel with him for his opinion, although we may wonder at his chronology. If any such has read the early Italian dramas,—no light task,—without perceiving a close resemblance between them and the Greek tragedies, or Latin comedies, we may be again allowed to doubt the acuteness of his literary vision. Finally, should the critic be a rapturous admirer of the dramatic genius of Goldoni, we wish him joy of the twenty or thirty volumes of delicious reading which that author has provided for him. But we really must be excused from toiling through his multifarious tomes a second time, to verify the unimportant difference, whether the *incognita* Rosaura opens the play of *La Incongnita* in soliloquy, or in dialogue with "a Florindo—yes, it shall be Florindo." We did not mean to quote the precise words of Goldoni's Memoirs—a book we had read many years ago,—but simply to relate an anecdote impressed upon our recollection by the whimsical mode of dramatic composition which it exhibited.

CRITICAL SKETCHES.

ART. XII.—*Cours de Philosophie* par M. V. Cousin, Professeur de Philosophie à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. *Introduction à l'Histoire de la Philosophie.* Paris. 1828. 8vo.

THIS volume comprises the thirteen Lectures delivered by Professor Cousin in the spring of the present year, when he resumed the philosophical chair after an eight years absence from Paris. M. Cousin's lecture room was crowded to excess during his course, and these Discourses have been printed in compliance with a very general desire. They are remarkably clear and well arranged—qualities which it is to be wished were oftener found in metaphysical works;—and they belong to that impressive and eloquent style which distinguishes the writings of Madame de Staël and some other French authors, and for which, indeed, the French language is eminently adapted. In a review of M. Cousin's "*Fragmens Philosophiques*" in our Second Number, we gave an outline of the nature of the philosophy he is introducing into France, and showed how largely he had drawn from the metaphysical stores of Germany. We have not now space to introduce our readers to the opening of his system as developed in his Lectures, further than by adverting to one or two points which, we trust, may tend to find them favour in this country.

It was the remark, we believe, of Voltaire on the system of Helvetius, "*Le succès du livre d' Helvetius n'est pas étonnant; c'est un homme qui a dit le secret de tout le monde.*" This observation, which was undoubtedly true with reference to the state of philosophical knowledge when Helvetius wrote, may, we think, be well applied in explanation of the present popularity of M. Cousin, whose grand aim has been to adapt the modern school of philosophy to the advanced state of modern science, and to the actual condition of society. After demonstrating the insufficiency both of the Sensual School—that of Locke, Helvetius, and Condillac—and pointing out the defects of the German, or Ideal, School of Kant and his followers, the new philosophy is ushered in under the name of the Eclectic, which is to reconcile contending doctrines, as the Charter has reconciled the elements of monarchy and democracy, and, finally, to absorb all metaphysical heresies in its own harmony and fullness.

M. Cousin reduces the categories, or laws of the mind, to three—unity, multiplicity, and the relation of these two to each other. The first and second categories may be differently stated under the titles of the finite and the infinite; being and the semblance of being; substance and shadow; absolute cause and secondary cause; the absolute and the relative; the necessary and the contingent; immensity and space; eternity and time; and other synonymous conceptions. The history of the actions of individuals, and, consequently, of nations, may be referred to the predominant ascendancy of either the first or second principle in the human mind, or to the operation of the third, which can only take effect when the others are so completely subject to reason as imperceptibly to balance or adjust each other. In the allusions to the general history of mankind, we think M. Cousin has admirably illustrated his meaning, and we have little doubt that his course of next year will present still more striking proofs of the correctness of his analyzation of the laws, which his rigid examination for a long series of years has convinced him are impressed on the minds of men. In the mean time, his pupils will have an opportunity of

turning their thoughts inwards, and judging of their master's doctrines by the infallible test of "*l'esprit critique*."

The modes in which human intelligence has ever displayed, and still does display itself, are four-fold. The progress of society has marked the influence of our notions of utility, of justice, of beauty, and of religion, over our conduct. To the first we owe the works of industry and art, which attest the victory of mind over matter, and enable us to live in a civilized condition; to the second is referable the institution of states—associations whose sole object is the secure administration of justice, in the sense meant by Mr. Brougham, when he declared that the army and navy and every part of our civil establishments had no other end but to keep the twelve judges in their seats in Westminster Hall. The third idea, that of the sublime and beautiful, dictates our admiration of nature and of the productions of the fine arts, whose *beau idéal* so frequently excels nature herself. The fourth is a sentiment which confines itself not to this world, but shoots beyond it, towards that Almighty Power, of which we have no idea but in relation to his works—the cause and the model of all things—our common Father and God.

If truth be attainable by man's understanding, it cannot be acquired otherwise than through these four channels. Religious faith, for instance, is a necessary stepping-stone to a comprehension of the relations between God and man. But the development of our mental powers does not stop here; it mounts the pinnacle of philosophy, and by examining and analysing the component ideas upon which reflection operates, reaches the summit of human perfection. Philosophy is, in fact, self-reflection; and of nothing higher are the thoughts of man capable.

"Philosophy," says M. Cousin, "is the worship of ideas, and of ideas alone; it is the last victory of thought over every form and element foreign to itself; it is the highest rank of the freedom of the understanding. Industry was one enfranchisement of nature; the state a still farther enfranchisement; art a new progress; religion a progress still more sublime; philosophy is the last enfranchisement, the last progress of thought."

In our island, in the southern part of which metaphysical science appears to have been extinct for half a century; and even in whose northern division the last light—that of the ever-honoured Dugald Stewart—has ceased to shine, we think it right, in order to obviate the popular aversion to the name of French philosophy, to state that M. Cousin distinctly and pointedly asserts his belief in the truth of Christianity. He strongly inculcates what is styled by Voltaire, *optimism*, or in other words, that all things are arranged in the manner best calculated for the good of mankind, by the over-ruling Providence of God. The successions of good and evil are the conditions of the development of the fundamental elements of humanity; and if these successions are in their place, they cannot be otherwise than good, for they were arranged by a beneficent power.

The prominent feature in M. Cousin's system is, indeed, its cheerful and encouraging spirit. Widely opposed it is to the doctrines of those who, like Voltaire and the sophists of the last century, strive to pull down what has so long guided mankind, and thereby accuse human nature itself. Of his respect for that religion, whose mild influence upon society makes it a fitting handmaid to the lights of the present age, we cannot say more than to refer to almost every page of his Lectures, and to beg attention to his final declaration on the subject:—

"I have already made my profession of faith upon this last point; I repeat it with pleasure. In my opinion, all truths are contained in Christianity; but these eternal truths may and ought to be, at this day, approached, unravelled, and illustrated by philosophy. There is but one truth at bottom, but truth has two forms—that of mystery, and of scientific exposition. I revere the one; I am here the organ, the interpreter, of the other."

ART. XIII.—*Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture, ou Recueil des Principaux Tableaux, Statues, et Bas-reliefs des Collections Publiques et Particulières de l'Europe, dessinés et gravés à l'eau-forte par Reveil. Avec des Notices Descriptives, Critiques et Historiques.* Par Duchesne aîné. Livraisons 1 à 36 bis, (39 livraisons), ou Tom. 1, 2, 3. Small 8vo. Paris. 1828.

THIS little work consists of a series of engravings in outline, on the same plan as the *Annales de Musée*, of which indeed it might very well form a continuation, but which the Editor seems most anxious to disavow. Each engraving is accompanied with a short and critical description in French and English, and certainly never was English so mangled and murdered. We are confident no Briton-born ever made such a parricidal attempt on his native tongue; it must be the work of some French tyro *done* into English. All the tenses and moods are confounded together, and even persons with difficulty keep their peculiar rights. Mistakes in proper names are of frequent recurrence, such as *Sapho* for *Sappho*, *Silenus* for *Silennus*; but perhaps the most ludicrous mistake is what occurs in the notice on Raphael's Picture of the School of Athens. The French critic very properly places Plato and Aristotle in the centre of the crowd of philosophers, but the translator, either mistaking the French word *Aristote*, or perhaps being better acquainted with Italian romance than the works of the Stagyrite, makes Plato debate with Ariosto. However it would appear that about the sixth or seventh number, a new and better hand is put to the grindstone of translation, the language becoming more refined and polished.

The engravings themselves deserve unqualified praise; they are by M. Reveil, and are remarkable for their clearness and delicacy. We have generally found, in looking over mere outline engravings, a great sameness, and a proportional want of interest. In truth, the general effect is flat, and we may perhaps add, unprofitable; there is less of this want of relief in the present work, and much judgment is shown in keeping the masses distinct by occasional slight touches in the accessory parts. His outline strikes us as being very pure, spirited, and free, and we would particularly point out the countenances, more especially the mouths, as being well done and expressive. The minute details are executed with extreme care, and we would refer to the head of Socrates, and to the features of the group around him, as proofs of this assertion; but, above all, we admire the ease and truth of M. Reveil's drawing, possessing what poor Fuseli considered the ultimatum of art, the something more, and the something less, which constitutes the difference between accurate and excellent drawing. It would be out of place here to enter upon the subject of the different schools of painting and design, and their peculiar merits and defects; but no one can look for a moment on the productions of the modern French school without being struck with the affectation and meretricious character of their compositions. In fact, they look as if sketched from groups at the Opera House, and Cupid is consoling Psyche precisely in the attitude in which we have seen M. Albert when winged for the dance. This is, however, a subject too wide to enter upon. The Museum of Painting and Sculpture is published in parts, each containing six engravings, one of which is from a picture of the Italian school, another from the German, a third from the ancient, and a fourth from the modern French, a fifth alternately from one of the above schools, and one of a statue. Every twelfth number is published in duplicate, when three engravings of portraits of painters are given, with a biographical account of each. These seem to be fairly drawn up. On the whole, we consider this a deserving, and it has the merit of being a cheap, publication.

Art. XIV.—*Histoire de l'Ecole Polytechnique.* Par A. Fourcy. 8vo. Paris, 1828.

DURING the revolutionary mania in France it was remarked, with equal malice and truth, that the poplar, a tree most rapid in its growth and premature in its decay, was judiciously selected by our continental neighbours as the symbol and gage of their liberty. Of those scenes of anarchy, of the various schemes of innovation and improvement, none have produced any permanent effect except such as provided for the education of youth, and of these the Polytechnic School alone remains, a monument of the enlightened views and sound policy of its founders. Since its institution, this celebrated establishment has undergone various modifications, but as the design has been always the same, we shall briefly explain the principles on which it rests. Many branches of public service require that the persons who occupy them should have an extensive acquaintance with the mathematical and physical sciences, and a thorough knowledge of the graphic arts. To unite in the same school the young men who are to occupy these various departments—to become military or civil engineers, or officers of artillery, to superintend the manufactories belonging to the government, or direct the seminaries on which in a great measure the reputation of the country must depend—to impart to them in common this fundamental instruction; thus to make them perform together the first part of their laborious career, until the particular nature of the studies required for their respective destinations renders it necessary to subdivide this general school into several special ones; to establish the former in the metropolis, so that the instruction may be confided only to the most distinguished men, and *never sink beneath the actual level of the sciences*—such is the plan of the Polytechnic school. The idea originated with Lombardie, director of one of the schools of civil engineers, (Ponts et Chaussées,) who, in conjunction with the celebrated Monge, having recommended it to the attention of the philosophers connected with the “Committee of Public Safety,” it was ordered to be put in execution by a law, dated 21 Ventose, An 2, (March 11, 1794,) and the establishment denominated *Ecole centrale des Travaux Publics*. The designation, which it at present bears, was not given till the following year. The pillage of the crown property, of the Academy of Sciences, and of private individuals, supplied the nascent institution with philosophical apparatus; the cabinet of models, the collection of minerals, the chemical laboratory and the library, had a similar commencement: everything required for elucidation or experiment was unhesitatingly put in requisition; a hundred pounds of alum were carried off from Holland, the Palatinate was plundered of more than twelve thousand pounds weight of mercury, of which the sixth part was apportioned to the use of the school. When a clock was required, that belonging to a convent of Carmelites was ordered to be given up; subsequently, twenty-six diamonds, weighing about seventeen carats, part of the spoil of an English vessel, were allowed, and served for the famous experiments of Guyton de Morveau. By this system, in the short space of four or five months, the whole materiel of instruction was obtained, and with the splendid names of Lagrange, Prony, Monge, Fourcroy, Vauquelin, Chaptal, and Berthollet among the professors, the lectures were commenced. Referring to the pages of the *Journal de l'Ecole Polytechnique* for an account of the labours of those by whom it has been illustrated, and waving the details of its private history, which to foreigners must be devoid of interest, we shall extract a few anecdotes from M. Fourcy's work, and then give a short summary of the nature of this school as it at present exists, the conditions of admission, and the advantages to be derived from it. During the first eleven years after its institution a small salary was allowed to the pupils; for some time this was paid in assignats, afterwards (1796) in mandats, the depreciation of each of which successively reduced many of the unfortunate élèves, who had no other means of sub-

sistence, to a state of starvation. Provisions and clothing were occasionally distributed to them by the government, but many were forced to retire: the school itself, to obtain some platinum for the use of the laboratories, was forced to offer in exchange some chemical vessels not in use at the time, having previously received a quantity on condition of returning some of it in sheets. At the same period of universal distress the School of Medicine "*ayant à rembourser des avances faites, pour son compte, par l'Ecole Polytechnique, offrit en paiement deux squelettes tout montés, que le Conseil accepta.*" It is not to be expected that Bonaparte would be inattentive to the prosperity of the establishment in question. During the stay which he made in Paris between the Italian campaign and the expedition to Egypt, (in which he was accompanied by several of the professors and pupils, who contributed greatly to the compilation of the well-known "*grand ouvrage sur l'Egypte,*") he occasionally assisted at the lectures, and presented to the chemical department one hundred pounds of mercury from the mine of Idria. The conscription, of which the horrors were almost overlooked amid the glare of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram, weighed heavily on the Polytechnic School: the Emperor, neglectful of all but the urgency of the moment, recruited the ranks of his artillery and engineers with the pupils, not only before their studies were completed, but at the very commencement of their career. When the tide of war rolled back from Russia, and after the defeat of Leipzig, France began to feel the misery she had so often inflicted; "*l'Ecole, pour sa part d'un tribut volontaire que la France s'imposa, avait offert huit chevaux d'escadron, tout équipés pour l'artillerie à cheval. Cette offre fut bientôt suivie de la demande, faite au nom des élèves, d'aller immédiatement combattre dans les rangs de l'armée. La réponse de Napoleon fut, dit-on, qu'il n'était pas réduit à tuer sa poule aux œufs d'or.*" The confidence of Napoleon was not misplaced: on the advance of the allies upon Paris, a battery of twenty-eight pieces of cannon was entrusted to these youths, accompanied only by thirty artillerymen of the guard: for twelve hours did they sustain an unequal, but honourable combat, being almost unsupported; except by a squadron of cuirassiers; one among them, Malpassuti, "*pendant la charge des Russes, avoit terrassé un lancier qui le serrait de près, et, s'étant élancé sur son cheval, avoit couru se joindre aux cuirassiers.*" We come now to consider the present state of the school as reorganised by a royal decree of September 4, 1816. The number of pupils is limited to three hundred, and the ages of the candidates for admission must not fall short of sixteen, nor exceed twenty years. Pensions are allowed to twenty-eight of the scholars; the rest pay one thousand francs, about forty pounds of our money. Although the duration of the course is limited to two years, a third year is sometimes granted, but never a fourth. At his entrance, the candidate is obliged to specify whether or not he intends to embrace any, and what branch of the public service, and at the time abovementioned, after a due examination, he is removed to the special schools belonging to the profession he has chosen, or terminates at once the course of his education. The aspirants for admission are examined in the elements of almost every branch of natural philosophy and mathematics, in drawing, in the Latin and French languages—the higher departments of the mathematics, pure and mixed, with every application of which they are susceptible—physics in the most comprehensive sense of the word—chemistry, theoretical and practical—grammar, history, and the belles lettres, architecture and drawing. Such are the studies required in the Polytechnic School itself. We have not space to explain the admirable arrangement by which this diversified system of education is made to produce its full effect; to one circumstance it is principally owing, and that is, the establishment of a council, whose exclusive duty is to consider the means and the extent of instruction, to devise methods of

advancing them, and to guard against their falling short of what the actual state of human knowledge will allow. In holding up this council to the imitation, or at least to the applause of all who in this country have any influence over general education, we beg them to remember, that the public works of almost every nation in the world, except our own, have been designed or executed, and that most of the important modern discoveries in science have been made, by men brought up in the Polytechnic School.

ART. XV.—*Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne, ou Histoire, par ordre alphabétique, de la vie publique et privée de tous les hommes qui se sont fait remarquer par leurs écrits, leurs actions, leurs talents, leurs vertus ou leurs crimes. Ouvrage entièrement neuf, rédigé par une Société de Gens de Lettres et de Savants.* Tomes LI. et LII. Paris, 1828. 8vo.

THESE two volumes, which have recently appeared, bring to a conclusion the most extensive, and in every point of view the most valuable body of biography, of which the literature of any modern nation can boast. We have already spoken briefly of its merits on the publication of a former volume, (vol. i. p. 653). The completion of a work of this character and extent forms a sort of epoch in literary history, and in that view is well deserving of commemoration. We think, therefore, that no apology is necessary for giving the following details relative to the plan and execution of this great literary enterprise, which we have extracted from the Advertisement prefixed to the last Volume; and we are the more induced to do so, from a belief that the merits of this important work are not known in this country beyond a very narrow circle. M. L. G. Michaud, its editor and publisher, is the brother of J. Michaud, the academician, and author of the *History of the Crusades*, a fourth edition of which, with great improvements, is now in the course of publication, and will probably be reviewed in this Journal at no distant period.

"The *Biographie Universelle* was commenced in 1810, and finished in 1828; the labours which this undertaking required have therefore occupied eighteen years; and in that long interval more than three hundred *collaborateurs*, a great number of them members of the Institute and other learned bodies, have devoted their time and talents to its composition. Never was there a literary operation, not even that of the *Encyclopédie Methodique*, executed with similar means, or which required such great exertions. Originally founded by a numerous association of booksellers and capitalists, it has been continued for more than fifteen years by the present Editor alone. It has been with his sole resources, and without the least extraneous aid—not even such as the Government frequently grants to much less useful undertakings—that he can boast of having brought to a termination an enterprise, requiring such pains, constancy and sacrifices—an enterprise in which the manuscript alone cost him more than four hundred thousand francs (£16,000). If all these difficulties placed him for a length of time in an embarrassing position, to which the instability of political events considerably added, he who has been fortunate enough to overcome so many obstacles has some right to take credit for it, and especially to congratulate himself on being able to preserve the independence necessary for all historical composition. After having written at such different periods, and in such diverse circumstances, the authors and the Editor of the *Universal Biography* may say with Tacitus: '*Galba, Otho, Vitellius, nec beneficio nec injuria cogniti.*' No party, no government, has therefore had the right to command their eulogies or their satires; their sole object, their engrossing idea, has been to find out the truth, and to declare it.

"Moreover, everything which at present gives rise to controversy, especially that very delicate subject the politics of the day, occupies but a small place in this work. It was necessary to look at the events of our own epoch solely according to their importance in general history, and we have endeavoured to treat them with the same disinterestedness, and the same severity, with which posterity will one day look at

them. If this be not the most certain means of pleasing our contemporaries, it is at least that of making a good book,—a book which may be longest read.

"This enterprise has not been formed solely for our own age, and our own country; it is for all nations, and all ages. With such views, it would be difficult to suppose that it has intended to make it a mere temporary or party work. Persons of good faith, who have any doubts on this head, have only to run their eye over the list of contributors to satisfy themselves; there they will see men professing in morals and in politics the most opposite doctrines; and they will perhaps find that in this respect the Editor has resolved, more successfully than has been done for objects of a different importance, a very difficult problem, namely, the amalgamation and oblivion of opinions. In the midst of the greatest divisions, at the moment that parties were combating each other with the utmost bitterness, we have seen men of the most opposite principles and doctrines simultaneously co-operating in the *Biographie Universelle*, and devoting themselves to their labours for it with as much coolness and impassibility as they would have done in the most peaceful times, and as if they had all been actuated by the same ideas.

"It might be feared that an assemblage of such numerous and various elements would be productive of some confusion, or of too striking divergencies; but the labours had been distributed from the beginning with so much scrupulousness and discernment; every contributor, placed in the situation best suited to his taste and habitual studies, had entered into the spirit of his task with so much ardour and zeal for the success of the enterprise, with such a complete abnegation of all other feelings: finally, the plan and general system of redaction had been so well understood and settled at the very outset, that the result has been as great a degree of uniformity as if the work had been executed by a smaller number of *collaborateurs*; and to the indisputable advantage of a greater combination of knowledge, it evidently joins that of as much *ensemble* and *homogeneity*, as can fairly be demanded.

"It is therefore to the zeal and excellent spirit of the authors that we are, in the first place, indebted for the perfection and the success of the B. U.; but after paying them the tribute of praise, to which they are so justly entitled, perhaps the Editor may be allowed to claim a small portion for himself. It was by his exertions that the most honourable, and the most numerous association which ever executed a literary enterprise, was first formed; it was part of his duty to communicate and submit incessantly to every contributor the plan and system which had been adopted; as well as to class and divide the labour, to regulate its proportions, to avoid the repetitions, the omissions, and the contradictions, which are so frequent in all Dictionaries, even in those composed by a single *redacteur*. It will be admitted, that in all these respects the most satisfactory results have been obtained; and to begin with the division of labour, that most important point, what could be more fortunate or more useful than to have, as the authors of the articles on

Astronomy, Physics, and Mathematics, Messrs. Biot, Delambre, Lacroix, and Maurice?

On *Geography, and Voyages and Discoveries*, Messrs. Walckenaer, de Rosset, Malte-Brun, Eyriès, Hennequin?

On *Ancient History and Languages*, Messrs. Clavier, Daunou, Boissonade, Amar, Noël, Raoul-Rochette?

On *Oriental History, Literature and Languages*, Messrs. Silvestre de Sacy, Abel-Remusat, de Saint-Martin, Klapproth, Audiffret?

On *Italian History and Literature*, Messrs. Ginguené, Sismondi, de Angelis?

On *French History and Literature*, Messrs. Fievé, Villenave, Choiseul, Auger, Villemain, de Barante, Du Rozoir, de la Porte, de Saint Surin, de Monmerqué, de Beauchamp, Beaulieu?

On the *History and Literature of Germany and the North of Europe*, Messrs. Stapfer, Guizot, Usteri, Gley, Marron, de Stassart, Depping, Duvau, Schoell, Cailleau-Calleville?

On *English History and Literature*, Messrs. Suard, Lally-Tollendal, Sövefingens, De la Roquette?

"After these great divisions, it was necessary again to subdivide, and receive some articles from such of the *collaborateurs* as could not supply a greater number.

"Thus Messrs. Emeric-David, Artaud, Castellan, Périès, Quatremère de Quincy, Landon, Ponce, and F. Pillet, have undertaken *Ancient and Modern Artists*.

Messrs. Cuvier, Petit-Thouars, Després and Thibault, *Naturalists*.

Messrs. Visconti, Millin, d'Hauteroche, Sicard, Jacob and Tochon, *Archæology and Numismatics*.

Messrs. Chaumeton, Adelon, Ghaussier, Desgenettes, Percy, Laurent, Renaudin and Richerand, *Physicians, and everything relative to the Medical Art*.

Messrs. Bernard, Desportes and Foisset, *Juriscassults and Magistrates*.

Messrs. Cottrel, Lécuy, Picot, Labouderie and Tabaraud, *Ecclesiastical History*.

"When in consequence of death, or other circumstances, the enterprise was deprived of any of its collaborateurs, it was fortunate enough to supply their places most advantageously; and in this manner in the later years, Messrs. Leclerc, Campeuon, Naudet, Guignaut, Cousin, Fourier, Letronne, Prouy, Parisot, Viguier, Michelet, Buchon, and others equally distinguished by their talents and acquirements, have supplied many very valuable articles.

"Finally, it is certain that few of the celebrated names of this epoch are wanting in this splendid list; this is not a vague assertion, or the vain boasting of a prospectus; all the authors have signed their articles, and all of them have left the impression of their talents and their learning upon them. Some of them, it is true, have contributed but a few pages; but they must still be reckoned in the number of *redacteurs*; such are Messrs. De Chateaubriand, de Bonald, Botta, Nodier, Humboldt, Dacier, Vanderbourg, de Gerando, Dussault, Maine de Biran, Benjamin Constant, Ch. Villers, Laplace, Madame de Staël, Delille, &c. &c. (a complete alphabetical list of the authors is given at the end of the last volume.)

"It is by such means, and with the assistance of so many illustrious men, that we have succeeded in giving this work the degree of perfection which the public had a right to expect from such an association; in short, it is thus that we have surpassed, as may be easily imagined, every work of a similar kind which had been published in France and other countries."

The Editor concludes by announcing his intention of fulfilling the promise he had made in an early stage of the undertaking; namely, of publishing a Supplement, which should include the lives of such persons as have died since the commencement, and during the progress of the work, as well as others that have been accidentally omitted, and correct such errors as have been or may be detected. The materials of this Supplement have been gradually collecting, and are already in a great degree classed and elaborated; but as this part of the work will be especially devoted to contemporaneous history, it requires to be written with all the accuracy, frankness, and courage, which may be looked for from independent writers. "Faithful to their motto, the authors of the B. U. will not forget that, *if they owe respect to the living, they owe nothing but truth to the dead.*"

ART. XVI.—*Mémoires anecdotiques sur l'Intérieur du Palais, et sur quelques évènements de l'Empire depuis 1805 jusqu'en 1816, pour servir à l'histoire de Napoléon.*

Par L. F. I. de Bausset, Ancien Préfet du Palais Impérial. Tomes III. et IV. 8vo. Paris, 1828.

Of the two former volumes of M. de Bausset's Memoirs we gave an account at some length in our second Number; though not of a high character, and abounding too much in trivial details, they certainly furnished us with a number of very interesting anecdotes relative to the interior of Napoleon's court and family, which had in a great degree the merit of novelty. The recollection of these led us to anticipate some pleasure from the perusal of his two new volumes when we first saw them announced, but in these anticipations, we regret to say, we have been sadly disappointed. In the first place, the *title* of these volumes is a complete misnomer; for they have no relation whatever to the *interieur du Palais de l'Empereur Napoléon*; but relate entirely to the little court of Maria Louisa, to which our author was attached, from the time of her departure from France in May, 1814, to that of her leaving Vienna for Italy.

in March, 1816, in order to take possession of her Duchy of Parma, at which period M. de Bausset quitted her service to return to his own country, "comblé," as he expresses it, "des marques les plus honorables des bontés, de l'estime et de la bienveillance de S. M. Madame la Duchesse de Parme." It has really seldom fallen to our lot to wade through such a succession of tiresome and insignificant details, and mawkish political remarks, as M. de Bausset favours us with. Of the latter it may be sufficient to say, that his regrets for the downfall of Napoleon are coupled with the deep conviction, (which he tries to make his readers participate,) that Napoleon's departure from Elba, and resumption of the imperial crown, were the result of the schemes of the Congress of Vienna, purposely laid to entrap and hurry him to his catastrophe. And he is of opinion, that the same species of influence was exercised to entice Murat to Calabria, with the design of recovering his crown, in order to get rid of him by a military commission. With such materials, and a transcript of the principal acts of the Congress of Vienna, (occupying 100 pages,) M. de Bausset contrives to make up his third, and a considerable portion of his fourth volume. We are then presented with a *Notice Anecdotique sur les Batimens de la Couronne, et sur les établissemens de Paris, depuis le Consulat jusqu'à la fin du règne de Napoleon*, drawn up by, or from the communications of, M. Fontaine, his principal architect. We regard this as the most interesting part of the book; it exhibits in ten chapters, drawn up in short paragraphs, a connected view of the progressive plans for the embellishment and improvement of the capital and other parts of the empire, and the sums expended on them. It affords abundant proof of Napoleon's spirit of order and economy, united with magnificence; but on the point which his brother Louis reproaches Sir Walter Scott for calling in question, namely, Napoleon's *taste in the fine arts*, (see our Article VIII. in this Number,) this document affords us few means of judging. We should doubt, however, whether the architect himself entertained a high opinion of the imperial taste in matters connected with his art; there are various instances given that lead to this inference. One of these was the plan of the celebrated fountain of the Elephant, which appears to have been a special favourite with Napoleon, who one day asked his architect his opinion of it. Fontaine had previously, it appears, expressed himself strongly against it, and on this occasion very freely repeated that opinion, concluding with these words:—"Utility should be the motive of decoration everywhere. A monument, of which the principal object is an elephant, and the destination a fountain, will be always a subject of severe animadversion for sensible minds, (*bons esprits*), which reason will find it difficult to refute." On the subject of another fountain a bon-mot of the Emperor is related, which will excite a smile.

"The new plan of a fountain to be erected in the Place Louis XV. appeared to him more suitable than the one which had been presented to him some years before. That of the fountain of the Place du Carrousel was rejected. *Les naïades jetaient de l'eau par les mamelles, cela lui parut indecent. Otez moi ces nourrices*, dit-il en riant, *les naïades étaient vierges.*"

For an amateur of the fine arts, the following anecdote is rather characteristic.

"Napoleon himself arranged the programme of the festivities attending his marriage, (with Maria Louisa,) and directed all the preparations to be made within the palace. He went several times to satisfy himself with his own eyes of their effect; and exhibited such a degree of ardour, activity, and perseverance, in the business, that the administrator of the Museum having one day expressed the difficulty he had to find a place for the large pictures of the *salon*, in which the chapel was erecting for the nuptial ceremony: 'Very well,' said Napoleon, 'you have nothing to do but to burn them.' This intimation, uttered in a moment of displeasure, so terrified M. Denon, that all difficulties were instantly removed; the pictures were taken down and rolled, and the spaces which they left afforded the means of erecting a second row of pews."

At the end of the fourth volume we are treated with a short, but "Singular Episode" of anecdotes of the old King of Spain, (Charles IV.) his queen, and their favourite Godoy, (the Prince of the Peace,) during their residence at Rome. Some of these exhibit the *bon-homme* and simplicity of the old monarch in a very ludicrous point of view. Godoy has survived both his benefactors, and is said to be a prey to terror and remorse.

We have found some interest in the information which M. Bausset has given us of the present situation of the various members of the Buonaparte family, who survived, as he styles it, "the shipwreck of the empire;" and will conclude this notice by abridging and condensing his details.

The mother of Napoleon (Madame Mère, as she was called) passes the winters in Rome, and the summers at Albano. She occupies herself in works of piety and beneficence. Strangers consider it a great honour to be admitted to her society; but she lives very retired, and none of the English are ever presented to her. Her brother, *Cardinal Fesch*, pays her daily visits. The rest of his time is consecrated to the duties of his station, and the discharge of the functions with which he is invested. The fortunes of these two personages are not large; Madame has given a great deal to her own family and to the poor; the Cardinal depends upon the bounty of the Pope, and the sale of his pictures, which he disposes of successively.

The *Count de Surville* (Joseph), as is well known, has since 1814, become a citizen of the United States, where he has entered into farming on a large scale. His eldest daughter, Zenaide, has married her cousin the *Prince of Musignano* (the son of Lucien); and his youngest daughter, Charlotte, has married another cousin, Charles, (eldest son of Louis, and, we believe, author of the "American Ornithology.") These two young couples have left America, and settled themselves at Florence, to be near their mother, the *Countess de Surville*. Their private fortunes have been increased by a considerable legacy left them by the Princess Borghese, their aunt.

The Count de Saint-Leu (Louis) lives alternately at Rome and at Florence. His state of health is very indifferent, but does not prevent him from devoting himself principally to literary pursuits. His fortune is moderate, but sufficient for his wants. He had purchased out of his private means and his savings, some estates in Holland, near Harlem, but they were sequestered after Napoleon's downfall, and have never been restored to him.

His wife (*Hortensia*, the daughter of Josephine) lives at Rome during the winter, on account of her delicate health, and spends the rest of the year at her beautiful villa at Arnemberg, on the banks of the Lake of Constance.

The *Prince of Canino* (Lucien) has for a long time resided at Rome, and on the domain from which he takes his title. In 1827, he was residing, with his numerous family, at the little town of Sinigaglia, near Ancona. Having lost a great part of his fortune in unlucky speculations, he has sold his palace at Rome to his brother, the *Prince de Montfort* (Jerome), but the diminution of his fortune has not lessened the respect paid to him by the late and present Popes. One of his daughters (the same whose hand was solicited by the present King of Spain, when Prince of Asturias) is married to Prince Gabrieli, and another to Lord Stuart.

The *Prince de Montfort* (Jerome) passes the summers at the Marches, near Ancona, and the winters in his palace at Rome. His marriage with the Princess Catherine, sister to the present King of Wirtemberg, and cousin to the Emperor of Russia, makes his house the rendezvous of all the distinguished strangers from the north of Europe who visit Italy. The Ministers of Russia and Wirtemberg are always present at the circles of the Prince and Princess, which are also much frequented by the English families, who took an interest in the prisoner of St. Helena. The Princess Catherine, whose attachment to

her husband was exhibited on a trying occasion, is devoted to him and to their children, who are educating at the College of Sierra.

The young Princess Eliza (daughter of the Princess Borghese) married, after her mother's death, the son of a great Italian nobleman, the richest proprietor at Ancona. She is very lively and witty, much attached to the Princess de Montfort, and is said to bear the strongest resemblance to Napoleon, both in features and manners. Her father (Prince Felix Baciocchi) lives at Bologna, wealthy and respected.

The Countess de Lipari (Madame Murat) has not yet been allowed to join her relations in Italy, from political considerations connected with the vicinity of Rome and Naples. She resides in Austria. Her eldest daughter is married to the Marquis Popoli, a Bolognese nobleman; and the youngest to Count Rasponi. Achilles, her eldest son, has gone to Florida, where he has bought considerable estates; (some letters of his from America have lately appeared in the *Revue Trimestrielle*). Lucien, the youngest, is in South America. Vol. II. pp. 70—76.

ART. XVII.—*Almanachs Français pour 1829* :—

1. *Almanach des Dames.*
2. *Hommage aux Dames.*
3. *Petit Magasin des Modes.*
4. *La Dame Blanche, Chronique des Chevaliers à l'Ecusson Vert.*
5. *Pensez à Moi, ou le Charme des Souvenirs.*
6. *Voyage Pittoresque de Paris à Havre sur les Rives de la Seine.*
7. *Annales Romantiques, Recueil de Morceaux Choisis de Littérature Contemporaine.*

HERE again the French have the superiority in elegance of form and showy brilliancy of exterior. Colours, red, green, blue, and orange, are now seen decorating some *danses* of the Opera, throwing a halo around the *elegantes* of the Champs Elysées, or dazzling us with gorgeous landscapes and glowing scenes of love and chivalry, that transport the beholder to the region of fairy land, or far back to the periods of the golden or heroic age. No publications can be compared with these for attraction at gift-making seasons; and the less obtrusive charms of our Forget-me-Nots, Keepsakes, Anniversaries, and Souvenirs, fade before the united powers of such binding and landscape-painting as form the outward decorations of many of the French annuals. True, on a more close examination, the engravings are frequently discovered to be indifferent copies of ours, and the literary portion is, in general, of the tamest mediocrity; still, after all deductions, the superior finish and more bijou-like appearance of our rivals is so strikingly manifest, that we would advise the native manufacturer to bestow on his productions a little more French polish along with his English solidity. To be somewhat more particular as to the literary character of the works before us, we must say, that the greater part of the poetry is either most innocuously insipid, or on subjects forbidden to the legitimate muse. Eternal Epistles on *Tristesse*, Elegies on *Swicide*, and *Prêtres d'un Dammé*, are wholly at variance with the usual light-hearted gaiety of Frenchmen, and are indeed unworthy of any *men*. Most especially should such themes be avoided in volumes intended to make their appearance at the joyous season of Christmas. What we covet are pieces in the enchanting style of a Delavigne, a Tastu, a Soumet, or a Legouvé; which, while they satisfy and delight the most fastidious taste, improve, at the same time, the heart and affections.

The *Almanach des Dames*, the first on our list, has been now many years

before the world; and has distinguished itself chiefly by its masterly executed engravings from the works of the old masters, together with some from the more eminent of the moderns. The text for the most part is made up of poetry, and occasionally, amid much rubbish, we meet with something to repay the search. We give a translation of a short piece by *Leon Halevy*, a promising young writer, who has published some clever translations from *Byron*, *Scott*, *Goethe*, *Schiller*, and other poets of European reputation. Our specimen is but a poor one, we confess, and, we dare say, very far from being the author's best, although it is, one of the best in the present *Almanack*, and a fair specimen of the verses usually current in these productions.

THE BLIND YOUTH.

My Mother, whither am I led?
I breathe the balm of wood and field:
Now were one ray of light but shed—
What new-born life—what bliss 't would yield!
Sweet Nature! how my bosom swells,
To part from thee; though in my dreams
Yet, yet I see thy verdant dells,
Thy dewy flowers and woodland streams.
My mother, art thou still as fair?
Though never more thy form I'll see—
In fancy live, deep pictur'd there,
The traits of one so dear to me.
Amid the ever-during dark
That wraps me from creation's sight,
Thy cherish'd image oft I mark—
To me best emblem of the light.
He ceas'd—and of the flowers around
He pluck'd a rose, with trembling hand;
Bath'd with his tears upon the ground,
Its scatter'd leaves no more expand.
He died at Autumn; whispering then,
Amid the tears, to parting given,
' My mother, when we meet again,
No cloud shall dim our sight in Heaven!'

Passing over the *Hommage aux Dames*, which is but a subdued reflection of the *Almanach*, and most ungallantly overlooking the fashions of the *Magasin des Modes*, we hasten to bend before "*La Dame Blanche*," a most superb combination of attractive qualities. Here is—

"Tale of war for gallant knight,
Lay of love for lady bright,"

And our readers will, perhaps, listen, while we set forth the beauties of this fair lady from her own lips.

"'La Dame Blanche,' was an order of chivalry instituted about the end of the 14th century by the *Marechal Boucicaut*, for the purpose of affording protection and redress to the ladies, who, in the midst of the civil wars and commotions of the times, often became a prey to the rapacity and injustice of bands of ruthless depredators. *Charles d'Albret*, cousin-german to the King of France, was the first grand master. History has handed down to us the names of the knights of the White Lady, together with the rules of the order, which are given in the present work, as they are recorded by *Théodore Godefroy* and *Pillar*, *Boucicaut's* historians. The happy condition of the female sex in modern times is not a little owing to such institutions as these; for when the most illustrious warriors of a nation declare themselves the protectors of the female sex, they are no longer obliged to live in seclusion, a state so often leading to

domestic slavery. Female liberty is one of the circumstances that have most powerfully accelerated the progress of civilisation and the culture of the fine arts. French chivalry had ideal laws, generally good, which had a remarkable influence on the manners of the nation and on the condition of the female sex. France, at that period, presented an aspect of which it is at present difficult to form an idea. All the cities and villages, and even the smallest hamlets, were surrounded with fortifications within which the unfortunate inhabitants of the country sought an asylum in time of war.

"In a treaty by which Charles V. ceded a small province of his dominions to the King of England, mention is made of 1200 fortified places, a greater number than is probably now to be found in the whole of Europe. These monuments of feudal power were mostly destroyed during the reign of Louis XI. and the ministry of Richelieu. Such was the period attempted to be depicted in this little work, and although in respect of brilliant achievements it may not be equal to others, yet it is not the less interesting from the character of its events, and the powerful and lasting influence of its heroes of chivalry."

The next in order is the *Penses à Moi*, the title of which may have been suggested by our Forget-me-Not. It consists entirely of short pieces in prose, illustrative of the influence of the past on the imagination and heart, and retaining some of those sensations in which we find such a charm when solitude or meditation recal the touching emotions of past times. This is an exceedingly pleasing little volume; the style has none of the mawkishness of affected sensibility, and the incidents are well selected.

The *Voyage Pittoresque de Paris à Havre* we decline undertaking at present; and will conclude this imperfect sketch with the *Annales Romantiques*, a work of greater literary pretensions than any we have yet noticed, boasting among its contributors some of the first names of the day, and flattering to our own national vanity by having copies of engravings, or else the very engravings themselves, of some of our own annuals. Some of the pieces are not original, and the reader is left to find this out himself, or to enjoy the benefits of his ignorance. As we advance, however, the mystery clears up a little, and we recognise a poem of our old friend *Delta*, under the signature of *Isidore*, who has converted the harmonious verses of the original into stately French prose without any acknowledgement of the source from which he has derived them. Out upon such literary pilfering! Monsieur *Janet*, marshal your troops better in future, and teach them the word of *command* which says, "Thou shalt not steal." We say this for your own credit's sake, for your Annuals boast the contributions of many illustrious names. The greatest need not blush to be found in the society of a Villemain or a Segur, of a Lacretelle, a Tasty, or a Bouilly.

ART. XVIII.—*Serie di Testi di Lingua Italiana e di altri esemplari del bene scrivere. Opera nuovamente rifatta, da B. Gamba di Bassano. Venezia, Tipografia Alvisopoli. 4to. 1828.*

BARTOLOMMEO GAMBA, a learned and industrious bibliographer, published, in 1805, a Catalogue Raisonné of the authors whose authority in matter of language has been acknowledged by the Academy of La Crusca, and who are quoted in its Great Vocabulary. A second and improved edition of the same work appeared in 1812, under the title of "*Bibliografia de' Classici Italiani*," and was appended as a General Index to the great Collection of Italian Classics, published at Milan in 250 vols. 8vo. Gamba, having since recast his work, and enlarged its proportions, has republished it in its present shape, under the original title of "*Serie di Testi di Lingua*." The book is now divided into two parts, in the first of which are registered the best editions, old and new, of the works cited by La Crusca; whilst the second, and to us not the least important division, includes the best editions of other works, which,

although not yet canonized by the authority of that learned Academy, are by common consent held in estimation for their style and language, comprising of course the numerous authors of the eighteenth century. With regard to the living writers of the present age, Mr. Gamba leaves them to the critical judgment of future bibliographers, probably from motives of prudence, and to avoid being entangled in endless and useless disputes about their merits, in a country where the self-love of literary men is still remarkably sensitive.

Gamba has not been sparing of pains to render his compilation clear and satisfactory. He has classed the works of the second part into four sections, each ranged in alphabetical order; first, the authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, together; and then those of the sixteenth, of the seventeenth, and of the eighteenth, separately. This distribution serves to preserve the distinction of character which is peculiar to each age. He has also employed four different sets of types for the various heads of each article. The first gives the full title of the work, the date of the edition, and the remarks about its rarity. Next we find noted the price, and the catalogues and libraries from which it is taken. A description of the material merits of the edition follows, with the marks by which the genuine copies may be distinguished from the counterfeits, and other bibliographical information. Lastly we have a short philological and historical account of the work itself, with the opinion of received critics. "This," observes Gamba, "serves to redeem bibliography from the charge of aridity which it would deserve were its object confined to the mere external or material appearance of books."

Besides the alphabetical list of authors' names at the end of the work, we meet with another useful repertory of the same, classed under the heads of the various branches of letters and sciences. This shows us at one glance the names of the principal Italian writers in any particular walk of learning. Their number is much greater than is generally imagined; we have counted more than forty writers on political economy, numerous lists of historians, novelists, dramatists, &c. The most copious class is that of the lyric poets, amounting to nearly two hundred. Among other curiosities we have noticed a work by one Jacopo Buonaparte, probably an ancestor of the Conqueror, being an account of the pillage of Rome by the troops of Charles V.,* in which many particulars are found which are not met with in Guicciardini.

Upon the whole we consider Gamba's work as a valuable acquisition to Italian scholars, as it is more comprehensive than Poggiali's, (published under the same title,) which is chiefly confined to the authors quoted by La Crusca; whilst its philological erudition and superior method distinguish it advantageously from Haym's "*Biblioteca Italiana*," which is essentially a mere catalogue of rare and valuable editions. The typographical execution of the book is also creditable to the Venetian press.

ART. XIX.—*La Fidanzata Ligure, ossia Usi, Costumanze e Caratteri dei Popoli della Riviera ai nostri tempi. Opera dell' Autore della Sibilla Odaleta.* 2 vols. 24mo. Milano. 1828.

NOVEL-WRITING, we perceive, is becoming popular in Italy. Manzoni's example has led other adventurous champions into the field. Among these, the writer of the two novels mentioned in the above title deserves some notice. His first work, "*Sibilla Odaleta*," exhibited considerable powers of

* A French translation of this was published at Paris in 1809; and an old Italian comedy, entitled *La Vedova* (the Widow), by a Niccolo Buonaparte, another supposed ancestor of Napoleon, was re-published there in 1803; both these were no doubt intended as delicate compliments to the conqueror of Italy.

description and dialogue, although the story itself was wild and improbable. The epoch, however, was not ill-chosen, being the descent of Charles VIII. into Italy, and his conquest of the kingdom of Naples at the close of the fifteenth century, an important era in Italian history. The first part of the novel is truly animated. The description of Florence, of the feelings of its inhabitants at the approach of the French, of Savonarola's turbulent eloquence, the entrance of Charles into the council-room of the Republic, the undaunted bearing of Piero Capponi, and his fierce reply to the French king—all these are really bold and clever sketches, and secure the writer a place next to the author of the "*Promessi Sposi*," in spite of the incoherence of his fiction, and the unevenness of his style. Several of the characters are evident imitations, though not always successful, from the great northern novelist.

"*La Fidanzata Ligure*," or Genoese Betrothed, is a less ambitious story. It professes to be a picture of private life, illustrative of the character and manners of the inhabitants of the Riviera of Genoa at the present day. The district so called is one of the most beautiful in Italy, though little noticed by tourists. The people resemble no other in the Peninsula. They are remarkable for their habits of industry, superior activity, their mercantile and naval experience, and a feeling of blunt independence. Genoa, although now subject to a monarch, is not sunk like its old rival Venice; its merchants are still wealthy, its harbour is frequented, and its flag waves over many a sea.

The plot of this romance is not at all complicated. Ida, the only child of a rich Genoese merchant, while residing in Spain with her father, became attached to a young Velasco, the son of a Spanish nobleman. Her affection was requited, but a rejected rival endeavoured to poison her happiness. It was reported to Ida that Velasco's father, a haughty old Spaniard, had said that "the daughter of a Genoese trader should not presume to aspire to the hand of a Spanish grandee's son and an archbishop's nephew." Upon this Ida determines on leaving Spain and forgetting her lover. She returns with her father to Italy, and goes to reside at her beautiful villa in the Riviera. After a few months Velasco follows her there, and takes up his residence at an obscure inn in the neighbourhood, from whence he perambulates the country in the hope of obtaining a sight of his mistress. But another stranger steps in, like an evil genius, seemingly intent upon obstructing his path, and preventing a reconciliation between the lovers. He is favoured in his scheme by Ida's maiden aunt and her ghostly director, an ex-Dominican monk, who is very anxious to see the young lady safe in a cloister. The unknown bribes Velasco's servant, Pedrillo, who intercepts his master's letters. Upon some private dispute, however, the two knaves fall out, and Pedrillo is mortally wounded. This leads to a discovery of the whole plot. Garzia, the mysterious stranger, a native of Spain, and once a guerrilla adventurer, proves to be the agent of Ida's rival, a Spanish marchioness, whose jealousy has been the cause of all the disappointment of the two lovers. The arrest and trial of Garzia form, perhaps, the best written part of the narrative. We extract the following sketch of Italian criminal jurisprudence:—

"Heinous crimes, such as the one committed by the mysterious Spaniard, have the effect of rousing the solicitude of the senate or supreme court for the prompt punishment of the offender. The preliminary examination by the provincial magistrate on Garzia's apprehension, was speedily followed by the removal of the prisoner to the jail of the capital, where he was to be interrogated by the judge of instruction. The judicial proceedings in Italy are still carried on in the old inquisitorial style, and every means, except torture, is resorted to, to extort the prisoner's confession, or at least, to elicit from his manner, looks, and contradictory statements, the proofs of his guilt. It is still the practice to confine in the same cell with the accused of felony, another prisoner, who is in the confidence of the police, a *mouton*, as the French style such characters,

whose art is to avail himself of the facilities produced by familiar intercourse, and to extort, in some unguarded moment, his companion's secret, which the wretch tells to the court in return for the indulgencies he is allowed in prison, or for the reprieve of his own sentence."

The companion given to our Spaniard was a heavy offender, nearly seventy years of age, and experienced in every sort of villainy. Old George, however, did not find in the stranger an easy dupe; on the contrary, he soon perceived that Garzia had guessed the object of his presence. After some attempts at familiarity, which were repelled with scorn by the Spaniard, George assumed a humbler tone, and ventured to offer his companion the services of his long experience, observing that of the last sixty years he had passed at least forty in various prisons, in consequence of numerous peccadillos he had committed. "'And they have not hanged you yet,' exclaimed the Spaniard. 'That is because I would not let them,' replied Giorgio. 'I took care whenever I ventured to steal or swindle, to be first well acquainted with the articles of the Code which referred to such transactions.'"

Next morning Giorgio resumed his attack, but with no better success, and being plainly taxed by the Spaniard with acting as a spy of the police, he unblushingly acknowledged it, saying that to the services he rendered in this capacity he was indebted for the little comforts he was allowed in his old age.

"'They tell me,' added he, 'that by so doing I make amends for my past sins.' 'You had better starve,' observed Garzia, 'than lend yourself to such vile practices.' 'I have tried the alternative,' said Giorgio, 'but I never could bear fasting longer than twelve hours.'

"Here the jailor, followed by the judge and two secretaries, came to interrupt this strange lecture bestowed by a murderer upon a thief. The latter, no doubt, was one of the vilest of men; but yet the other, who had in cold blood plunged a dagger into the bosom of his fellow-creature, was hardly entitled to assume such a tone of moral indignation. But these anomalies in judging of the gradations of guilt are by no means uncommon. Crimes of blood, unattended by robbery, are often looked upon with less aversion than simple larceny.

"We shall not have in this instance to describe that sort of mental wrestling which commonly takes place between the judge and the prisoner, the former availing himself of all the subtleties of his profession, and the experience of a long practice, in order to force as it were the accused in his last retreat, repeating the same questions in different shapes, collating the various replies, and commenting upon their discrepancies, and recalling various circumstances of time and place in order to embarrass and confuse the culprit. Our Spaniard had determined to avoid all this by frankly acknowledging his crime,"—pp. 583, &c.

Garzia, after revealing to Velasco the whole conspiracy against his happiness, suffered the punishment of the law for the murder of Pedrillo. All difficulties being removed, Velasco and Ida were married, with the approbation of their mutual relatives. The principal interest in the novel consists in the descriptions of local manners and national character, which however are rather contracted. Upon the whole "*La Fianza*" is a weaker production than "*Sibilla Odaleta*." The latter, we perceive, has been translated into French.

ART. XX.—*Geschichte der Carthager, nach den Quellen bearbeitet.* Von Dr. Wilhelm Böttcher, Oberlehrer am Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium zu Berlin. (*History of the Carthaginians, compiled from original Sources.* By Dr. William Böttcher, Head Master in the Frederick-Williams Gymnasium.) 8vo. Berlin. 1827.

THIS work, which fills up, as far as can now be done, a remarkable vacuum in the history of the ancient world, has been very well received in Germany, and spoken of in high terms in various critical publications. The author observes

in his preface, that he was led to devote his attention to this subject by the singular disproportion which may be observed in historical works and lectures, between the scanty outlines of Carthaginian history and the ample accounts given of other ancient nations.

"It is really unjust," he observes, "to bestow less attention on a people to whom Providence assigned so peculiar a situation in the history of mankind, than on other nations of antiquity who were more fortunate, in being allowed to transmit their own history to posterity; a nation which had, in more respects than one, a most important influence on the affairs of those times; and without a more particular knowledge of which, the picture of antiquity, which history ought to present, remains imperfect. What Egypt was in the east of Africa, Carthage was in the west; and if the superior antiquity of the Egyptians, their more various fortunes, the peculiar nature of the country which they inhabited, and the remarkable monuments of their arts, claim in a superior degree the attention of the historian, yet the first commercial republic that made itself powerful by conquests, which was formidable even to the Greeks and Romans, whose constitution is considered as one of the most perfect even by Aristotle, a people that combined in its character the energy, perseverance and gravity of the Spartans, with the susceptibility, the arduous and enterprising spirit of the Athenians, is undoubtedly well deserving of notice."

This history is divided into three periods:

I. From the foundation of Carthage to the wars with Syracuse—898 to 480 B. C.

II. From the beginning of the wars with Syracuse to the beginning of the wars with Rome—480 to 264 B. C.

III. From the beginning of the wars with Rome to the destruction of Carthage—264 to 146 B. C.

Though the author declares that he is far from considering his work as entirely exhausting the subject, but, on the contrary, is convinced that it is susceptible of many corrections and additions, he has certainly succeeded in throwing a clear light on one of the most interesting parts of ancient history, and seems to have made the best use, not only of the more considerable of the ancient writers, Polybius, Livy, Appian and Diodorus, but also of the scattered notices in the writings of Scylax, Herodotus, Aristotle, Plutarch, Strabo, Athenæus, Polyænus, Pliny the elder, Sallust, Nepos, Valerius Maximus, Silius Italicus, and some others. Even such writers as Orosius, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and Procopius, furnish some data towards the history of Carthage. The works of modern writers, German, English, French, &c. have also been carefully consulted. Heeren's celebrated work on the policy and commerce of the nations of antiquity has been of great use to the author as a guide, and without tempting him from the track of his own researches. On the whole, Dr. Bötticher has produced a connected history of Carthage from its origin to its fall, which has hitherto been a desideratum; and as he has scrupulously quoted his authorities at the bottom of the pages, those who are able and willing may consult the original. To us it seems that the author has made a conscientious and impartial use of the materials which were at his command.

ART. XXI.—*Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, von J. Ph. Fallmerayer. (*History of the Empire of Trebizond*, by J. Ph. Fallmerayer, Professor of History at the Royal Lyceum of Landshut in Bavaria.) 4to. Munich. 1827.

THIS work affords another favourable specimen of the extraordinary industry and research of German scholars. It obtained the prize offered, two or three years since, by the Royal Academy of Science, at Copenhagen; but the author himself, not satisfied with his labour, actually undertook a journey to Venice

for the purpose of examining the MSS.; in the library originally founded by Cardinal Bessarion, in the hope of discovering there materials to enable him to make his work more complete. In this hope he was not disappointed; he was fortunate enough to meet with two MSS. which were of the greatest importance to him; and he has also been aided by a number of interesting communications from different orientalistes (among others M. de Sacy and M. Hase,) to whom he had applied. These have enabled him to bring out his work in a much more perfect state, than when it gained the prize at Copenhagen.

Trebizond is a city of Asia Minor, (in what is now the Turkish province of Nalolia,) renowned from remote antiquity; originally independent, it was first subjected by the Romans, afterwards became one of the frontier towns of the Byzantine Empire, repelled the Seljukian invaders, and finally became the seat of a new Empire, the sceptre of which was swayed by a succession of sovereigns for upwards of two centuries and a half, from the commencement of the thirteenth to the year 1462, nine years after the fall of Constantinople. Of the history of this Empire very little was hitherto known; Gibbon, in the little he says of it, has not the merit of his usual accuracy, and the Benedictine chronologists found their materials too scanty to give it a place in their great work, the *Art de vérifier les Dates*.

Mr. Fallmerayer's History is divided into three books, preceded by an Introduction, in which the author has collected and examined every thing to be found in the authors of antiquity and the middle ages respecting Trebizond, from its foundation, till it became the capital of a new Empire. In the first and second books he relates the history of the twenty sovereigns who successively occupied the throne, and in the third, he treats of the topography, state of civilization, and ecclesiastical organization of the Empire.

The circumstances which led to the foundation of this Empire are related by Mr. F. at considerable length, but may be briefly summed up. At Constantinople, for some time prior to the Revolution of 1185, the factions by which the Byzantine Empire was distracted, had come to open war. The Emperor Andronicus Comnenus succeeded to an Empress who had been strangled, and after putting to death his young nephew, Alexis, for whom he ought to have held the reins of government, he, in order to render his government more secure, adopted the abominable resolution of getting rid of the grandees whom he dreaded, by condemning them to death, on pretence of being guilty of high treason. This was the cause of his own destruction. One of the intended victims, Isaac Angelus, killed the officer who had been sent by the Emperor to arrest him, and immediately stirred up the people to insurrection. The prisons in which the nobles were confined, were broke open, and the prisoners liberated. Andronicus, finding the revolt became general, after vainly attempting to negotiate, fled on board a vessel; but being driven back by a storm, was immediately seized and cut in pieces. From a singular obliquity of moral vision, which it would be difficult to account for, from the talent and judgment he generally displays, this Emperor Andronicus is the object of our author's peculiar admiration; he goes so far as to style him the *father of his people, their tutelary genius*, &c. and even speaks of his plan of exterminating the noble families of Byzantium (calling it the *amputation of the diseased members of the social body*!) as one that was necessary for the future happiness of his subjects. The two sons of the Emperor, Manuel and John, had their eyes put out, and died in prison; but their sister Thamar was fortunate enough to make her escape with her two infant nephews, Alexis and David, the sons of Manuel, and gained the Colchid, where the Comneni still retained many warm partisans. Here their party maintained itself for the eighteen years, that the reign of the new dynasty over the Bosphorus lasted; on the overthrow of that, and the erection of the Latin Empire in its stead,

when the provinces fell into disorder and confusion, the young Alexis took advantage of the opportunity, possessed himself of Trebizond, Amisus, Sinope, and Heraclea, and established his seat of empire on the south side of the Black Sea, about 1264. These details Mr. F. has principally drawn from the unedited chronicle of Michael Panaretos, one of the MSS. which he found in the library of Cardinal Bessarion, as we have already mentioned.

The reign of Alexis I., which had so auspicious a commencement, did not end so prosperously. Heraclea was taken by Theodore Lascaris; and the Sultan of Iconium successively conquered from him Sinope, and the whole coast of the Black Sea, as far as the mouth of the Halys. Alexis died in 1222. The third in succession from him, Manuel I. surnamed the *great captain*, succeeded by his abilities as a warrior, and his skill as a negotiator, in strengthening his authority and maintaining tranquillity in his dominions, for the twenty-five years of his reign. During the reign of his six following successors, the Empire was engaged in constant war with the Turks, and latterly distracted by the contests for supremacy of the two factions, the *Scholarii*, and the *Mesochuldians*; the first the nobility of the palace, the descendants of the Constantinopolitan families, and the latter the powerful families of the country. So long as the inhabitants of the Empire continued united as one body, its power was maintained; but after the death of Basil I. in 1340, and during the feeble reign of his widow Irene, who succeeded him, several of the more powerful nobility possessed themselves of the provinces and the strongest military positions, and erected themselves into independent princes. This dismemberment of the Empire exposed it to the successive invasion of the Turks and Tartars; and its history during the last hundred and twenty years of its existence, is filled with little else but the struggles and intrigues of factions, and all the disorders which arise from a state of anarchy. John IV., the last sovereign but one, ended in becoming a tributary of Mahomet II. in 1456. His brother David, who succeeded him two years after, attempted to throw off the Ottoman yoke, by forming a league against Mahomet, composed of the Mussulman chiefs of Caramania, Armenia, and Sinope, and the Christian princes of Mingrelia and the Caucasian provinces. He also applied for assistance to Oozoon Hassan, the powerful Sultan of the Turcomans, whose capital was Diarbekr, and who had married his niece, Catharine Comnenæ. But a single campaign enabled the Ottoman Sultan to take Sinope, and to conclude a separate treaty with Oozoon Hassan, in which David was not included. Mahomet in the same year (1462) appeared before Trebizond with a numerous army; the city very soon capitulated without resistance, and the Emperor, with his family and officers of state, were removed by sea to Constantinople, and afterwards to Adrianople, where they were put to death. This easy conquest was attributed to treachery, and it seems difficult to account for it in any other way; for the place was strong in natural position, had a numerous garrison, and was abundantly supplied with provisions; the Ottoman army, on the other hand, had suffered great losses in the passages of the mountains, and was destitute both of artillery and provisions. Thus was terminated on the shores of the Black Sea, that national and religious struggle, between the Greeks and Mussulmans, which had lasted for above eight centuries.

Mr. Fallmerayer's third book is full of interest, from the light it throws upon various particulars connected with the state of civilization in this Empire. In point of climate and natural productions, perhaps, no country in the world was more fortunate, and the city itself was for many ages one of the great emporiums of the commerce between the eastern and western world. Arts and manufactures were in a very advanced state, and science, letters and philosophy were cultivated, perhaps to as great an extent as they were, at that time, in any part of Europe. Mr. F.'s research has even hunted out some of

their authors, and furnished us with detailed information relative to their works, their merits and their public and private life. The women of Trebizond were beautiful to a proverb: but the people were entirely destitute of the education and institutions that nourish those military and civil virtues, which are the real foundation of national prosperity. They were plunged in luxury and effeminacy, were turbulent, vindictive, and constantly in broils with each other. For their long political existence they were much less indebted to their own valour and patriotism, than to the lofty chain of mountains which surrounded and protected their territory.

This work, from the variety of new facts which it presents, its chronological accuracy, the acute spirit of observation which it generally displays, and its animated and dignified style, reflects great credit on the author, and fully vindicates the honourable distinction awarded to it by the Danish Academy.

ART. XXII.—*German Almanacks for 1829*;—1. *Urania*.—2. *Minerva*.—3. *Taschenbuch der Liebe und Freundschaft*.—4. *Penelope*.—5. *Vielliebchen*.—6. *Orpheu*.—7. *Taschenbuch aus Italien und Griechenland*.—8. *Taschenbuch für Damen*.—9. *Cornelia*.—10. *Aglaja*.—11. *Fruentaschenbuch*.—12. *The Englishman's Fireside on the Banks of the Rhine*.

THE German Almanacks are this year quite as numerous as usual, amounting we believe to upwards of thirty. The average merit of them too, both as to engravings and literary contributions, is much the same as in former years. We shall run over a few of the principal ones, as we did last year, taking them in the order they stand in our list.

1. *Urania*.—This Almanack opens with a well executed portrait of W. Müller. The other plates, illustrative of Bürger's Poems, are as bad as possible, and quite disfigure the work. Among the articles, the first by Spindler, and the last, by Johanna Schopenhauer, particularly pleased us. The first, entitled "The Falconer's Betrothed," is an exceedingly clever story, of the age of Louis XIV. The French troops who had crossed the Rhine, and destroyed Baden, meet with a country girl, of uncommon beauty, who is betrothed to a falconer. A French lieutenant, Monsieur de Letellier, a nephew of the powerful Louvois, falls in love with her, and she consents to marry him, in order to save the life of the poor falconer, whom the valorous lieutenant was about to kill out of pure jealousy. The lovely Rosina is accordingly married to Letellier, and under the protection of a wounded Gascon, is removed from the seat of war and conveyed to her husband's estate. Louvois is enraged on hearing of the folly of his nephew, and insults the poor Rosina, who is unable to bring forward a single proof of the legality of her marriage. Louvois' opponents at court, however, take up her case; she gains the favour of the king, is acknowledged as the lawful widow of Letellier, who had fallen in battle, and marries a Viscount, whom she had known as Letellier's comrade, and who had distinguished himself by his noble spirit. The author has been particularly happy in depicting the manners and mode of life of the French soldiery; the embarrassment and distress of the German maiden in a strange country, and the courtesy of the amiable people who so quickly relieved her from her perplexities. The last tale—"The Eagle's Nest," which exhibits a fine picture of the self-devotion of a mother, who, in the pursuit of her child, which an eagle had carried off, clambered rocks and scaled precipices for its rescue, which she at length happily effected, has not the merit of originality, as, if our memory does not deceive us, the same story is to be found in a sketch by one of our own distinguished northern poets.

One of the most remarkable contributions to the *Urania*, is an extract, in unrhymed iambics, from the old tragedy of *Charles Stuart*, by Andrew

Gryphus, with a prologue and epilogue, by Gustav Schwab. This tragedy was written in 1649, shortly after the execution of the ill-fated monarch, and is one of the most powerful and animated productions of the poet, whose merits, from the specimen here exhibited, must entitle him to a more distinguished place in the literature of his country than he has hitherto filled. Tieck, indeed, has reprinted, in his old German Theatre, some of the best of his comedies and tragedies; and M. Schwab deserves no little praise for the skill with which he has revised the style and removed all traces of that antique stiffness, which frequently defaces the original, and instead of tears would provoke laughter. The two tales, by Lud. Robert, and Wilhelm Blumenhagen, contain some very good sketches of character, particularly that by Robert, entitled, "The Pottery." A canto of a long didactic poem of Tiedge, entitled, "Ramble through the Mart of Fame," pleased us least of all. It comprehends a critical estimate of German Poetry, and of the most eminent German poets, but is more particularly confined to the elder ones, such as Gleim, Michaelis, Ramler, Jacobi, Schmidt, &c. We could have very well dispensed with the praises of these ancient worthies, who have long since sung their own, and that to some tune.

2. *Minerva*.—This Almanack, of one-and-twenty years standing, is now in the habit of treating us to a picture-gallery from Goethe, as formerly it did from Schiller. Ramberg has been called upon this time to illustrate Faust, and, after Cornelius, all we can say of the attempt is to express our wonder at it. Among the tales, the prettiest is an historical one by Blumenhagen, entitled, "The Rivals, or the Prince and the Shopkeeper." Duke Henry Julius, of Wolfenbittel is expected at Helsingor by his bride, a Danish princess. He arrives, but disguised as a jeweller, and proceeds to play off all manner of jokes on the princess, till at length he discovers himself. The time of the story is in 1590. A tale, by Lamotte Fouqué, entitled, "Trommelfritz and Klingegut," opens well, but ends, as is too much the author's manner, rather too inconsistent.

Caroline Pichler, in "The Friend," treats us with a remarkable apparition; Hirzel's "Travelling Sketches" contain some pleasing scenes from Switzerland, and we have here another canto of Tiedge's "Mart of Fame," already noticed in the *Urania*. Tiedge has here expressed himself with such wrath and peevishness on ideal philosophy, natural philosophy, mythology, magnetism, &c., that we might have supposed him to be our old friend, Voss, risen from the grave, until the lachrymose tone of the elegiac poet satisfied us that we were listening to the effusions of a mind of much weaker calibre.

3. The chief attraction of this "Pocket-Book—sacred to Love and Friendship"—continues to be its tiny prints, that used formerly to be attached to the Monthly Calendar. Spindler has illustrated them this time by a running commentary, exhibiting some pretensions to humour. The larger historical plates, by Ramberg, as usual have too much mannerism. The best tale is by Weisflog, and is entitled, "The Calling." The hero of the story is a poor aspirant, not unlike the simple and laughable, but truly kind-hearted and tasteful youth, so admirably depicted by John Paul, in his *Flegeljahren* and *Quintus Firlein*. Lohmann's "Journey to Paris" is also an agreeable article. The chief character is a poor Swiss, who has travelled to Paris with the precious diamond, lost by Charles the Bold, during the Burgundian wars, and whose ignorance of the value of his prize exposes him to all manner of tricks, perils and dangers. The "Little White Hat," a popular tradition, is rather too deeply tinged with the horrible. Some poetical pieces, of various merit, by Prätzel and others, conclude the volume.

4. *Penelope*.—The chief recommendation of this Almanack above the others is the uncommon elegance of its cover. The frontispiece and the Lady of Savern,

from Schiller, belong to that disagreeable species of illustrations so peculiarly appropriate to Claren's Vergissmeinnicht, where the baby-faced heroines seem to be all swan-down and sea-foam; with fat, straddling, mis-shapen fingers, and fashionable locks, as hard and coarse as if they were formed of iron. The other plates to Schiller's poems, by Nücke, Schnorr and Ramberg, are better. But how Theodore Hell, the editor, in illustrating the plates, could think of substituting such rhymes as a schoolboy ought to be ashamed of, for the melodious verses of Schiller, is to us incomprehensible, did we not recollect that perhaps Mr. Hell (Hofrath Winkler) fancied them excellent. We would advise him to give us a complete paraphrase of Schiller or Tieck in this style!

Among the tales we particularly remarked a comic one by Spindler, entitled, "The Great Unknown," in which the rage for the vain attempts at imitation of the Waverley style is tolerably well lashed; and the "Fall of the Thuringian Kingdom," an historical sketch, by A. Wendt. "The Poacher," by Blumenhagen, contains some horrible night and wood scenes, which impart some interest to a story otherwise not very remarkable. "The Emigrant's Story," by Lohmann, and "the Painter's Story, by Agathe E*", appear very common-place. Besides these the Editor has given the history of St. Elizabeth, with her portrait; and the whole is concluded by some poems, by Tiedge, Seidler, &c.

5. *Vielliebchen*.—This Almanack, by Tromlitz, is made up of historical and romantic tales, with no poetry, except such as is mixed up with the prose. The plates are eight in number, and are very well executed, especially two female portraits, and a view of Bombay, copied from an English artist. The first tale, entitled "the Day of Granson," gives a very animated picture of the most brilliant period of Swiss history, the Burgundian war, and mixes up with its historical details a tolerably well-introduced love story. The second tale, "the Troubadour," is rather too common-place to detain our readers with; and we pass on to the third, "Biondina," which is the best in the volume, and is indeed a masterly little tale. The scene is laid in Naples, where the gallant and accomplished Duke of Nemours, the favourite of the fair sex, is represented as fascinated by a poor but proud girl, and forced to change his wonted gallantry into respect, and his flattery into a deep-rooted attachment. After the fair Biondina had put his attachment to the utmost proof, she threw off the mask of poverty, and discovered herself in the character of a high-born dame, worthy to bless him with her hand. The last tale, "Minstrel Love," transports us to the court of Duke Henry of Wolfenbittel, who being in love with an empty-minded but beautiful lady of his court, feigned her death and burial in order to evade the inquiries of the Duchess, but in reality had her privately conveyed to his castle of Hausenberg, where she lived, forgotten by all the world. The minstrel Otto, however, a former lover of Everis, discovers that she is still alive; but, being found out by the Duke, is put to death by his servants, although he had faithfully preserved the secret.

6. *Orphea*.—Ramberg's illustrations to Weber's Oberon, which form this year's embellishments, are executed with more care than he has bestowed on his engravings in the other almanacks. The first tale, by Blumenhagen, entitled "Hanover's Spartan," is certainly one of this too rapid writer's best productions. Pictures of manners as they existed in the imperial cities during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, have always been his forte. Here, indeed, he seems quite at home, and he depicts the worthy citizens in their old-fashioned domestic life and pursuits, as much to the life as if he had lived among them. A novelette by Kruse possesses some originality, but the materials appear to us too copious for the use that is made of them. The occurrences in Spain would alone form the ground-work of an interesting story. In its present shape the interest is too much weakened by the later events in the Netherlands. The "Grey Mask," by the Baroness Lamotte Fouqué, fails

of pleasing, is the whole of the horrible phantasmagoria appears to be without either motive, meaning, or end.

7. This "Pocket-book from Italy and Greece," now published for the first time, awakens, by its title, some lively expectations, particularly as regards the department of art. We unavoidably think of the innumerable treasures of Italy, and open the book with the pleasing expectation of finding admirable engravings by German artists in Rome, taken from the best originals. Our first expectations were not disappointed. The frontispiece is of distinguished beauty, being the portrait of a young female by Grahl, from the original of the size of life, which excited such universal attention in Rome in 1837, at the exhibition of works of German art got up under the patronage of his Majesty the King of Bavaria. The other plates fall in coming up to the standard of their leader, and we miss in them that unity of design which shows the editor and publisher to have gone hand in hand to attain a common end—the perfection of their almanack. With the means that Rome affords, much more might have been accomplished.

A beautiful poem by the editor, addressed to his countrymen, is a worthy commencement to the work. M. Waiblinger, already known by his *Phœtön* and *Greek Tales*; has, after the example of Messieurs Clauxen and Tromlitz, filled this Almanack with his own productions; and as the whole contents relate to only one subject, Rome, the peculiarity of the work is more striking. The first tale, entitled, "the Feast of Flowers," depicts the Romans at home; the second, "the English in Rome," exhibits the natives, in contrast with strangers, viz. the travelling English; the third is entitled "the Holy Week," and consists of scenes taken from the well-known exhibition of that period. A poem entitled "Songs of the Roman Carnival," attempts to compete with Goethe's inimitable representation of the same subject. Had not almost every minute trait of Roman life been already described ten thousand times over by preceding poets and travellers, the present verses, which are really very beautiful, would have made a deeper impression than they otherwise can. His history of the English family that ascended St. Peter's in order to drink tea in the cupola, and met with all possible mischances by the way, is very well told, and displays a comic power scarcely inferior to that of John Paul. The poet has, however, coloured his picture of the English too highly, and on the other hand been too lenient to the Italians. If the reader thought the *Greek Tales* of M. Waiblinger deserving of censure, he will be pleased to perceive that in the present Almanack the author has bridled in his too exuberant fancy, and that his poetical productions exhibit evident tokens of improved cultivation.

8. *Taschenbuch für Damen*.—Cotta of Stuttgart has got up an Almanack this year with ten engravings from English artists, possessing no mean attractions in a literary point of view. Schenk's comedy of "Albert Durer in Venice," is among the best recent productions of the kind; and Heine, the author of the "Travelling Sketches" and the "Book of Songs," has communicated some of his happiest poetical effusions. The novel of "Acerbi," by W. Alexis, ably depicts the career of a young political adventurer, in whose history we trace a resemblance, not to be mistaken, to that of the well-known Wilt von Döring. The poetical contributions of Baron Zedlitz advantageously follow those of Heine, and Tromlitz has communicated a story which, although too closely reminding us of Kotzebue's "Epigram," is exceedingly attractive, and displays a most agreeable share of comicality. In conclusion, we have many poems of no common merit.

9. The *Cornelia*, edited by Aloys Schreiber, is equally commendable, both as regards its exterior and interior. The numerous contributions open this time with "Tales of the Rhine," by C. Geib, a poet who has already distinguished himself by pieces of a similar description; and the present are even

more finished and agreeable compositions than his preceding. The popular pens of Lohmann, Mosengeil, Spindler, &c. have also been put in requisition.

10. *Aglaja*.—This annual, we believe, was never very distinguished for its literary excellence, and the present volume will not redeem its character in that respect. Some well-known names, indeed, appear among the contributors—Von Hammer, Grillparzer, Theodore Hell, Lohmann, &c. &c.; but their lucubrations have failed to excite in us any intense interest, and we can only speak of the engravings as likely to secure admirers. These, from the commencement, have formed its chief attraction, and render the *Aglaja*, although on a greatly inferior scale, the *Keepsake* or the *Anniversary* of Germany.

11. Mr. Döring has this year put forth a highly creditable volume, both as respects matter and embellishments. His own tale, entitled "The Emigrant," contains some good nautical scenes, a style which his countrymen have seldom attempted with success. His poem also, illustrative of the frontispiece, entitled "The Mother's Guardian Angel," is one of the best we have seen in the Almanacks of this year. Leopold Schöfer's moral tale, "The Nabob," illustrative of the true value of riches, is, to our taste, the best article in the volume, although we regret that the talented writer is so careless of the unity and connection of his stories. Lohmann, in the "Bondswoman," depicts, with his usual force, the catastrophe attending the Landgrave Albert's unhappy persecution of his noble spouse Margaret. The characters are briefly, but ably, depicted, and the situation of the bondswoman, Hugold, his combat and triumph, are brought on the scene with all the reality of life. The remaining articles, in prose and verse, are not remarkable. The plates are partly illustrative of Vander Velde's novels, and views of the City of Nuremberg.

12. *The Englishman's Fire-side on the Banks of the Rhine*.—Although it may be considered a departure from our ordinary plan to notice English works, yet as it affords a proof of the growing popularity of the English language on the continent, we may be pardoned for occasionally adverting to such productions. The *Englishman's Fire-side*, although not got up with the taste and simple elegance that distinguish *home*, we have no doubt has afforded a cheering sight to many of our countrymen on the Banks of the Rhine, and, perhaps, by reminding some of them of what they have too long forgotten, may recall them from foreign scenes and stranger tongues, to the land of their fathers, much the better, we would hope, for their excursions. The epithet *superb*, applied to the engravings of the Fire-side, seems to us not a little misplaced; for, with the exception of the frontispiece, a portrait of Sir Walter Scott's Rebecca, to which the term may, perhaps be, with some justice, conceded, the other engravings are as common place as possible. The contents are not original, being chiefly prose selections from "Tales of Continental Life;" "The Entail," a tale, translated from Hoffmann, and some poetical extracts, exhibiting the progress of English poetry from Chaucer to the year 1800. Some of Moore's songs, with music, conclude this well-meant little work, which, in the hands of an editor better acquainted with the English language and its literary treasures, might have been made a far superior production.

We wished to have said a few words about *Becker's Taschenbuch*, published by Kind, and Dr. Adrian's *Rheinisches Taschenbuch*, but must conclude by praising the first for its portrait of *Costanze*, some real or imaginary beauty, whose mild and winning aspect might dispose the sternest critic to indulgence, and the second for its illustrations of Scott's Novels and Tales, and its humorous recollections of a visit to this country, by our worthy friend Dr. Adrian, whom we shall be glad to meet again in old England.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

No. VI.

DENMARK.

A VESSEL has arrived at Copenhagen from Leghorn with seventy chests of sculptures by Thorwaldsen, partly in plaster and partly in marble, intended for the decoration of the Castle of Christianburg. Among these productions of the great sculptor are, the Twelve Apostles, the Graces, a Female Dancer, &c. which will also be of great importance for the formation of the taste of the young artists at the Copenhagen Academy.

The Comedies of Holberg, which will for ever form the delight of the Danish reading public, have recently been illustrated by thirty-four drawings, that will shortly be engraven, to accompany a splendid edition of the Comedies. The drawings were made at the expense of M. Nathanson and Professors Lorenzen and Eckensberg.

The second volume of the Atlas of Denmark is now finished, and the third volume is commenced. A similar work has been begun for Norway, founded on the observations of M. Hansteen.

The Report just published by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, at Copenhagen, giving an account of its labours for the years 1825, 1826 and 1827, makes mention of a discovery of some interest for the history of northern navigation. A stone, engraved with Runic characters, was found in 1824 in the island of Kingiktorsoak, on the western coast of Greenland, bearing the following inscription:—

Elligr . Sigraps : son : r . ok . Bjanne . Tortarson ; ok : Enripi . Osson : langardag . in : fyrir . Gagn dag . Holpu . vardete . ok rydu : MCXXXV.

Which is thus read—

“ Erlingr Sighvatsson ok Bjarne Tordarson ok Endridi Oddsson langardaginn fyrir Gagn dag hlodu vanda pessa ok ruddu 1135.”

The following explanation is given by Dr. Rafn, the Secretary to the Society :

“ Erling Sigvatson, Bjarne Thordarson and Enride Oddson erected these heaps of stones (varder) the Saturday before the day called Gagn dag (April 25), and they cleaned the place in 1135.” M. Kragh, a Greenland missionary, saw three heaps of stones on the spot where this inscription was found, each of these three individuals having apparently erected his own. This stone, according to Dr. Rafn, is of great historical importance, as it proves that so early as the twelfth century our ancestors had pushed their navigation, on the western coast of Greenland, up to so high a latitude.

Raupach's Tragedy of *Let the Dead Rest* has been brought out on the Danish stage, but with little success. The Danish translation of this tragedy forms the Seventh Number of the *Repertory of the Royal Danish Theatre*, now in course of publication.

The Tragedies of *Bajazet* and *Tulcr*, by M. Hauch, are reckoned among the most remarkable productions of the recent elegant literature of Denmark.

FRANCE.

At a recent sitting of the *Société de Géographie*, M. Warden communicated an extract from a letter addressed to the Marquis de Fortia by M. le Comte Saqui, from which it appeared, that in digging a well in Cuba, about twelve leagues from the Havannah, at the depth of about 100 French feet, a vase was found, in perfect preservation, covered with hieroglyphics, and bearing several figures, one of which resembled the Sagittarius of our Zodiac, and is represented drawing his bow at two individuals, who appear chained together, or holding each other by the hand. These figures resemble those found in Egypt. The vase has been presented to the city of Orleans.

In addition to the courses of lectures that have been recently given at Paris, by Messrs. Cousin, Guizot and Villemain, and which are now resumed, on the History of Philosophy, General History, and French Literature, two new courses are delivering on Natural and Public Law and on the History of Law, by the well-known M. Charles Comte, author of the valuable *Traité de Législation*, and M. Eugène Lerminier, a young advocate of great promise, who is well acquainted with the advanced state to which the science has attained in Germany in the hands of a Hugo, a Savigny and a Thibaut.

The Horticultural Society of Paris held its first annual meeting on the 29th of August last. Every arrangement had been made to give eclat to the occasion by the exhibition of rare and remarkable plants, and of the most beautiful fruits and flowers. The Count de Chabrol opened the sitting by a speech in which he exhibited the advantages resulting to science at large from the establishment of societies devoted to the cultivation of particular branches, and gave assurances of the protection which the Society might rely on receiving from the government, which, he said, was always disposed to encourage every plan for the public good. The secretary, M. Soulange Bodin, then read a Report of the proceedings of the Society since its commencement, and congratulated the meeting on the rapid progress it had made in so short a time.

His Majesty (on the proposal of the Baron de la Bouillerie) has purchased the numerous collection of books and MSS. relative to Petrarch, which has been formed by M. Marsand, Professor of the University of Padua, to whom we are indebted for the best edition of Petrarch's Poems. This collection (the catalogue of which is published in 1 vol. 4to. at Milan, under the title of *Biblioteca Petrarquista*) consists of about 900 vols. divided into 3 parts. The first includes the complete series of the editions of Petrarch, from the first in 1476, down to our own times. The second contains all the Latin, French, Spanish, German and English translations that have been published of these Poems, all the commentaries on them, and all the publications on the Life of Petrarch. The third is a collection of valuable MSS. ancient and modern, on vellum, with illustrations relative to Petrarch's Poems. This library is to be placed in one of the cabinets of the private library of the King and of the Council of State.

Part I. of a French Translation of the Rev. Thomas Scott's Bible, in 4to., containing the Gospel of St. Matthew, has just appeared at Paris. The continuation of the work will depend on the success of the first part.

Professor Kunth has announced a new contribution to botanical science, entitled *Revision des Graminées*, being an enlargement of what appeared in his *Nova Genera et Species Plantarum America Septentrionalis*. The Introduction will contain some original views respecting the organization of this most useful class of vegetables, establishing their relation with others, and discussing the opinions previously entertained on the subject. The author will then notice the generic characters, point out those which are best established, and add some new ones resulting from his own observations. This Introduction will be followed by the complete *Genera*. The work will be illustrated by 100 finely coloured engravings, and, with the descriptive text, will form a folio volume of the same size as the *Note Generis* and the *Minors*.

Three commissions have been appointed at Paris in order to submit to the government their opinion of the best means of ameliorating the three great branches of literary industry, viz. paper-making, printing and bookselling, and of removing the restrictions that are injurious to them.

A third edition of Legendre's Collection of the *Fabliaux*, or Tales translated or extracted from manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with historical and critical notes, is about to make its appearance. It will form five volumes, 8vo. beautifully printed on vellum paper, and embellished with eighteen vignettes from drawings by Moreau and Delaune. This edition will be more complete and correct than any of the preceding ones. M. A. A. Renouard, the editor, has had the advantage of possessing a copy of the original edition, with numerous additions and corrections in manuscript by the Author; of which he has carefully availed himself.

M. Gabriel Peignot is about to publish, in 2 vols. 8vo. *A Selection of Wills, Ancient and Modern, remarkable for their importance, their singularity, or their oddity, with Historical Details and Notes.*

General Count Philip de Segur, who has acquired so much celebrity by his *History of Napoleon's Expedition to Russia*, is about to publish a *History of Russia, from the Earliest Period to the Reign of Catherine*, in one thick vol. 8vo. Report speaks highly of this work, which the author has fashioned after the model of Bossuet's *Universal History*. An English translation will appear in London at the same time with the original.

M. Vitor, the author of *The Barricades* and of *The States of Blois*, both specimens of a new kind of historical drama, not intended for representation, which have excited an uncommon sensation in France; from the talent they display, is about to bring out a third volume of the same nature, under the title of *The Death of Henry the Third*. M. Leonard Gallois has just published a work of a similar description on the history of Napoleon, entitled *Three Acts of a Great Drama*.

That extraordinary periodical, the *Bulletin Universel des Sciences et de l'Industrie*, originally founded by the Baron de Ferussac, and now under the direction of a society, is about to commence its seventh year, with a still further augmentation of bulk and price.

At the sitting of the Academy of Sciences of the 8th of December, M. Cassini read a Report in the name of the Commission, composed of Messrs. Deffontaines, Mirbel, de Blainville and himself, upon a Memoir of M. Adolphe

Brongniart, read on the 23d. of June last, entitled *Nouvelles Recherches sur le pollen et les granules spermatiques des plantes*.

The reporter began by reminding the Academy, that in a preceding Report upon a previous Memoir of M. Brongniart, on the same subject, the same Commission had, without giving any opinion of the author's system, judged that his Memoir contained facts accurate, interesting, well observed, well described and well analysed, but few in number, and had recommended him to multiply his experiments.

The reporter proceeded to notice the Memoir presented to the Academy by M. Raspail, in which that naturalist, very experienced in microscopic observations, had endeavoured to prove that the granules proceeding from the grains of the pollen, so far from being spermatic animalcules, were not even organized bodies.

He was bound also to notice a paper of the celebrated English botanist Mr. Robert Brown, published a month after the reading of M. Brongniart's Memoir, but containing observations on the same subject, stated by the author to have been made in June, July and August, 1827.

Mr. Brown differs widely in opinion from M. Raspail, and is convinced, as well as M. Brongniart, that the granules of the grains of the pollen are endowed with peculiar and independent motion. But upon other points, relating especially to the theory, namely, to the particular nature and functions of these granules, and to their mode of action in the process of generation, Mr. Brown does not appear to entertain the same notions as M. Brongniart.

The English author, in fact, after having perceived motion in the granules of all the living plants subjected to his examination, has detected the same phenomenon; 1, in the granules of plants which have been dried for a century, or preserved in spirits of wine; 2, in those of mosses or equiseta, living or dried; 3, in the molecules obtained from bruising in water the different organized tissues, living or dead, whether vegetable or animal; finally, in those which he obtained by pounding in the same way all sorts of inorganic substances, such as glass, granite, &c. Mr. Brown seems to think that all active molecules, whether organic or inorganic, are of the same nature, the same form, the same size, endowed with the same properties; and that there is no difference between them and those which M. Brongniart has observed in the pollen.

The second Memoir of M. Brongniart, that upon which the Commission was specially called to give its opinion, is almost exclusively occupied, in refuting, by additional facts and observations, the new objections which M. Raspail had brought against it. In support of his own views, he refers particularly to the curious observation, that plants which flower during winter by means of shelter and the artificial heat of stoves, have the grains of their pollen in most cases entirely filled with mucilaginous matter, without regular and moving granules; and as these plants very rarely fructify, the author deduces an inference from it in favour of his system.

The very delicate question discussed by M. Brongniart is, therefore, now debated between three very skilful observers, each of whom resolves it in his own way.

Thus, while M. Brongniart admits that there are in the interior of the grains of pollen regular organised corpuscles, of a very particular nature, distinct from all other bodies, analogous with spermatic animalcules, and essentially destined to produce the embryo; M. Raspail sees in these corpuscles nothing but little resinous masses, shapeless, variable, totally destitute of life or organisation; and Mr. Brown, putting entirely aside the exclusive opinions of the two last observers, supposes that in all the bodies in nature, whether organic or inorganic, there are active molecules of the same form, the same size, the same

nature, and exhibiting a motion peculiar to themselves the moment they are separated from the mass, and plunged into a liquid.

"Although we are not now called upon," says the reporter, "to give an opinion relative to the systems of Mr. Brown and M. Raspail, it will be readily seen that we cannot avoid noticing them, at least indirectly, in considering that of M. Brongniart.

"And in the first place, your commissioners, after applying themselves to the observation of the facts with all the care in their power, and putting aside every prejudice, have unanimously agreed with M. Brongniart and Mr. Brown, that the causes to which M. Raspail attributes the motion of the granules, really exercise no influence whatever upon them.

"On the other hand, we admit, with Mr. Brown, that different inorganic bodies bruised in water, present, if not always, at least sometimes, corpuscles, whose appearance as to size, form, and motion, are nearly the same to the eye, aided by the microscope, as those of the granules of pollen.

"Such are the external appearances. But must we from thence conclude that the essential nature, all the properties and functions, are absolutely the same in bodies of such different origin? On this point we have not the temerity to decide, and indeed no opinion can be pronounced with certainty until we have made much more numerous and more profound researches than those which were in our power.

"The commissioners however remark, that the resemblance which the active molecules of Mr. Brown bear to the spermatic granules of M. Brongniart, afford strong presumptions against the latter's hypothesis.

"They wish also to direct the attention of botanists to the singular phenomenon of the peculiar and apparently spontaneous motion of all these different corpuscles. They ask if it might not be attributed to attractions and repulsions which they mutually exercise upon each other. They have remarked that the manifestation of the phenomenon was extremely variable in its intensity, to such a degree even, that under circumstances in appearance perfectly similar, the granules of the same plant have sometimes exhibited very sensible motion, at other times perfect immobility.

"We ought therefore to regard this order of phenomena as a new field of research opened to the investigation of naturalists and philosophers; and M. Brongniart has indisputably the merit, if not of having made the first discovery, of at least drawing attention to curious facts indistinctly remarked before him, soon afterwards forgotten or neglected, and especially of having confirmed and illustrated them by a sufficiently numerous series of methodical observations sagaciously directed, and which in so delicate and obscure a matter required great care and exactness.

"On this account your commissioners propose that the Academy should award its approbation to the labours of this ingenious observer."

In the volume for 1829, just published, of that useful little Almanack, the *Annuaire, par le Bureau des Longitudes*, is a long and remarkably interesting notice by M. Arago, on *Steam-Engines*, which will probably excite considerable interest in this country, from the attempt there made, *for the first time*, to tear from English brows the laurel attached to them for the priority of invention of this important machine, and place it upon those of his compatriots. Hitherto the English claim to that distinction has been set down as indubitable, not only by all our own writers without exception, but has been admitted in express terms by the French savans, and by the Academy of Sciences itself. M. Arago, however, contends that these admissions amount to nothing, as no serious investigation into the facts ever appears to have been instituted. Our

space prevents us from giving such an analysis of this notice as it deserves; but we shall content ourselves at present by a brief statement of the principal authorities adduced by M. Arago in support of his position. Putting aside altogether the claim lately brought forward by M. Navarrete in favour of Captain Blasco de Garay, a Spaniard, to be the inventor of steam-navigation in 1543, as not made out, M. Arago first introduces *Solomon de Caus*, a native of Normandy, who is said to have passed some years in England, and been in the service of the Prince of Wales, and was afterwards architect and engineer to the Elector Palatine. He published at Frankfort, in 1615, a work entitled *Les Raisons des forces mouvantes, avec diverses machines tant utiles que plaisantes*, &c., and dedicated to Louis XIII. The fifth theorem is thus headed: "L'eau montera PAR AIDE du feu plus haut que son niveau;" and the explanation of this with a diagram, (both of which are given) says M. Arago, exhibits a real steam-engine capable of producing a vacuum. This was forty-eight years prior to the appearance of the Marquis of Worcester's *Century of Inventions*, in which the English authors find the first idea of the steam-engine. M. Arago's second authority is *Denis Papin*, a native of Blois and a Protestant physician, who left France in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, resided several years in England, (where he became a F. R. S. and assisted Boyle in his experiments,) and was afterwards appointed Professor of Mathematics in the University of Marburg, in Hesse, where he died in 1710. M. Arago produces extracts of some length from memoirs of Papin in the *Leipzig Acts* for 1688, (published in 1690, p. 644,) and subsequently with enlargements, in a letter to Count William Maurice, in the *Recueil de diverses pièces touchant quelques nouvelles Machines*, printed at Cassel in 1695, (p. 38, &c.) all which, according to M. Arago's deductions, prove, 1, that Papin had the first idea of a steam-engine with piston; 2, that he was the first who combined in the same steam-engine the elastic force of steam, with its property (which he also first pointed out) of condensing itself by cooling; 3, that he was the first who made use of a steam-engine to turn a tree or a wheel, and pointed out the mode of changing the rectilinear movement of the piston into a continuous rotatory movement; and that he ought to be regarded as the real inventor of steam-bouts. This was forty-two years before Jonathan Hull's pamphlet, *descriptive of the vessel for which he obtained a patent*. M. Arago also states that in France, in 1775, M. Perier built the first steam vessel, as is proved by a work of M. Ducrest, printed in 1777, in which an account is given of the experiments at which he (Ducrest) assisted; that in 1778 experiments on a larger scale were made at Baume-les-Dames, by the Marquis de Jouffroy; that in 1781 the Marquis constructed a large boat of the same kind, upon the Saône, which was 46 mètres long, by 45 mètres wide, and had two separate engines; that in 1783 the Minister of the day sent the reports of the favourable results of this vessel to the Academy of Sciences, in order to obtain its opinion if M. de Jouffroy was entitled to the exclusive privilege which he claimed. These several experiments were many years previous to those of Mr. Miller of Dulanstown, Lord Stanhope, and Mr. Symington, in Great Britain.

M. Arago speaks in terms of considerable severity of the unfairness and partiality of Professor Robison, in his account of the steam-engine, with respect to Papin: the Professor refers solely to a work of Papin's published in 1767, (nine years after Savery's patent,) describing it as *his first publication*, and actually goes so far as to deny the existence of those of 1690 and 1695! although he might have found an analysis of the latter in the *Philosophical Transactions* for March, 1697, a whole year before Savery's engine was heard of: in another instance also he post-dates a little work of Papin's *seventeen years*, in order to attribute the merit of his observations to our countryman, Hooke. These mistatements and errors have been copied, according to M.

Arago, by Professor Millington, Dr. Lardner, the author of the article in *Rees's Cyclopædia on Steam-Engines, &c.* He speaks in high terms of the recent *Descriptive History of the Steam-Engine*, by Mr. Robert Stuart, as a work "in which all the attempts that have been made to employ steam from water as a mechanical agent, are appreciated with great discernment, and, what is more uncommon, with a complete abnegation of all national prejudices." This paper involves a number of interesting points, upon which it would be premature to decide at present;—we shall probably return to the subject in our next number.

GERMANY.

THE Society of Naturalists and Philosophers held its Seventh Annual Meeting at Berlin, in September last, at which Baron Alexander Humboldt presided. The number of members who attended was so considerable, and the objects which occupied its attention were so interesting, as to give earnest of a much more numerous assemblage in future years, and of a greater degree of importance being attached to its deliberations. The Meeting lasted a week; and the following is a statement of the countries from which the members came who were present:—The whole number was 467—of which Berlin alone supplied 197, the rest of Prussia 127; Saxony, 31; Bavaria, 12; Hanover, 7; Wirtemberg, 3; the other States of the German Confederation, and Switzerland, 55; the Austrian States, 1; Sweden, 12; Denmark, 7; Poland, 5; Russia, 2; England, 2; Holland, 2; France, 2; Norway, 1; and Naples, 1.

Baron Humboldt delivered a discourse at the opening (which has been printed), and another at the close of the meeting. Various Memoirs were read by different members; of which M. Reinwardt's (of Leyden), on the characters of the Vegetable Kingdom in the Indian Archipelago, is the only one yet published. The project of a new edition of Pliny's Natural History was discussed. It was stated that the King of Bavaria had sent a young scholar to collate the MSS. at Florence and in Paris, and that the King of Saxony had promised his assistance to obtain a collation of those at Madrid, in the Escorial, and at Toledo; and a hope was expressed that the Prussian Government might defray the expense of a collation of the Vossian Codex, at Oxford. Professor Lichtenstein said that the Berlin Academy had made such great sacrifices for an edition of Aristotle that it could do nothing on this occasion. Professor Oken on this suggested that every member present should subscribe a dollar, as a fund towards the expenses of the projected edition of Pliny, which was done, to the number of about 400.

The Meeting of next year will be held at Heidelberg. Baron Humboldt mentioned, in his farewell discourse, that he should be unable to attend, as he calculated that he should be then on his travels in Asia, most probably in the heart of Siberia. Report speaks in the highest terms of the excellent arrangements of the late meeting, and of the extreme kindness of the King, in providing, in the most liberal manner, for the comforts and accommodation of all the members who attended.

GOtha.—An Ordonnance has been published in the Duchy of Saxe Coburg Gotha against literary piracy. Thirty years after the death of an author all rights to his literary productions, which have descended to his heirs, become extinct, as well as those which have been acquired by booksellers.

VIENNA.—Mr. F. W. Sieber, who made some years ago a tour in the Levant, during which he affirmed that he had discovered a certain cure for Hydrophobia, has lately issued proposals for publishing, by subscription, a Treatise on the subject, giving a full account of his discovery. It seems that he was desired, some years ago, by the Diet at Frankfort, to make his remedy known; but he was at that time unable to procure subscribers. He afterwards made a Voyage to New Holland, the Isle of France and the Cape, from which he returned three years ago; but having spent considerable sums in the prosecution of his discovery, he asks, as some indemnity, 1000 subscriptions of three ducats each, and when he has that number, he will immediately put his work to press. He observes that in 1822, when he was at Paris, and just on the point of leaving Europe, the Marquis de Semonville offered him 100,000 francs for the publication of the discovery, if it should be found to answer his representation of it. The work is to be published within a month after the 1000 copies are subscribed for. Mr. Sieber observes that as the progress of the disorder is rapid, relief must be speedily administered, and the favourable effect is so prompt, that in two hours time the patient may be pronounced entirely out of danger, if not given up to his friends as cured. Mr. Sieber calls his work "Cure of declared Hydrophobia," (*Heilung der Ausgebrochenen Wasserscheu*,) so that it seems there can be few cases where there will not be sufficient time to apply the remedy.

A periodical work will shortly appear at Munich, intended to be continued annually, and to communicate every information respecting the University of that city. The first number will contain the Royal Decrees relative to the translation of the University to Munich, the General Laws, Notices of the Professors, and on the Library, &c.

The King of Prussia has purchased, for the Royal Museum, the valuable and unique Collection of Antiquities, formed by the late Field Marshal von Koller, during his residence at Naples, for 100,000 rix dollars. His Majesty has also subscribed for fifty copies of the voluminous Dictionary of Medical Science, the first volume of which was noticed in our 4th No. page 720, to be distributed among the public institutions. Such instances, however, of His Majesty's liberality are far from being rare, and reflect high honour upon him as a man, and an enlightened promoter of the rational improvement of his subjects.

Prussian Universities.—From a list of the number of Students in the seven Universities of the Prussian States, namely, Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Griefswald, Halle, Königsberg, and Munster, it appears that there has been a very considerable increase since Easter, 1820. At the end of the year 1820 there were 3382 students, of whom 743 were foreigners: at the end of the year 1827 there were 5954, of whom 1150 were foreigners. The increase in these seven years, was therefore 2572. Of these students there were in

	1820,	1827
In Divinity, I. Protestants	892	1951
—II. Catholics	264	888
Philology and Philosophy	450	714
Law and Jurisprudence	1169	1670
Medicine	667	781
	3382	5954

It appears that by far the greatest augmentation, in proportion, has been in the Catholic Students of Divinity; certainly not, however, because three times

as many young men devote themselves to the Catholic Church as seven years ago, but because the necessity is more and more felt of requiring of the clergy of that communion a higher degree of learning than can be acquired in the Gymnasias and seminaries alone. The rapid increase in this class of students is therefore a very favourable indication of the progress of the age in real knowledge.

Messrs. Toldy and Fenyery have recently published at Pesth and Vienna, (in German), a *Manual of Hungarian Poetry*; or, a Selection of the most interesting pieces of the Hungarian Poets, arranged chronologically, with notices of their lives and writings, and an introductory History of Hungarian Poetry.

The first volume of an *Encyclopaedical Dictionary of Plants*, by Mr. Kachler, has just made its appearance at Vienna; another volume will complete it. It is intended more for the use of gardeners and amateur horticulturists than for botanists.

Gesenius, the celebrated Orientalist, in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, for October, has paid a feeling and just tribute of respect to the memory of our eminently learned countryman, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Nicholl, Hebrew Professor at Oxford, whose early death is so deeply lamented by his numerous friends, and by the lovers and cultivators of Oriental literature. Dr. Gesenius remarks, that Dr. Nicholl's intercourse with foreigners was particularly agreeable to them, as, from his almost universal knowledge of modern languages, he could converse with most of them in their native tongue. This opportunity may not be inappropriate for acquainting the friends of Dr. Nicholl on the Continent, that a volume of his sermons will shortly be published, by subscription, for the benefit of his family, price one guinea, and that subscriptions are received by the publishers of this Review.

Dr. Julius, the indefatigable friend of humanity, will commence publishing, on the 1st of January, a monthly periodical, to be entitled *Annals of Institutions for Punishment and Improvement*. This work will embody the proceedings of all civilized states that have for their object the moral amelioration of prisoners, the care of discharged criminals, the education of neglected or depraved youth, and the restoration of erring females to the paths of virtue.

It is well known to the learned world, that the greater part of the *Codices Rescripti*, which still exist in the libraries of Europe, came originally from the Benedictine Convent formerly existing at Bobbio on the Trebia, on the West frontier of the Duchy of Parma, the last foundation of the Irish Saint Columbanus; a convent which reckoned among its Abbots, in the tenth century, the celebrated Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., who, on account of his multifarious knowledge, was suspected of sorcery. The last remains of the library of this Convent were, on its suppression, removed to Turin, where the librarian, Abbe Peyron, examined them, after the example of Angelo Maio. But important codices had been previously removed from Bobbio to Rome and Naples, and 200 years ago, as Maio reports, "the celebrated Cardinal Borromeo, by rich presents to the convent, had obtained all the good codices for the Ambrosian Library at Milan."

The Imperial Library at Vienna also possesses a codex rescriptus from Bobbio, the only one in Germany, both the first and second writing in which contain thirty-four very ancient and highly interesting *Edita et Inedita*, as appears from the report of Dr. Von Eichenfeld, keeper of the library. We

shall here mention only the following, which have just been printed from this codex :

Prisciani grammatici de Laude Imperatoris Anastasii; et de Rodericibus et Mensuris, Carmina. Alterum nunc primum alterum planius edidit et illustravit Steph. Ladisl. Endlicher Hungarus Posoniensis.

The other inedited pieces will shortly be published by the Imperial Library.

The catalogue of the Michaelmas Leipzig Book Fair contains 3,235 articles, and that of Easter had 3,885, making a total for the year 1828, of no less than 7,110 articles, being more than in any preceding year. From this, however, we must deduct the foreign works sent on commission, amounting to 312; works preparing for publication, 349; maps, 81; musical articles, 26, and plays, 10; we have still 2,467 remaining. In the Easter catalogue, after making similar deductions, there remained 3,187. In the whole year 1828, therefore, 5,654 have actually appeared; being 546 more than in 1827. The following is a view of the number of publications which actually appeared from 1814 to 1828, excluding maps, music, &c.

BOOKS.			BOOKS.		
In 1814	.	2520	In 1822	.	4283
1815	.	2750	1823	.	4309
1816	.	3197	1824	.	4511
1817	.	3532	1825	.	4836
1818	.	3781	1826	.	4704
1819	.	3916	1827	.	5108
1820	.	3958	1828	.	5654
1821	.	3997			

This table exhibits a very steady increase in the annual number of new publications. The number of booksellers whose publications are announced is 397.

Among the works last published, are 337 theological, 180 historical, 185 periodicals, 112 novels, 34 plays, 45 collections of lyric poems, 10 epic poems (besides the ancient classics), 53 tales, 74 pocket-books of different descriptions, and 99 works in foreign modern languages, but published by German booksellers.

As far as we may judge by the titles, the present catalogue is not deficient in valuable works, though it must be confessed there is an immense number which promise nothing better than repetitions of what has been printed a hundred times before.

The Wirtemberg Society for undertaking Voyages of Natural History, has hitherto sent out only botanists, whose collections in Sardinia, Istria, Smyrna, Carinthia, &c. have given entire satisfaction to the shareholders. It is now proposed to send out mineralogists, and M. Kurr has already departed for Scandinavia. The shares are fifteen florins, and on the expiration of the voyage, the shareholder receives, according to his wishes, either specimens in botany or mineralogy.

A work is announced shortly to appear at Carlsruhe, consisting of a selection of papers from the archives of the Grand Duke of Baden; containing reports, plans of campaigns, strategical discussions, and questions of state policy, emanating from the Emperors Leopold I., Joseph I.; King William III.; Frederick I. of Prussia; Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria; Prince Eugene of Savoy; the Duke of Marlborough, &c. &c. The collection will consist of four parts, the first containing pieces relative to the war with Turkey, commencing in 1683; the second part goes back to 1674, and is devoted to the official acts of the war, terminated by the peace of Nimeguen; the third part

contains the war undertaken against France in 1689, and the fourth, which extends from 1702 to 1707, contains the war of the Spanish Succession. Each part is complete in itself, and will form two or three volumes in 8vo. The greater part of the documents are written in French.

The two first volumes of the Correspondence between Goethe and Schiller, (which is the collection alluded to by Goethe in our last No., p. 332), from the year 1794 to 1805, have just appeared.

An Encyclopædical Manual of the Ecclesiastical Law of Germany, so far as relates to Catholics and Protestants, with historical elucidations, and constant reference to the latest state of the churches in Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Hanover, Saxony, Baden, Hesse, Mecklenburgh, and other German States, by A. Müller, is announced for speedy publication.

M. Lomler, of Heldburg, has a new life of Martin Luther in the press, in two thick 8vo. volumes.

A History of the Wars in Italy, from 1792 to 1815, with maps and plans, is announced to appear in 3 vols.

M. Bürger, of Heidelberg, well known by his mathematical works, has announced a System of Universal Language, by which a correspondence may be kept up, on easy and certain principles, by individuals of all nations, although totally unacquainted with each others' native language. The acquisition of the system will scarcely require two days.

Professor Münch announces a History of Monachism in all its ramifications and its consequences to church and state; to be completed in 20 or 25 vols.

An edition of the works of Jacob Böhme, the celebrated Mystic, is announced to appear, by Dr. W. Menzel, in 12 vols. 8vo.

A Description of the Antiaërophthora, or preservative against every species of mephitic air, a new discovery, by Joseph Weitenhiller, will shortly appear.

ITALY.

THE *Itinerario delle Due Sicilie*, &c., published last year, by the Cavalier Quattromanni, presents us with a good statistical view of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the population of each province, and its divisions, in relation to their military, political, judicial, and ecclesiastical administration, together with the state of public education, manufacturing and beneficent institutions. The various products of the soil, the roads, state of trade, the great towns, and the character of the inhabitants are also described. Two synoptical tables present us with the distances of the most remarkable places from each other; in short, the work is a complete guide through the Country, on the plan of Reichard's Manual, and as the author has bestowed great pains on his work, and has for the most part derived his information from official sources, his book ranks among the best that have appeared on the subject.

The Marquis Tempi, of Florence, has published a translation, with Notes, of M. Dupin's work on the Application of Geometry and Mechanics to the Arts and Manufactures. Since the commencement of the present year the

Marquis has instituted a course of lectures for mechanics on the same subjects, and has appointed M. Cioci, a learned Professor, to deliver them. Ten prizes, the first of 100 francs, will be distributed at the end of the course among the workmen who have most distinguished themselves.

A new periodical, devoted to the Sciences, is announced to appear at Florence. It will be published quarterly, and will contain contributions from Members of the principal learned societies in Italy, as well as from the professors of the Universities. The *emeriti* of the Universities will have the right of having their writings inserted in this journal.

M. Ciampi, of Florence, an amateur of Polish literature, will shortly publish his "Inquiry respecting the false Demetrius." The third and fourth vols. of the interesting work entitled "Gli Italiani in Russia," which relates the fate of the Italian forces under Napoleon that invaded Russia, have also appeared.

The celebrated lyric and dramatic poet and philologist, *Vincenzo Monti*, died at Milan, on the 13th of October last, aged 75. An edition of his works was published this year, by Brighenti, at Bologna. His widow has already announced her intention of publishing another, more complete than any that has yet appeared, including his epistolary correspondence.

Monti has filled so large a space in the literature of his country for the last half century, and was in other respects so remarkable a man, that we should hold ourselves negligent of our duty if we did not take some pains to supply our readers with the means of appreciating his character. An article is in preparation, which we venture to hope will not be found unworthy of the subject.

The Italian translation of the *Biographie Universelle*, now publishing at Venice, has advanced to the 46th volume, or letter R. In this translation great attention has, as might be expected, been paid to the Italian lives.

Signor Pistolesi has announced the publication of a splendid *Description of the Vatican*, illustrated with engravings by Cammillo Guerra. The work will consist of 80 Livraisons in folio, to be published monthly; ten sheets of letter-press, and seven plates will be the complement of each.

Two Italian translations of Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon* have been printed at Florence.

NETHERLANDS.

An edition of the works of Lemontey, the French Academician, is announced for publication at Brussels, in 9 vols. royal 18mo., which will include the celebrated *Essai sur l'établissement monarchique de Louis XIV.*, and a fragment, *On the Plague of Marseilles and Provence in 1720 and 1721*, extracted from the unpublished work which was seized by the French ministry after his death; entitled *Critical History of France from the death of Louis XIV.*

Colonel Rottiers, the author of the work announced for publication in our 4th number, entitled *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople le long de la Mer Noire*, (which by the way has never yet appeared,) has issued a prospectus of

another work on the *Monuments of Rhodes*, to be published in 11 numbers oblong folio, each containing five plates with descriptive letter-press.

The second volume of the "Plutarch of the Netherlands" has just been published. It contains the Biography of the following persons. Egmont, Van Dyck, Tromp, Teniers, William III., Duquesnoy, Justus Lipsius, Cohorn, Janssenius, Van Helmont, Barneveld, Gerhard Dow, and Philip de Comines.

RUSSIA AND POLAND.

THE publication of Pushkin's *Eugenius Onegin* has in Russia given birth to a multitude of tales in verse. Versifying is, indeed, all the rage among the young men of some talent and of no talent, clearly indicating the mental fermentation that exists, and which is slowly, but gradually, spreading over the whole extent of the vast Russian empire. A new journal, lately begun at Tiflis, promises to afford some interesting particulars from the Caucasus, and the newly acquired possessions in that direction.

The commission for the publication of the *Laws of the Russian Empire* will shortly publish the fourth volume of that important work.

The Historical and Archæological Society is about to bring out several works, among which a Russian translation, with explanatory notes from the Latin, of Herberstein's *Voyage*, is particularly mentioned.

M. Glinka, author of a History of Russia, is preparing a History of the Life and Reign of Alexander I. in 2 vols. 8vo.

A new Tragedy, entitled *Boris Godunof*, which is destined, it is said, to form a new era in the dramatic literature of Russia, is shortly expected from the pen of Pushkin the celebrated poet.

On the first of October the inauguration of the University of Finland took place at Helsingfors, to which place it has been removed in consequence of the destructive fire at Abo. The number of students already amounts to 285, and more are daily arriving.

The Poems of the old Polish poet, *Nicholas Lemp*, who died in 1581, have been recently collected and published by Muzakarski, of Posen. The sixteenth century, which was so glorious a period for Poland, both in a political and literary point of view, was succeeded by times in which the evil genius of jesuitical tyranny, joined with the oppression of the nobility and civil dissensions, conspired to render that unhappy country truly miserable. During these melancholy times nearly all the works of the distinguished poets and historians, of which Poland boasted in the sixteenth century, were lost; while a barbarous monkish Latinity usurped the place of the national language in books. Nearly 150 years elapsed before any one thought of the works of Lemp, formerly so celebrated, till at length a Polish bibliographer, Count Titus Dzialynski, accidentally met with a copy of them, and presented it to the learned Joachim Lelewel, who published an account of it, in which he describes it as unique, and as a bibliographical rarity of the greatest value. The present editor of Lemp is engaged in collecting the MS. remains of ancient Polish writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and of the lesser known

works of the same period, with a view to their publication as a series, of which Lemp's Poems form the first volume. Lemp died very young, and his Poems were published after his death by his brother.

SWEDEN.

WE have received a copy of the first part of a very interesting publication called *Petrificata Suecana formationis cretaceæ*, by Professor S. Nilsson, of Lund. Professor Nilsson is already advantageously known, both in his own country and abroad, as an eminent naturalist, and has added not a little to his fame by this work. A knowledge of the petrifications is necessarily of great importance to the students of geological science, and the author has in preference chosen those of the cretaceous formation, as having been—though they constitute a number of about 200 species,—least examined by previous authors. The plates are executed with great care, so as to give a clear idea of each species, and the descriptions are concise and accurate. The continuation of this work will be anxiously looked for by all the lovers of this interesting branch of science.

A metrical translation of Sir Walter Scott's "Lady of the Lake," by the Honourable Lawrence Arnell, has lately appeared at Stockholm. We could not forbear smiling on looking at the title, *Hoffråken*, knowing the fondness of our northern friends for high-sounding names. We observe that some high encomiums have been passed upon it by the *Nya Argus*, but we have not as yet had an opportunity of perusing the whole; judging from the specimens we have seen, the translation is tolerably faithful, the versification (in the metre of the original) easy, and the language elegant. The writings of Sir Walter Scott have hitherto only been known in Sweden through the medium of wretched translations from the German; and Mr. Arnell will entitle himself to no small share of gratitude from his countrymen by making the Scottish bard better known and understood in his native land.

Thunberg, the successor of the younger Linnæus at Upsal, died on the 8th August, in the 86th year of his age, after having filled the botanical chair, during half a century, with indefatigable zeal. He had travelled over a great part of the world for the purpose of extending his knowledge, and exploring nature.

The most complete collection of autograph letters of Charles XII. is preserved in a library belonging to the Church of St. Catherine's, at Lubeck. They are mostly addressed to his sister the Princess Ulrica Eleonora, and dated from Bender, after the battle of Pultawa, respecting the unfortunate issue of which they give very interesting details.

It is remarkable, that whereas, during the reigns of the native kings of Sweden, the French language and literature enjoyed undue favour, they are sinking into oblivion under a monarch who is by birth a Frenchman. French is no longer the language of the court, and the higher circles; the crown-prince and princess speak nothing but Swedish in their societies, and the French literature is forgotten. On the other hand, a rage for translations from the German prevails in Sweden. At Marieford there is a regular manufactory, which annually publishes a great number of translations of German works. These have caused a knowledge of German literature to become general in Sweden.

A remarkable work, by Mr. Von Kronigsward, has lately been published at Stockholm, *Harald Harfager Affkomlingar pa Europas Throner*, which proves, by most carefully and accurately arranged tables, that most of the monarchs of Europe are descended in a direct line from Harald Harfager, who was born 883, died 934, reigned 49 years, and was married five times.

The present Swedish reigning family succeeded by adoption.

The King of Bavaria is descended from H. H. in 29 degrees

Spain	31
Naples	31
Wurtemberg	30
Denmark	29
England	28
Netherlands	29
Sardinia	28
Portugal	30
Prussia	28
Saxony	28

The Emp. of Austria 30

Russia 29

The King of France 31.

In 350 years the changes of sovereigns in some of the above kingdoms were as follows:—

Bavaria and Prussia	12
Denmark	13
France	14
Russia	24
Turkey	24
Rome	34

The dynasty of Denmark has been the longest of any on the throne.

Baron Hugo V. Hamilton intends to publish six or eight numbers annually of lithographic plates from paintings in private collections in Sweden.

SWITZERLAND.

GENEVA.—It is interesting to compare the state of education in our little canton with that of the neighbouring countries, France and Sardinia. In 1827, in the department of the Seine and Loire, there were 4,535 young men found liable to the conscription; of these, 2,925 could neither read nor write; 1,311 could both read and write; 233 could only read, and sixty-five uncertain. In the department of the Ain, there were 3,093; of whom, 227 could only read; 1,079 who could read and write; 1,718 who could neither read nor write, and 79 uncertain. In this department is the little town of Gez, on the southern declivity of Mount Jura, in which there were 198 liable to the conscription; of these, 122 could read and write; three could read only. So that there were but thirty-six in a 100 who could neither read nor write. In this place therefore, which is on the frontiers of Geneva, and the Canton de Vaud, five-eighths have been at school, and acquired, at least, some knowledge. In Gez also, among all the towns in the department, agriculture, breeding of cattle, and manufactures, are the most flourishing. This is, however, entirely owing to its proximity to Geneva. According to the above computation, nearly two-thirds of the French youths were wholly uneducated. Of the females, six-eighths may be reckoned as in the same predicament.

In Savoy, out of ten young people of both sexes, we may reckon that eight are without education; and in the interior of the country, for instance in the Tarentaise and Maurienne, nine. Here, in Geneva, and, for the last five years, in the Canton de Vaud, it would be difficult to find a healthy child of ten years of age that cannot both read and write with facility.

The little Council of the Canton of Argovia has issued an ordinance in order to secure the benefits of education to children who are employed in manufactories. By this ordinance, the owners of all such manufactories are compelled to establish a school, and provide a proper schoolmaster to instruct the children employed by them. One hour daily, or two hours every other day, is to be allowed them for the purpose. All these schools to be under the special superintendence of the Councillors of schools. No manufacturer is allowed to receive a child into his establishment without a certificate from the clergyman of the parish that the child is of proper age.

The Rev. Mr. Empezlaz, a Swiss clergyman, has recently published a pamphlet, entitled *Notice sur Alexandre, Empereur de Russie, par H. L. E., Ministre du Saint Evangile*. The author was for many years the travelling companion of the celebrated Madame de Krudener. After her death he returned to his native city, where he joined the congregation of the Rev. Cæsar Malan, and afterwards established a similar congregation of his own at Bourg de Tour. In this pamphlet he gives an account of Madame de Krudener's and his own interviews with the Emperor Alexander, in Heidelberg and Paris. Alexander, he says, though brought up in the pleasures of the world, never found any real pleasure in them, and frequently felt himself uneasy in his mind respecting the account he would have to give of himself in another world. He often resolved to reform, but such resolutions were transitory. Having heard of the piety of the famous Jung Stilling, and thinking this venerable old man might be able to give him some salutary counsel, he saw him in 1812. Stilling, however, had no clear or simple notions of the Gospel, and did not afford Alexander the comfort he was in search of. In 1815, when at Heidelberg, he first became acquainted with Madame Krudener and the author of this pamphlet, and was so deeply affected by what Madame K. said to him on their first interview, that he took a small solitary house near the town, and invited her to come and reside near him. She accordingly took apartments at a farm house, about ten minutes walk from him, to which the Emperor usually repaired every other day, and remained from ten at night till two in the morning, reading the Bible with Madame K. and Mr. E., and making himself familiar with the eternal truths of salvation. The result of these conversations was, that he declared he felt an internal peace and tranquillity, and confidence in the Divine favour, which he had never before enjoyed. When he left Heidelberg, on the 25th of June, he invited his new friends to follow him to Paris, where they arrived on the 25th of July. During their stay in that city, Alexander continued his intercourse with them, and daily expressed himself more and more convinced of the Divine favour. His life was several times in danger. One day he told them that a bottle of poisoned wine had been found on his table, and the cook nearly lost his life by tasting it, to ascertain if it was the right wine. His Majesty also received a letter, signed *Le Capitaine des Regicides*, threatening him with the most dreadful vengeance for refusing to place the King of Rome on the throne of France. "We were much alarmed," says Mr. E., "but Alexander said, 'Make yourselves easy, God protects me; I am without fear; as the Eternal is with me, I need not fear what man can do against me.'"

After the grand review on the plain of Vertus, and some days before Alex-

aader left Paris, he brought them the outline of the celebrated document, which has been known by the name of the Holy Alliance, though the original parties to it certainly did not give it that appellation. Alexander expressed great satisfaction at the readiness with which the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia entered into his views.

Mr. Empezlas had not intended this curious little pamphlet for publication; but having shown it in manuscript to several persons, one of them, an English clergyman, (who had conversed with the Emperor at Moscow, Aix-la-Chapelle, and lastly at the Crimea,) informed him that His Majesty had related to him his conversion, and the origin of the Holy Alliance, precisely as described in this pamphlet.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

PARIS.—An interesting work on the Crusades, from Arabian authorities, will shortly be published by M. Reinaud, author of the able work, *Description of the Mussulman Monuments in the possession of the Duc de Blacas*. As Michaud's *Histoires de Crusades* may be regarded as embodying the Christian and European accounts of these wars, the work now announced is intended to furnish us with the narratives of the Moslems. Most of the oriental writers who have been consulted, were contemporary with the events related, and impart to the narrative all the animation that such advantages may be supposed to bestow. The princes who acted the most conspicuous part in these wars,—Saladin, Richard Cœur de Lion, the Emperors Frederick I. and II., and St. Louis,—will form the chief subjects of interest; respecting Saladin in particular, many original traits will be disclosed which will place his character in a new light. The whole work, in short, will abound with anecdotes illustrative of the manners, state of mental cultivation and institutions of the people of the East during the middle ages.

M. Klaproth has published in the German journals an exposure of Dr. Schott's pretended translation of the works of Confucius from the Chinese, from which it would appear that the translation has been really made from the English of Marshman.

BONN.—Successive editions have appeared of nearly all the Moallaka, accompanied with the commentary of Zuzeni. Orientalists consider that the preference given to this commentator is well merited. Without losing himself in long digressions and minute discussions, he scrupulously devotes himself to the explanation of such words and passages as really require it, to clear up grammatical difficulties, and to throw light on the progress and connection of the ideas. His commentary on the Moallaka of Tarafa is the only one at present out of print. The edition published by Reiske, at Leyden, in 1742, contains indeed extracts from the Scholia of Ibn-Nahas, and abounds with erudition; but as his MSS. were very defective, and the metrical arrangement was quite neglected, his text was necessarily erroneous, and his translation often inaccurate and obscure. Besides, the Scholia of Ibn-Nahas are, for the most part, too short and unsatisfactory; while Reiske's own annotations are for ever losing sight of the text. The friends of Arabic literature will, therefore, be pleased to hear that a new edition of this Moallaka, with the commentary of Zuzeni, is about to appear at Bonn, under the superintendence of M. Vullers. It will contain the substance of Reiske's edition, which is now difficult to be met with; and will be published in two parts; the first containing the Arabic

text, with the commentary, and the second embracing an historical introduction, a translation, notes, and a list of the words explained.

ST. PETERSBURG.—Professor Charmoy, attached to the Oriental Institution, in the department of Foreign affairs, intends shortly to publish the *Alexandroid*, an episode of the famous Persian poem, *Iskender-nami*, by Nizamy. The subject of this episode is supposed to be an expedition which the Russians (as related by the Arabic writers, Massoudy and Abulfeda) undertook in the years 943-4 of the Christian era, against the city of Breda, the ancient capital of the province of Arran, and which now belongs to Russia. They had, at first, the most brilliant success, but were at last beaten by Mahommed, the son of Mussafir, the governor of Azerbüdjan, and obliged to return to their own country. The Persian poet, however, by an anachronism common to Eastern poets, ascribes the glory of having defeated them to Alexander, the son of Philip, whose exploits are a favourite subject of the oriental romance writers.

The translation of the *Alexandroid* was undertaken in 1826, by Mr. Louis Spitznagel, of Wilna, a pupil of the Oriental Institution; and intended to be dedicated to Mr. Adelung, its director. A premature death having carried off the young translator, his professor, Mr. Charmoy, has undertaken to revise, correct, and complete his performance. The Professor has also added the Persian text of this episode, from the Calcutta edition; with above 1900. various readings, derived from two manuscript copies, and from a very incorrect edition of this episode, published in 1826, by Professor Erdmann. The whole is preceded by the Biography of Nizamy, and eleven Persian poets, his contemporaries; extracted from the works of *Daulet Shah*, and from the *Pyrée* or *Atechekede* of *Luthf Aly-Bey*.

Mr. Charmoy has inserted an analysis of the first part of the poem, from the History of Persian Literature, by Mr. Von Hammer; and also of the second part, called *Igbal-nami Iskenderi*, which treats of the prosperity of Alexander. This second part is very rare, as it is omitted in almost all the manuscripts, and even in the edition of Calcutta; the analysis of it was made from the two MSS. communicated to Professor Charmoy by the Conservator of the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

As the text of this poem is often very obscure, the Professor has added above 300 critical, historical, and geographical notes, as well as the commentary of the Calcutta edition. The work will consist of two volumes: the first, containing the lives of Nizamy and the eleven Persian poets, by *Daulet Shah* and *Luthf Ali Bey*, the analysis of the two parts of the *Alexandroid*, the Persian text, and various readings, besides the translation of the Expedition of Alexander against the Russians. This volume will appear early in 1829. The second, containing the notes, will be published about three months later.

During the late war with Persia, a memorial was presented to the Emperor Nicholas, by M. Senkowski, on the possibility of obtaining from the Persian government a certain number of the rarest Oriental MSS. His Majesty approved of the idea, and orders were given to the Commander in Chief of the Russian army in Persia, to collect the libraries that might be found in the conquered cities, and to exact from the Persian government, at the conclusion of peace, a stipulation by which it should be bound to furnish a collection of manuscripts from a list drawn up by Messrs. Senkowski and Fraehn. This list embraced almost 400 of the rarest and most curious works, among which the Geography of Ptolemy was not forgotten; nor those Greek and Latin classics that had been translated into Arabic, and lost in the original tongue.

The Persians have already sent in sixty works, but the completion of the catalogue requires time, as the MSS must be sought for all over Persia.

Among the trophies brought by the Russians from Persia, is the library of Ardebil, which fell into the hands of General Count Suchtelen. This library was founded in the year 1013 of the Hegira; Shah Abbas I., who reigned at that time, deposited the manuscripts which he had collected in the mosque erected in memory of his ancestor, Scheikh-Sofi, on the very spot where that founder of the dynasty of Sofi was buried.

The Rev. Father Hyacinth, who was at the head of the Russian Mission in China, from which country he returned in 1821, with Mr. Timkowski,* is about to publish his *Memoirs of Mongolia*, in four volumes. The first volume contains a narrative of his journey through Mongolia, and his return from Peking to Kiakhta, in 1821; the second, a geographical and statistical account of Mongolia; the third, a short history of the Mongols; and the fourth, the code of laws by which this nomade people is governed.—This work will have a map of Mongolia, engravings of costumes, &c. The whole work was to have been published this year.

Father Hyacinth also intends to publish, by subscription, a plan of the city of Peking, with an exact description of the most remarkable buildings, &c. of that capital. This plan, which is more complete and correct than any hitherto published, was made in 1817 by a Chinese surveyor, by order of Father Hyacinth. It will be engraved on two large sheets, and carefully coloured. The description of the city, translated from the Chinese by Father Hyacinth, will be published at the same time in Russian and French, and make about ten sheets.

The first part of the French and Turkish Dictionary, by Mr. G. Rhasis, has just been published. This interesting work, which has long since been finished, derives additional importance from political circumstances. This first volume, 438 pages, contains the letters A. to L. inclusive. The second volume is promised in a few months.

In consequence of the representation of his Excellency the Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia, his Majesty has signified his approbation of the establishment of a school for the Oriental languages at Odessa, and has granted an annual sum of 10,000 rubles towards its support. The Governor has further been empowered to apply the sum of 4000 rubles, from the revenues of the city of Odessa and Bessarabia, to the purposes of this institution. The local authorities have already taken the necessary steps to meet the benevolent intentions of the Emperor, and the intended school will soon be organized.

The immense frontier, extending from Kiakhta to Kamenets-Podolsk, is inhabited by tribes who almost all speak the Turkish language. All the Mahomedan inhabitants of the Crimea and the Caucasian Provinces do the same. Odessa has advantages for establishing schools for the Oriental languages, which no other city possesses: masters may be met with here with greater facility, and scholars have numerous opportunities of learning the Turkish language.

* An English translation of Mr. Timkowski's narrative was published in 1827.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT,

FROM SEPTEMBER TO DECEMBER, 1828, INCLUSIVE.

THEOLOGY.

- 451 Tabaraud, Essai historique et critique sur l'état des Jésuites en France. 8vo. Paris. 6s. 6d.
- 452 Histoire du Clergé de France pendant la Révolution. Tom. 2. 12mo. Paris. 5s.
- 453 Collectio Selecta SS. Ecclesiae Patrum, complectens selectissima opera tum dogmatica et moralia tam apologetica et oratoria; curantibus nonnullis Oleri Galllicani presbyteris, &c. Tom. 1 et 2. 8vo. Paris. (to be completed in 30 volumes.) 18s.
- 454 Sainte Bible de Vence, Latin-Française, 5me édition par Drach, rabbin converti. Tom. 7 et 8. 8vo. Paris. 18s.
- 455 Wiessner, D. A. Pragmatische Geschichte der religiösen Kultur. 1r thl. gr. 8vo. Berlin. 15s.
- 456 Hortig, Dr. J. N., Handbuch der Christlichen Kirchengeschichte. 1r bd. und 2ten bds. 1ste und 2te abthl. gr. 8vo. Landshut. 1l. 5s.
- 457 Neander, Dr. A. Allgemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Religion und Kirche. 2 bd. gr. 8vo. Hamburg. 10s.
- 458 Brenner, Dr. Fr. Specielle Dogmatik. 1r bd. gr. 8vo. Frankfurt. 12s. 6d.
- 459 Hahn, M. Ph. M. Hinterlassene Schriften. 2 bde. gr. 8vo. Heilbronn. 4s. 6d.
- 460 Baumgarten-Crusius, Dr. L. F. O. Grundsätze der biblischen Theologie. gr. 8vo. Jena. 9s.
- 461 Dittrich, Ideen über den Katholicismus, &c. 8vo. Leipzig. 7s. 6d.
- 462 Paulus, Dr. H. E. G. das Leben Jesu. 1r thl. 2te abthlg. gr. 8vo. Heidelberg. 12s. 6d. 2r thl. 9s. 6d.
- 464 Schmid, A. J. N. Glaube, Hoffnung, und Liebe. Ein Gebethbuch. 12mo. 5 kupf. 8s. 6d.
- 465 Schröder, Dr. J. F. Harfenklänge aus Sion. 8vo. Hildesheim. 4s.
- 466 Oberthür, D. Fr. Methodologie der theologischen Wissenschaften. gr. 8vo. Augsburg. 7s.
- 467 Stunden der Andacht. 8 bde. 12te original-auflage. gr. 8vo. Aarau. 1l. 10s.
- 468 Augusti, Dr. J. C. W. Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie. 9r bd. gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 12s.
- 469 Bretschneider, Dr. Heinrich und Antonio. gr. 8vo. Wien. 7s.
- 470 Heydenreich, Dr. A. L. C. die Pastoral briefe Pauls erläutert. 2r bd. 8vo. Coblenz. 10s.
- 471 Rosenmüller, Dr. E. Fr. C. Scholia in Vet. Test. in compendium redacta. Vol. I. 8vo. maj. Leipzig. 1l.
- 472 Brief, der, der Jacobus erklärt von Dr. A. R. Gebser. gr. 8vo. Berlin. 7s. 6d.
- 473 Wesenberg, I. H. von die Christlichen Bilder. 2 bde. gr. 8vo. Constanz. 1l. 8s.
- 474 Menken, G. Blicke in das Leben der Apostels Paulus. gr. 8vo. Bremen. 10s.
- 475 Offenbarung, die, Johannis, übersetzt von F. A. L. Matthäi. 2 thle. 8vo. Göttingen. 4s.
- 476 Johansen, Dr. J. C. G. Religions Vortrage für denkende Verehrer Jesu. 2 bde. gr. 8vo. Altona. 10s.
- 477 Müller, D. J. G. Blicke in die Bibel. 1r theil. gr. 8vo. Winterthur. 6s.

LAW AND JURISPRUDENCE.

- 478 Loqué, Legislation Civile, Commerciale et Criminelle de la France, tom. XIV. & XV. 8vo. Paris. Each 10s. 6d.

- 479 *Œuvres complètes de Domat, nouvelle édition par Remy. Tom. I. 8vo. (to be completed in 4.) Paris. 10s. 6d.*
- 480 *Recueil complet des lois et ordonnances du Royaume, avec des notes historiques par Isambert. 1837. 8vo. Paris.*
- 481 *Ordonnances des Rois de France de la Troisième Race; recueillies par ordre chronologique, Tom. XVIII. (1474—1481.) Par M. de Pastoret. Folio. Paris. 2l. 8s.*
- 482 *Rey, Traité des principes généraux du droit et de la législation. 8vo. Paris. 7s.*
- 483 *Causes Célèbres Etrangères publiées en France pour la première fois. Tom. V. 8vo. Paris. 8s.*
- 484 *Leber, Histoire critique du pouvoir municipal, de la condition des cités, des villes, et des bourgs, &c. 8vo. Paris. 10s. 6d.*
- 485 *St. Edme, Dictionnaire de la Pénalité dans toutes les parties de monde connu. Livraisons 25 à 28. 8vo. Paris. Each 3s. 6d.*
- 486 *Hiblein, Fr. de Sigillo Confessionis. Dissertatio juridica. 8vo. Heidelberg. 3s.*
- 487 *Giese, G. L. Actenmassige, Notizen über eine Anzahl ganner des Nördlichen Deutschland. 8vo. Celle. 3s. 6d.*
- 488 *Buchholz, Dr. A. A. Juris Civilis Antejustiniani Vaticana fragmenta. 8vo. maj. Königsberg. 10s.*
- 489 *Pfahler, Dr. C. Jus Georgicum regni Hungariz. 8vo. Wien. 15s.*
- 490 *Quistorp, J. C. E. von, Grundriss des teutschen peinlichen Rechts. 4 bd. gr. 8vo. Rastock. 7s. 6d.*
- 491 *Schubert, Dr. Fr. G. de Romanorum Edictibus libri IV. 8vo. maj. Königsberg. 15s.*
- 492 *Deuts-Hülshoff, Dr. C. A. von, Grundriss des gemeinen Kirchenrechts Deutschlands. 1r bd. gr. 8vo. Münster. 10s.*
- 493 *Kalkreuth, H. W. A. Graf von, der Gesetzstaat. 8vo. Leipzig. 5s.*
- 494 *Hugo, Ritter, Beiträge zur civilistischen Bücher-Kenntniss. 1r bd. Berlin. 8s.*
- 495 *Pfeiffer, Dr. L. W. Praktische Ausführungen aus allen Theilen der Rechtswissenschaft. 2r bd. 4to. Hannover. 19s.*
- 496 *Valett, Dr. C. J. M. Ausführliches Lehrbuch des Pandecten-Rechts. 3 bde. gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 1l. 4s.*
- 497 *Jung, J. A. Jus personarum privatum regni Hungariz. 8vo. maj. Wien. 9s.*
- 498 *Tittmann, Dr. C. A. Handbuch für angehende Juristen. 8vo. maj. Halle. 25s.*
- 499 *Bunge, Dr. Fr. Q. von, über den Sachsenspiegel. gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 5s.*
- 500 *Jordan, Dr. S. Versuche über allgemeines Staatsrecht. gr. 8vo. Marburg. 11s.*
- 501 *Grimm, J. Deutsche Rechts-Altenthümer. gr. 8vo. Göttingen. 18s.*
- 502 *Stöckhardt, Dr. H. B. Tafeln der Geschichte der Römischen Rechts. folio. Leipzig. 15s.*

MORALS, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND EDUCATION.

- 503 *Mme. Guizot, Conseils de Morale, ou Essais sur l'homme, les mœurs, les caractères, les grands, les femmes, l'éducation, &c. avec une notice sur sa vie, par Charles Remusat, 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 18s.*
- 504 *Fourcy, Histoire de l'Ecole Polytechnique, 8vo. Paris. 10s. 6d.*
- 505 *Cousin, (Victor) Nouveaux Fragmens de Philosophie, 8vo. Paris. 10s.*
- 506 *——— Cours d'histoire de la Philosophie (2 de année). Livrans. 1. 2. 8vo. Paris.*
- 507 *Rio, Essai sur l'histoire de l'esprit humain dans l'antiquité. Tom. 1. 8vo. Paris. 10s.*
- 508 *Girou, Philosophie Physiologique, Politique et Morale, 8vo. Paris. 8s.*
- 509 *Damiros, Essai sur l'histoire de la Philosophie en France. 2de edit. augmentée. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris. 16s.*
- 510 *Histoire de Michel Lambert, ou l'Influence de l'Economie domestique, &c. 8vo. Paris. 8s.*
- 511 *Candelle (Mme. Perié) Essai sur les felicités humaines, ou Dictionnaire de bonheur. 8vo. Paris. 10s. 6d.*
- 512 *Reu, Dr. K. H. Lehrbuch der politischen Economie. 2r bd. gr. 8vo. Heidelberg. 12s.*

- 513 Sprache, über die. gr. 8vo. *Heidelberg*. 11s.
 514 Reinhold, F. L. Anweisung für Küster und Landschullehr. 2 the. 8vo. *Rastatt*. 9s. 6d.
 515 Schlegel, Fr. von, Philosophie des Lebens. gr. 8vo. *Wien*. 10s.
 516 Troxler, D. Naturlehre der menschlichen erkenntn. gr. 8vo. *Asrau*. 9s.
 517 Keiper, W. A. Natur, Mensch, und Vernunft. gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 12s. 6d.
 518 Eberhard, A. G. Der Erste Mensch und die Erde. 16mo. *Halla*. 5s.
 519 Julius, N. H. Vorlesungen über die Gefängniskunde. gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 17s.
 520 Reinhold, C. Handbuch der allgemeinen Geschichte der Philosophie. 1r thl. gr. 8vo. *Gotha*. 12s. 6d.
 521 Herbart, J. Fr. Allgemeine Metaphysik. 1r theil. gr. 8vo. *Königsberg*. 18s.
 522 Krug, Prof. Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der philosophischen Wissenschaften. 3r bd. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 10s.
 523 Nanning, S. V. Lehrbuch der gesammten Naturlehre. gr. 8vo. *Winterthur*. 9s.
 524 Gebauer, Dr. A. Vesta oder häuslicher Sinn und häuslicher Leben. 12mo. *Berlin*. 14s.
 525 Brueck, Dr. F. G. Handbuch der Hamburg Verfassung. gr. 8vo. *Hamburg*. 12s.
 526 Schlegel, Fr. von, Philosophie der Geschichte. 2 bde. gr. 8vo. *Wien*. 15s.

MATHEMATICS, PHYSICS, AND CHEMISTRY.

- 527 Mouzey, La Vraie Théorie des quantités négatives, et des qualités prétendues imaginaires. *Paris*. 12mo. 2s. 6d.
 528 Ajassou et Fouché, Nouveau Manuel Complet de Chimie générale appliqué à la médecine. 18mo. *Paris*. 6s.
 529 ————— de physique et de météorologie. 18mo. *Paris*.
 530 Legendre, Théorie des fonctions elliptiques. 1r supplement. 4to. *Paris*.
 531 Dumas, Traité de Chimie appliquée aux arts. Tom. 1. 8vo. (to be completed in 4 vols.) avec atlas in 4to. *Paris*. 10s. 6d.
 532 Hachette, Géométrie Descriptive, comprenant les applications de cette géométrie aux ombres, à la perspective et à la stéréotomie. 4to. *Paris*.
 533 Biot, Notions Élémentaires de Statique. 8vo. *Paris*. 4s.
 534 Despretz, Elémens de Chimie théorique et pratique. Tom. 1. 8vo. *Paris*. 16s.
 535 Damoiseau, Tables de la Lune, formées par la seule théorie de l'attraction et suivant la division de la circonférence en 360 degrés. folio. *Paris*. 11.
 536 König, A. R. J. Lehrbuch der Arithmetik für höhere Bürgerschulen. 2 the. 8vo. *Nürnberg*. 6s. 6d.
 537 Schaffnil, G. Geometrische Constructions-lehre. 8vo. mit 8 kupf. *Darmstadt*. 5s.
 538 Plücker, Dr. J. Analytisch-geometrische Entwicklungen. 1r bd. gr. 4to. *Essen*. 15s.
 539 Reuter, A. P. Vollständiges Handbuch der mathematischen Geographie. gr. 8vo. mit 5 steintafeln. *Mainz*. 12s.
 540 Umpfenbach, Dr. H. Lehrbuch der Differential-Rechnung. gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 10s.
 541 Poppe, J. H. M. Geschichte der Mathematik. gr. 8vo. *Tübingen*. 17s.

NATURAL SCIENCES.

- 545 Werner, Atlas des Oiseaux d'Europe pour servir de complément au manuel de Temminck. Livraison 10. 8vo. *Paris*. fig. color. 6s. 6d. fig. noires. 3s. 6d.
 546 Planches de Seba, accompagnées d'un texte explicatif mis au courant de la science. folio. Livrans 15 à 27. folio. *Paris*. each 4s.
 547 Descourtils, Flore Pittoresque et Médicale des Antilles. Livrans 100-113. 8vo. *Paris*. each 4s.
 548 Duponchel, Hist. Naturelle des Lépidoptères Nocturnes. Tom. IV. 1ère partie. Livrans 12 à 15. 8vo. *Paris*. each 3s.
 549 Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire, Cours de l'Histoire Naturelle des Mammifères. Leçon 15 à 20. 8vo. *Paris*.

- 550 Faune Française, ou Hist. Nat. des Animaux qui se trouvent en France. Livrans. 17 et 18. Texte et Planches. 8vo. Paris.
- 551 Cuvier, (Baron) Histoire des Progrès des Sciences Naturelles depuis 1789 jusqu'à ce jour. Tom. 3 et 4. 8vo. Paris. each 3s. 6d. avec 2 atlas de planches. *5s. color.* 6s.
- 552 De Candolle, Mémoires sur différentes parties du Règne Végétal. Livrans 2 et 3. Familles des Crassulacées, Onagracées, Paronychiées. 4to. Paris. 18s.
- 553 H. Cloquet, Faune des Médécins, Livrau 27. 8vo. Paris. 2s. color. 3s.
- 554 D'Aubuisson de Voisins, Traité de Géognosie, ou Exposé des connaissances actuelles sur la constitution physique et minérale de globe terrestre. Nouvelle édition. Tom. 1. 8vo. Paris. 9s.
- 555 Dictionnaire Classique d'Histoire Naturelle. Tom. XIV. (PLA-ROY) 8vo. Paris. 9s. Planches cahiers 14. 4s. color. 6s.
- 556 ——— des Sciences Naturelles, Tom. LVI. 8vo. Paris. 6s.
- 557 ——— Planches cahier 55. 8vo. Paris. 5s. color. 15s.
- 558 Cuvier et Valenciennes, Histoire Naturelle des Poissons. Tom. 1 et 2. 8vo. avec planches in 4to. et in folio. Paris.
- papier cavalier velin, *fig. color.*
- 4to. *fig. noires.*
- 4to. *fig. color.*

(To be completed in from 20 to 24 vols.)

- 559 Manès, Mémoires Géologiques et Métallurgiques sur l'Allemagne Trad. de l'allemand. 8vo. Paris.
- 560 Duhamel du Monceau, Traité des Arbres Fruitières. nouv. édit. par Poiteau et Turpin. Livran XLVI. folio. Paris. 1l. 10s.
- 561 Bischoff, G. W. die Kryptogamische Gewächse. 1ste lief. (Charen und Equiseten.) mit 5 kupf. gr. 4to. Nürnberg. 12s.
- 562 Dalman, J. W. über die Palacodon oder die sogenannten Trilobiten, 4to. mit 6 kupf. Nürnberg. 9s. 6d.
- 563 Gehler, J. S. T. Physikalischer Wörterbuch. 4r bd. 2te abthlg. gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 1l. 1s.
- 564 Kreyssig, W. A. Erfahrungstheorie der Pflanzen- und Thierproduktion. 2 the. gr. 8vo. Königsberg. 18s.
- 565 Pauly, F. Topographie von Danemark. 8vo. Altona. 15s.
- 566 Pfeiffer, C. Naturgeschichte deutscher Land- und Süßwasser Mollusken. 3te Abthlg. mit abbild. gr. 4to. 1l. 12s. 6d.
- 567 Reider, J. C. von, Handbuch der Blumenzucht. gr. 8vo. Nürnberg. 7s. 6d.
- 568 Wagner, J. Ph. über Merinos-Schafzucht. gr. 8vo. mit 7 steintafeln. Königsberg. 12s. 6d.
- 569 Wallroth, Dr. Fr. G. Rosæ plantarum generis historia succincta. 8vo. Nordhausen. 10s.
- 570 Linnæi, C. Systema Vegetabilium cura C. Sprengel. Vol. V. 8vo. maj. Göttingen. 17s.
- 571 Naumann, Dr. C. Fr. Lehrbuch der Mineralogie. 8vo. mit einem Atlas von 26 Tafeln. Berlin. 15s.
- 572 Fries, E. Elenchus Fungorum. Vol. I. 8vo. Griefswald. 6s.
- 573 Maximilian, Prinzen von Wied. Abbildungen zur Naturgeschichte Brasiliens. 12te Liefer. Weimar. 15s.
- 574 Meigen, J. W. Europäische Schmetterlinge, 1r bd. 3r hft. gr. 4to. 1l. 7s.
- 575 Elsner, J. G. Uebericht der Europ. veredelten Schafzucht. 2 the. 8vo. Prag. 16s.
- 576 Hæpke, Dr. Th. Reliquiæ Hæukeanæ seu descript. et icones plantar. Americ. Merid. fasc. III. 8vo. Prag. 1l. 5s.
- 577 Alexis, W. Herbstreise durch Scandinavien. 2 the. 8vo. Berlin. 18s. 6d.
- 578 Trattinnick, L. Neue Arten von Psilargonien deutschen Ursprungs. 32, 33, 34 hft. gr. 8vo. Wien. each 4s. 6d.
- 579 Schradler, H. A. Blumenbachia, novum e Lasearum familia genus. gr. 4to. 4s.
- 580 Link, Dr. und F. Otto, Abbildungen neuer und seltener Gewächse des Königl. botan. Gartens zu Berlin. 1r bd. 2 hft. gr. 8vo. 8s.

- 581 Lachmuth, Dr. H. W. L. Flora Brunsvicensis. 11 thl. 1ste abthng. gr. 8vo. *Brunschweig*. 12s. 6d.
- 582 Reisen, Naturhistorische, durch Nord-Afrika und West-Asien in 1820-1825, von Dr. Ehrenberg. 1r bd. 1ste abthl. gr. 4to. *Berlin*. 19s.
- 583 Hartmann, Dr. Handwörterbuch der Mineralogie und Geognosie. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 17s.
- 584 Lichtenstein, Dr. H. Darstellung neuer Säugethiere zu Berlin, 1r und 2d hft. gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 9s.
- 585 Jäger, Dr. G. Fr. über die Fossilreptilien in Württemberg. gr. 4to. *Stuttgart*. 12s.
- 586 Brandt, Dr. und Dr. Ratzeburg, Abbildung und Beschreibung der deutschen Giftgewächse. 1r hft. gr. 4to. *Berlin*. 5s.
- 587 Rédouté, Choix des plus belles fleurs, prises dans différentes familles du règne vegetal, &c. Livrsn 9. 10. 4to. *Paris*. each 12s.
- 588 Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Flore Générale de la France. Livrsn 1. 2. 8vo. *Paris*. each 6s. 4to. 12s.
- 589 Dutrochet, Nouvelles Recherches sur l'Endosmose et l'Exosmose. 8vo. *Paris*. 4s.
- 590 Boisdual, Monographie des Zygénides, suivi du Tableau Méthodique des Lepidoptères d'Europe. 8vo. *Paris*. 18s.
- 591 Girou, De la Génération. 8vo. *Paris*. 5s. 6d.
- 592 Dejean, Species Général des Coléoptères de sa collection. Tom. 3. 8vo. *Paris*. 9s.
- 593 Duperrey, Voyage autour du monde; Zoologie, 8me livraison. 4to. *Paris*. 12s.
- 594 Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris. Tom. 4. 4to. *Paris*. 1l.
- 595 Saint Hilaire, Jussieu et Cambessedes, Flora Brasilæ Meridionalis, fascic. X. 4to. *Paris*. 15s. folio. color. 3l.
- 596 Freycinet, Voyage autour du Monde; Botanique, Livraison VIII. folio. *Paris*. 12s.

MEDICAL SCIENCES.

- 600 Bock, Dr. A. C. Darstellung der Saugadern der menschlichen Korper. gr. 8vo. mit 19 color. Kupf. 4to. 1l. 10s.
- 601 Burkhart, Dr. J. R. über das Blut und das Athmen. gr. 8vo. *Basel*. 3s. 6d.
- 602 Fricke, Dr. J. C. G. Annalen der chirurgischen Abtheilung des Krankenhauses in Hamburg. 1r bd. gr. 8vo. *Hamburg*. 12s. 6d.
- 603 Hoffbauer, Dr. J. G. über die Erkenntniss und Kur der Brustkrampfs erwachsener. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 5s.
- 604 Bakker, G. De Natura Hominis, p. 2. tom. 1us. *Groningen*. 5s.
- 605 Benedict, Dr. F. W. Beiträge zu den Erfahrungen über die Rhinoplastik. 8vo. mit 4 steindrucken. *Breslau*. 2s.
- 606 Froriep, Dr. De Lingua anatomica quedam et sensitiva. gr. 4to. *Weimar*. 12s. 6d.
- 607 Goëlis, Dr. L. A. Tractatus de rite cognoscenda et sananda angina membranacea. 8vo. *Wien*. 4s.
- 608 Barkhausen, Dr. G. Beobachtungen über den Sauser-wahnsinn. gr. 8vo. *Bremen*. 7s.
- 609 Schön, Dr. M. J. A. Handbuch der pathologischen Anatomie der Auges. gr. 8vo. *Hamburg*. 7s. 6d.
- 610 Stösch, Dr. A. W. von, Versuch einer Pathologie und Therapie des Diabetes mellitus. gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 6s.
- 611 Treviranus, Dr. G. R. Beiträge zur Anatomie und Physiologie der sinneswerkzeuge des Menschen und der Thiere. 1 hft. mit 4 kupfern. *Bremen*. 1l.
- 612 Carus, Dr. C. G. Grundsätze der vergleichenden Anatomie und Physiologie. 3 bde. 8vo. *Dresden*. 6s.
- 613 Hahnemann, Dr. S. die chronischen Krankheiten. 3 thle. gr. 8vo. *Dresden*. 1l. 5s.
- 614 Merrem, Dr. K. Th. über den Cortex adstringens Brasil. gr. 8vo. *Köln*. 7s.
- 615 Richter, Dr. G. A. ausführliche Arzneimittellehre. 3r bd. gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 12s.
- 616 Chelius, Dr. M. G. Handbuch der Chirurgie. 1r bd. 1ste abthl. 8vo. *Hildelberg*. 8s.

- 617 Sprengel, Prof. W. Allgemeine Chirurgie. 1r bd. 1r thl. gr. 8vo. *Halle*. 15s.
 618 Berendt, Dr. C. A. M. Vorlesungen über praktische Arzneiwissenschaft, 4r bd. gr. 8vo. *Berlin*. 8s. 6d.
 619 Hartlaub, Dr. reine Arzneymittellehre. 1r bd. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 10s.
 620 Kern, D. V., Ritter von, über die Verletzungen am Kopfe. gr. 4to. *Wien*. 17s.
 621 Prus, Recherches nouvelles sur la nature et le traitement du Cancer de l'Estomac. 8vo. *Paris*.
 622 Boivin (Mme.), Recherches sur une des causes les plus fréquentes et la moins connue de l'avortement, &c. 8vo. *Paris*. 4s.
 623 Anglade, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire générale des eaux minérales, sulfureuses et des eaux thermales. 3 tom. 8vo. *Paris*. 12s.
 624 Recueil des Mémoires de Médecine, de Chirurgie et de Pharmacie Militaire. Vol. XXIV. 8vo. *Paris*.
 625 Bayle, Bibliothèque de Thérapeutique, ou Recueil de Mémoires, &c. sur le traitement des maladies et l'emploi des médicamens. Tom. I. 8vo. *Paris*. 7s.
 626 Barbier, Précis de Nosologie et de Thérapeutique. Tom. II. 8vo. *Paris*. 9s.
 627 Foderé, Recherches et Observations critiques sur l'éruption et la fièvre connues sous le nom de miliaires. 8vo. *Paris*.
 628 Segalas, Traité des rétentions d'urine et des maladies qu'elles produisent, &c. 8vo. avec Atlas in folio. *Paris*. 15s.
 629 Cloquet, Anatomie de l'Homme. Livraisons XL. XII. folio. *Paris*. each 9s.
 630 ———, Manuel d'Anatomie descriptive du corps humain. Livraison XXII. 4to. *Paris*. 4s.; coloured 7s.
 631 Capuron, De l'Accouchement, lorsque le bras de l'enfant se présente et sort le premier. 8vo. *Paris*.
 632 Cruveilhier, Anatomie Pathologique du corps humain. Livraison I. folio. Fig. color. *Paris*. each 7s. (The work will consist of from 30 to 40 livraisons.)
 633 Louis, Recherches, &c. sur la maladie connue sous les noms de gastro-entérite, fièvre putride, &c. 2 vol. 8vo. *Paris*.
 634 Breschet, Recherches Anatomiques, &c. sur le système veineux. Livraison III. folio. *Paris*. 10s.
 635 Hereau, Opinion d'un Médecin sur la maladie de l'Empereur Napoléon. 8vo. *Paris*. 4s.
 636 Coster, Dictionnaire de Santé ou Vocabulaire de Médecine Pratique. 2 vols. 8vo. *Paris*.
 637 ———, Manuel de Médecine pratique d'après les principes de la médecine physiologique, &c. 18mo. *Paris*. 6s.
 638 Osterlen, sur la rupture du Cal, ou méthode sûre de rompre les os mal redroits pour ramener le membre à sa rectitude naturelle, trad. par Maurer. 8vo. *Paris*.
 639 Velppeau, Traité élémentaire de l'art des accouchemens. 2 vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 12s.
 640 Dictionnaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie pratique, &c. par Andral, Bégin, Depuyrens, &c. &c. Tom. I. (to be completed in 15 vol.) 8vo. *Paris*. 7s.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTS AND SCIENCES.

- 644 Dictionnaire Technologique ou Nouveau Dictionnaire Universel des Arts et Métiers. Tom. XIV. (MO—OP.) 8vo. et planches, livraisons XXIII. et XXIV. 4to. *Paris*. 13s.
 645 Encyclopédie Méthodique, Livraison Cc., Architecture, Tom. III. 2de partie; Médecine, Tom. XII. 2de partie; Hist. Naturelle des Insectes, Tom. X. 2de partie; Texte des 208 prem. planches de l'entomologie. 4to. *Paris*.
 646 ——— Portative, Livraisons 28, 29, 30, et 30 bis, avec Planches. 32mo. *Paris*. each part 4s. 6d.
 647 ——— Moderne ou Dictionnaire abrégé des Sciences des Lettres et des Arts. Tom. XIV. 9s. Planches, 1er livraison, 9s. 8vo. *Paris*.
 648 Cordier, De la Navigation du département du Nord, &c. Tom. II. 4to. *Lille*.
 649 Tournassac et Mellet, Essai sur les bateaux à vapeur appliqués à la navigation intérieure et maritime de l'Europe, &c. 4to. Fig. *Paris*.

- 650 *Annuaire pour l'an 1839, présenté au Roi par le bureau des Longitudes.* 18mo. Paris. 1s.
- 651 Gourey, *Appendice des Souvenirs Polytechniques*, 4to. avec Atlas in folio. Paris.
- 652 *Connoissance des Temps et des Mouvements celestes, &c. pour l'année 1831, avec les additions.* 8vo. Paris. 8s.
- 653 Hoyer, D. J. G. von, *Lehrbuch für den Elementar-Unterricht in den Kriegawissenschaften.* 2 the. mit 3 Tabellen. 14s.
- 654 Blesson, L., *Die Lehre vom Graphischen Defilement.* 8vo. mit 11 Kupfertafeln. Berlin. 4s. 6d.
- 655 Chevalerie, A. F. L. de la, *Preussische Waffenlehre, mit Einschluss der Artillerie, Fortification und Taktik.* Gr. 8vo. Königsberg. 10s.
- 656 Hegenberg, F. A., *Unterricht im Höhenmessen mit dem Barometer.* 8vo. mit 1 tafel. Bunslau. 7s.
- 657 Löwensberg, C. von, *Neues Befestigungssystem.* Gr. 8vo. mit 24 plane. 2l. 4s.
- 658 Schwarzer, A., *Lehrmethode zum Unterrichte der Taubstammen in der Tonsprache für Lehrer.* Gr. 8vo. Wien. 10s.

FINE ARTS.

- 660 Raoul-Rochette *Moumens inédits d'Antiquité figurée Grecque, Etrusque et Romaine.* Livrans 1 et 2. Folio. Paris. (to be completed in 12.) Each 2l. 1s.
- 661 Reveil, *Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture.* Livrans 25 a 36 bis. Sm. 8vo. Paris. Each 1s. 6d.
- 662 Turpin de Crissé (Comte) *Souvenirs du Golfe de Naples.* Fol. (37 planches). Paris. 10l.
- 663 Callet et Lesueur, *Architecture Italienne.* Livraison 5. Fol. Paris. 8s.
- 664 *Vignettes gravées en taille douce par les premiers artistes d'après les dessins de Adam, Bellangé, &c. pour les Chansons de Beranger, 10 livraisons, 18mo.* Paris. each 3s. 6d.
- 665 Faust, *Vingt-six gravures d'après les dessins de Retzsch.* Oblong 8vo. Paris. 2s. 6d.
- 666 Sauvan et Smith, *Histoire et Description Pittoresque du Palais de Justice, de la Conciergerie, et de la Sainte Chapelle de Paris.* Fol. Paris. 2l. 8s.
- 667 *Les Tournois du Roi René d'après les manuscrits et les dessins originaux de la Bibliothèque Royal, &c.* Livrans 3 et 4. Fol. planches color. Paris. each 4l. Complete in 4 livrans, 16l.
- 668 Geringer, *L'Inde Française, collection de dessins lithographiés, &c.* Livrans XI. XII. Fol. Paris. Each 1l.
- 669 *Isographie des Hommes celebres, Livraisons 17, 18, 19, 20.* 4to. Paris. each 6d. 6d.
- 670 Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture antique et moderne, Livraison IV.* 4to. Paris. 4l. 8s.
- 671 *Galerie de la Duchesse de Berri, Ecole Française, peintres modernes, Livraison 30 et dernier.* Fol. Paris. 1l. 4s.
- 672 Chabert, *Galerie des Peintres, ou Collection des Portraits des peintres.* Livraison 26 a 29. Fol. Paris. each 1l.
- 673 Blouet, *Restauration des Thermes de Caracalla à Rome.* Livrans 3 et 4. Folio. Paris. each 16s.
- 674 Hittorf et Zanth, *Architecture Moderne de la Sicile.* Livraisons 14, 15. Folio. Paris. each 6s. 6d.
- 675 Masoia, *Ruines de Pompei.* Livraisons 24 et 25. Fol. Paris. each 1l. 8s.
- 676 Vatout et Quenot, *Galerie lithographiée des Tableaux du Duc d'Orléans.* Livrans 44-46. Fol. Paris. each 20s.
- 677 *Cathédrales Françaises par Chapuy et Jolimont.* Livraison 15. (Chartres) 4to. Paris. 8s.
- 678 Bonnard, *Costumes des XIII. XIV. et XV. Siècles.* Livraisons 1, 2. In 4to. Paris.
- 679 Normand, *Nouveau Parallèle des Ordres d'Architecture des Grecs et des Romains avec les auteurs modernes.* Folio. Paris. 2l. 14s.
- 680 Percier et Fontaine, *Arc de Triomphe des Tuileries érigé en 1806, &c. avec texte par Brès.* Folio. (27 planches.) 2l. 12s. 6d.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, VOYAGES, TRAVELS, &c.

- 684 Norvins, Histoire de Napoléon, Livraison 16 et dern. 8vo. Paris. 4s. The work complete in 4 vols. 3l. 3s.
- 685 ——— Portraits pour l'histoire de Napoléon, Livraison 1 et 2. 8vo. (To be completed in 6.) Paris. each 3s. 6d.
- 686 Simonde de Sismondi, Histoire des Français. Tom. 10, 11, 12. 8vo. Paris. 1l. 10s.
- 687 Chalmel, Histoire de Touraine depuis la conquête des Romains jusqu'à 1790. Tom. I. 8vo. Tours.
- 688 Mémoires de Vidocq, Tom. 1 et 2. 8vo. Paris. 1l.
- 689 ——— d'un Forçat, ou Vidocq dévoilé, Tom. I. 8vo. Paris. 9s. 6d.
- 690 Paul Courier, Mémoires, Correspondance et Opuscules inédites. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 18s.
- 691 ——— Œuvres complètes. 4 vols. 8vo. Bruxelles.
- 692 Masas, Vies des grands Capitaines Français du Moyen Age. Tom. 4 et 6. 8vo. Paris. each 8s.
- 693 Formaleoni, Historia de la Navegacion, del comercio y de las colonias de los pueblos antiguos en el Mar Negro, escrita en Italiano, y traducida al Espanol, por el E. S. D. A. Gomez Calderon. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris. 1l. 5s.
- 694 Tarif général des droits de douane des Etats Unis d'Amerique, mis en rapport avec la loi du Congrès du 19 Mai 1823, &c. 8vo. Paris.
- 695 Dictionnaire classique et universel de Géographie Moderne, &c. redigé par Langlois. Tom. I. 2de partie. 8vo. Paris. each 12s.
- 696 ——— Géographie Universel, &c. par une société des géographes. Tom. V. part I. 8vo. Paris. 9s. 6d.
- 697 Mariès, Histoire Générale de l'Inde Ancienne et Moderne. Tom. 5 et 6. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 19s. The work complete, 6 vols. 2l. 16s.
- 698 Comte de Segur, Œuvres complètes, Tom. XXXIV.—Histoire de France, Tom. VII. 8vo. Paris. 7s.
- 699 Mémoires Contemporains: Mémoires d'un apothicaire sur la guerre d'Espagne, 2 vols. Mémoires sur Napoléon, sur Marie Louise et la cour des Tuileries, par Mme. Durand—Mémoires sur l'Impératrice Josephine, &c. Tom. II. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris. 2l.
- 700 Balbi, La Monarchie Française comparée aux principaux états du monde, un grand feuille. In Folio. Paris. 6s.
- 701 Statistique de l'arrondissement de Falaise. 5eme cahier. 8vo. Falaise.
- 702 Annuaire Historique Universel from 1827, gros vol. 8vo. Paris. 16s.
- 703 Dulaure, Histoire Physique, Civile et Morale des Environs de Paris. Tom. VII. 2de partie (et dernière). 8vo. Paris. 10s. The work complete in 7 vols. with map and plates. 7l.
- 704 Feller, Dictionnaire Historique, 7me édition. Tom. XI. and XII. (To form 20 vols.) 8vo. Paris. 16s.
- 705 Le Duc de Rovigo en miniature, ou abrégé de ses Mémoires par Séveringès. 8vo. Paris. 10s.
- 706 L'Art de vérifier les dates depuis l'année 1770 jusqu'à nos jours. Tom. VII. 8vo. Paris. 9s. 6d.
- 707 Thibaudau, Histoire Générale de Napoléon. Tom. III. and VI. (To be completed in 14 vols.) 8vo. Paris. 19s.
- 708 Biographie Nouvelle et Complète des Pairs de France. 8vo. Paris. 10s.
- 709 ——— des Lieutenans généraux, ministres, &c. 8vo. Paris. 10s.
- 710 Annuaire Anecdote, ou Souvenirs Contemporains, 1829. 18mo. Paris. 5s. 6d.
- 711 Correspondance de Fénelon, archevêque de Cambrai, publiée pour la première fois. Tom. X. 8vo. Paris. 8s.
- 712 Thomas, Essai de Statistique de l'Isle Bourbon, ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Sciences. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris.
- 713 Mernuet, Histoire de la Ville de Vienne, durant l'époque Gauloise et la domination Romaine. 8vo. Paris.
- 714 Roujoux, Histoire des Rois et des Ducs de Bretagne. Tom. I. and II. 8vo. Paris. 1l.

- 715 Schlosser, *Histoire Universelle de l'Antiquité*; trad. de l'Allemand par Golberry. 5 vols. 8vo. Paris.
- 716 Laborde, *Itinéraire descriptif de l'Espagne*. 3me édition, revue, corrigée et augmentée. Tom. IV. 1ere partie. 8vo. Paris. 6s. 6d.
- 717 Thierry (Augustin), *Lettres sur l'histoire de France*. 2me édition, revue, corrigée et augmentée. 8vo. Paris. 10s.
- 718 Bonaparte (Louis) *Réponse à Sir Walter Scott sur son histoire de Napoléon*. 8vo. Paris. 4s.
- 719 Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque de Naples et de Sicile*. Nouvelle édition, revue, &c. Livraisons I. et II. In 8vo. avec Atlas in folio (to be completed in 12). Paris. Each 1l. 7s.
- 720 Dictionnaire Historique ou Biographie Universelle Classique, par le Général Beauvais et autres. Livraison XI (SON-VAR). 8vo. Paris. 8s.
- 721 Collection des Chroniques nationales Françaises, par Buchon; Livraisons 23 et 24. Ville-Hardouin, Tom. 4.—Jean Molinet, Tom. 3, 4, 5.—4 vol. 8vo. Paris. 1l. 12s.
- 722 De Pradt, *Du Système permanent de l'Europe à l'égard de la Russie*. 8vo. Paris. 5s. 6d.
- 723 Du Mége, *Statistique Générale des departemens Pyrénéens ou des provinces de Guienne et de Languedoc*, Tom. 1. 8vo. Toulouse.
- 724 Freycinet, *Voyage autour du monde; Relation Historique*. Livraisons 10, 11, 12. 4to. Paris. Each 16s.
- 725 Dillon, (Sir John Talbot) *Considerations on the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, in respect of the parliamentary oaths, in 4 Letters addressed to Chas. Butler, Esq.* 8vo. Paris.
- 726 Notes on the means of effecting an amicable settlement of the Catholic Question, by an English traveller. 8vo. Paris.
- 727 Roche-Fermoy, *Commentary on the Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Major-general in the service of the Republic of France, in which the moral and physical force of Ireland to support national independence is discussed and examined*. 8vo. Paris. 5s. 6d.
- 728 Coup d'œil historique et statistique sur l'état passé et présent de l'Irlande sous le rapport de son gouvernement, de sa religion, de son agriculture, de son commerce, et de son industrie. 8vo. Paris. 2s. 6d.
- 729 Esnault, *Histoire philosophique et politique de Russie, depuis les tems les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*. Tom. I. Livraisons 1, 2, 3. (to be completed in 16). 8vo. Paris. each 3s. 6d.
- 730 Niellon-Gilbert, *Coup d'œil sur l'état actuel de la Russie*. 8vo. Paris. 5s. 6d.
- 731 Mémoires de Fauche-Borel, Tom. 1, 2, 3. 8vo. Paris. 1l. 7s.
- 732 De Bausset, *Mémoires Anecdotes sur l'intérieur du Palais, &c.* Tom. 3 et 4. 8vo. Paris. 1l.
- 733 De Terrebasse, *Histoire de Pierre Terrail, seigneur de Bayart, &c.* 8vo. Paris. 10s.
- 734 Pacho, *Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrenaïque, &c.* 3me partie, Cyrenaïque Orientale, 4to. Planches du même ouvrage. Livraisons 6 et 7. Folio. Paris. each 12s.
- 735 Biographie Universelle et Portative des contemporains: 1ere partie. Livraisons 43 à 45. 2de partie. Livraisons 20 à 23. 8vo. Paris. each 3s. 6d.
- 736 Walckenaer, *Hist. Générale des Voyages*, Tom. XIV. 8vo. Paris. 9s. 6d.
- 737 De Bonald, *De l'Esprit des Corps, et de l'Esprit de Parti, &c.* 8vo. Paris. 2s.
- 738 Bailleul, *Etudes sur l'histoire de Napoléon*. Livraisons 5 à 7 (to be completed in 16). 8vo. Paris. each 2s.
- 739 Barbé-Marbois, *Histoire de la Louisiane et de laession de cette colonie par la France aux Etats Unis, &c.* 8vo. Paris. 9s.
- 740 Estancelin, *Histoire des Comtes d'Eu*. 8vo. Paris. 9s.
- 741 Guizot, *Cours d'Histoire Moderne, (2d Cours)*. Livraisons 1 et 2. 8vo. Paris.
- 742 Gallès, *Du Brel ou Observations générales sur le commerce et les douanes de ce pays*. 8vo. Paris. 6s.
- 743 Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France, &c. Seconde Serie. Tom. LXXIX--LXXII. 4 vol. 8vo. Paris. 1l. 12s.

- 744 Schneller, D. J. F. Oesterreichs Einfluss auf Deutschland und Europa. 2 bde. gr. 8vo. Stuttgart. 11. 6s.
 745 Weech, J. Fr. von, Brasiliens gegenwärtiger Zustand. gr. 8vo. Hamburg. 9s.
 746 Zober, Dr. C. H. Geschichte der Belagerung Stralsunds durch Wallenstein im Jahre 1628. 4to. Stralsund. 10s.
 747 Ritter, Dr. J. J. der Kirchengeschichte, 2r bd. 1ste abthlg. gr. 8vo. Elberfeld. 4s.
 748 Buchholz, Fr. Geschichte Napoleon Bonapartes. 2r bd. gr. 8vo. Berlin. 18s.
 749 Baehr, Dr. J. C. F. Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur. gr. 8vo. Carlsruhe. 13s. 6d.
 750 Blum, Dr. K. L. Einleitung in Rom's alte Geschichte. 8vo. Berlin. 5s.
 751 Lancizolle, Dr. L. W. von, Geschichte der Bildung des Preussischen Staats. 1r thl. gr. 8vo. Berlin. 17s.
 752 Wackerbarth, Graf von, die Geschichte der grossen Teutonen. folio. Hamburg. 1l.
 753 Canning, G. und die Liberalen. 2bde. 12mo. Stuttgart. 19s.
 754 Hüllmann, K. D. Städtewesen der Mittelalters. 3thle. 8vo. Bonn. 1l. 12s. 6d.
 755 Schlegel, J. K. F. Kirchen- und Reformationgeschichte. 1r theil. gr. 8vo. Hannover. 9s.
 756 Jäger, C. Geschichte der Stadt Heilbronn und ihrer ehemaligen Gebiets. 2 bde. gr. 8vo. Heilbronn. 11s.
 757 Arndt, C. M. Christliches und Türkisches. 8vo. Stuttgart. 9s.
 758 Hammer, J. v. Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs. 3r bd. gr. 8vo. mit 1 karte. Pesth. 1l. 1s.
 759 Leitsmann, J. Abriss einer Geschichte der gesammten Mülkkunde. gr. 8vo. Erfurt. 8s.
 760 Rauschnick, Dr. Chronologisches Handbuch der Weltgeschichte. gr. 8vo. Erfurt. 8s.
 761 Sander, A. Grundriss der Geschichte der Alterthums. gr. 8vo. Hildesheim. 4s. 6d.
 762 Lauteschläger, Dr. G. die Einfälle der Normänner in Deutschland. 4to. Darmstadt. 2s. 6d.
 763 Hottinger, Prof. J. J. und Prof. G. Schwab, die Schweiz in ihren Ritterburgen und Bergschlössern. 1r bd. mit kupf. gr. 8vo. Chur. 10s.
 764 Welt und Zeit, 6r und letzter theil. gr. 8vo. mit 1 kupf. Heidelberg. 10s.
 765 Barth, C. K. Hertha, und über die Religion der Weltmutter in alten Deutschland. gr. 8vo. Augsburg. 5s.
 766 Menzel, K. A. neuere Geschichte der Deutschen. 2r bd. gr. 8vo. Breslau. 10s.
 767 Sporschil, J. Wallenstein. Historischer Versuch. 8vo. Leipzig. 4s. 6d.
 768 Hoeck, Dr. K. Kreta. 2r bd. gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 12s.
 769 Stenzel, G. A. H. Geschichte Deutschlands unter den Fränkischen Kaisern. 2r bd. gr. 8vo. Leipzig. 12s. 6d.
 770 Tkany, A. Mythologie der alten Teutschen und Slaven. 3 thle. gr. 8vo. Wien. 7s.
 771 Graff, G. Geschichte Griechenlands. gr. 8vo. Mainz. 12s.
 772 Schlosser, Fr. Chr. Universalhistorische Uebersicht der Geschichte der alten Welt. 2r thl. 1ste abthl. gr. 8vo. Frankfurt.
 773 Thirge, Dr. J. P. Res Cyrenensium. 8vo. Kopenhagen. 10s.

POETRY, DRAMA, &c.

- 776 Collin, H. J. von, Trauerspiele. 3 bde. 8vo. Berlin. 1l. 7s.
 777 Hardt, S. von, die Maffei's, Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen. 8vo. Quedlinburg. 4s. 6d.
 778 Eichendorff, T. Fehr. von, Eselin von Romano, Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen. Gr. 8vo. Königsberg. 7s. 6d.
 779 Link, C. A., Gedichte lannigen und ernsten Inhalts. 8vo. Nürnberg. 4s.
 780 Oehlenschläger, Die Wärringer in Konstantinopel, Trauerspiel in 5 Acten. 8vo. Berlin. 7s.
 781 Gamtemberg, L. von, Horatius, Tragödie in 4 Acten. 12mo. Wien. 2s. 6d.
 782 Reiß, J. J., Otto von Rheineck, Trauerspiel in 5 Acten. 12mo. Coblenz. 4s.

5

- 783 Strauss, V., Katharina, Ein Trauerspiel. Gr. 8vo. Halle. 3s.
 784 Immerman, K., Friedrich Ite, Trauerspiel. 8vo. Hamburg. 5s.
 784* ——— Die Verklärungen. Lustspiel. 8vo. 4s.
 785 Raupach, Dr., Rafaele, Trauerspiel in 5 Akten. 8vo. Hamburg. 5s.
 786 Repertoire du Théâtre de Madame. Livraisons XLV. à LVIII. grand in 32mo. Paris. each 1s. 6d.
 787 Ancelot, Olga, ou L'Orpheline Moscovite. Tragedie in 5 Actes, et en vers. 8vo. 5s.
 788 Marie de Brabant. Drame historique, in 5 Actes. 8vo. Paris. 4s. 6d.
 789 Beranger, Chansons anciennes, nouvelles et inédites, avec des vignettes de De-veria et de dessins color. de H. Monnier. Livraisons VI. à X. 8vo. Paris. each 4s.; the work complete, 2l.
 790 ——— Chansons inédites, suivies des procès. 32mo. Paris. 4s.
 791 Barthelemy et Mery, Napoleon en Egypte, poëme en 8 chants. 8vo. Paris. 10s.
 792 Scribe, Théâtre de, Tom. V. et VI. 8vo. Paris. each 3s. 6d.
 793 Garnier, Le Mariage de Molière. Comedie en 5 Actes. 8vo. Paris. 3s. 6d.
 794 Tom Wild, ou le Bourreau. Melo-drame. 8vo. Paris. 3s.
 796 Gallois, Trois Actes d'un Grand Drame. 8vo. Paris. 9s. 6d.

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

- 800 Elbing, J., Clara von Pappenheim. 2 bde. 8vo. Leipzig. 12s. 6d.
 801 Aniello, S. Burg Löwenstein, oder der Sturz der Bundesritter von der eisernen Krone. 3 thle. 8vo. Quedlinburg. 15s.
 802 Geister die, auf Felsthal, oder der Knappe Kuno. 2 thle. 8vo. Quedlinburg. 10s.
 803 Schermbach, M., Elisabeth die Heilige, Landgräfin von Thüringen. 8vo. Erfurt. 4s.
 804 Bertrant, G., Sultan Mahomed III., mit seinen 7 rechtmässigen Frauen. 8vo. Nordhausen. 6s.
 805 Bronner, F. H., Abenteuerliche Geschichte Herzog Werners von Urslingen. Gr. 8vo. Aarau. 8s.
 806 Fröhlich, C. F., der Alte vom Berge. 8vo. Nordhausen. 5s.
 807 ——— die sechs schlafenden Jungfrauen. 2 bde. 8vo. Ditto. 11s.
 808 ——— die Rächer. 8vo. Ditto. 4s. 6d.
 809 Irrwald, J. A. Lehrjahre. 8vo. Ansbach. 3s.
 810 Lennig, Fr., Die neue Levana, oder Natur-kunst und Schönheit. 8vo. Darmstadt. 7s. 6d.
 811 Milde, Emilie, oder des Schicksals Fluch. 2 bde. 8vo. Leipzig. 11s.
 812 Richthofen, J. Baron von, Die Verstossene. 8vo. Königsberg.
 813 Rückert, Fr., Nal und Damajanti. Eine Indische Geschichte. Gr. 12mo. Frankfurt. 9s.
 814 Sihler, W. Arabesken. 1s. bdchn. 8vo. Berlin. 5s.
 815 Stilling, H. Theobald, oder die Schwärmer. 2 bde. 8vo. Leipzig. 9s.
 816 Tromlitz, A. von, Herbstbluthen, eine Sammlung Novellen. 2 bde. 12mo. Leipzig. 15s.
 817 Sengebusch, Adel und Natur. 2 thle. 8vo. Hamburg. 9s.
 818 Albing, J., der Schwarze Ritter. 8vo. Hildesheim. 5s.
 819 Töpfer, C., der lebende Todte. 8vo. Cassel. 5s.
 820 ———, Dunkel und Hell. 8vo. 6s.
 821 Bublina, Die Heldin Griechenlands unsrer Zeit. 2 bde. 8vo. Gotha. 8s.
 822 Geissel, J. der Kaiser-Dom zu Speyer. 3 thle. gr. 8vo. Mainz. 16s.
 823 Lüdemann, W. von, Venedig wie es war, und wie es ist. 8vo. Dresden. 8s.
 824 Richthofen, J. Baronin von, der Onkel, Roman. 2 thle. 8vo. Leipzig. 15s.
 825 Bronikowsky, A. der Grimmenstein. 2 thle. 8vo. Berlin. 14s.
 826 Franzisko der Kühne, Räuber-chef in Calabria. 2 thle. 8vo. Quedlinburg. 11s.
 827 Heldenhim und Weibertreue. 8vo. Heilbronn. 6s.
 828 Norden, C. die Felsen von Nivrodongk. 2 thle. 8vo. Griefswald. 10s.
 829 Stengel, Fr. von, Monica, die Gottgewechte. 2 thle. 8vo. Heidelberg. 12s. 6d.

- 830 Telto, G. Schneeglöckchen. 8vo. *Magdeburg*. 5s.
 831 Mondlichter und Gasbeleuchtungen. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 8s.
 832 Sostmann, U. Mannerherz und Frauentreue. 8vo. *Braunschweig*.
 833 Hall, J. van der, die Hugenottin. 8vo. *Berlin*. 6s.
 834 Houwald, E. von, Bilder für die Jugend. 1r bd. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 9s.
 835 Ressource, die. 3r theil. 8vo. *Zerbst*. 3s. 6d.
 836 Voss, Julius von, das Geschwornengericht. Ein roman. 8vo. *Berlin*. 8s.
 837 Niedmann, C. Heinrich der Löwe. 4 thl. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 6s.
 838 Scharten, C. von, Oesterreichs Banner in Pommer. 2 bde. 8vo. *Berlin*. 10s.
 839 Clauren, der bedrängte Liebhaber auf der Reise. 8vo. *Nordhausen*. 5s.
 840 Falckh, J. die Turken vor Sigeth. 2 thle. 8vo. *Manheim*. 10s.
 841 Fröhlich, C. F. Sallo Sallini, der Räuberhauptmann. 2 bde. 8vo. *Nordhausen*. 11s.
 842 Hanke, H. die Perlen. 2 thle. *Hannover*. 14s.
 843 Liebe, Rache und Veröhnung. 2 bde. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 14s.
 844 Spindler, Le Batard, Tableau des mœurs de l'Allemagne sous le règne de l'Empereur Rodolphe II. 5 vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 1l.
 845 Boulgarin, Archippe Thaddevitch ou l'Ermite Russe ; Tableau des mœurs Russes au XIXe Siècle. 3 vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 18s.
 846 Le Chef des Penitens Noirs, ou le Proscrit et l'Inquisition. 5 vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 1l.
 847 Zschokke, Romans historiques : La Princesse Christine. 2 vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 8s.
 848 ——— Contes Suisses. 4 vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 12s.
 849 Bronikowski, Claire Hebert, Histoire du tems de Louis XIII. 3 vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 11s.
 850 ——— Hippolite Boratynski, ou la Pologne au tems de Sigismonde Auguste II. 5 vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 20s.
 851 Mme. de Therase, Gertrude. 4 vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 16s.
 852 A. de Bast, La Tête Noire, 4 vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 16s.
 853 Bouilly, Contes à mes jeunes amies, ou Trois mois en Touraine. 2de parties 12mo. *Paris*. 5s.
 854 Mortonval, Chroniques de la Ligue : Le Fils du Meunier, première partie. Siège de Rouen, 4 vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 16s.
 855 ——— Seconde partie, Le Siège de Paris. 4 vol. 12mo. *Paris*. 20s.
 856 Defauconpret, Robert Fitzooth, ou le chef des proscrits. 3 vol. 12mo. *Paris*. 12s.
 857 Berginet, Le Roi des Montagnes ou les Compagnons du Chêne. Tradition Dauphinoise du tems de Charles VIII. 5 vol. 12mo. *Paris*. 1l.
 858 De Kock, L'Enfant de ma Femme, 2 vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 7s.

GREEK & LATIN CLASSICS & PHILOLOGICAL WORKS.

- 860 Lycurgi Oratio in Leocratem, ed. G. A. Blume. 8vo. maj. *Stralsund*. 6s. 6d.
 861 Luciani libellus quomodo historiam conscribi oporteat, ed. Dr. C. F. Herman. 8vo. *Frankfurt*. 9s.
 862 Lucretii, T. Cari, de Rerum Natura libri sex, ed A. Forbiger. 12mo. maj. *Leipzig*. 8s.
 863 Hebenstreit, Dr. W., Dictionarium editionum tum selectar. tum optim. auct. class. et Gr. et Rom. 8vo. *Wien*. 9s.
 864 Timæi Sophistæ Lexicon vocum Platoniarum, ed. Ruhkenius et Koch. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 7s.
 865 Aristophanis Comædiæ, ed. F. H. Bothe. Vol. I. 8vo. maj. *Leipzig*. 7s.
 866 Edda Rhythmica seu Antiquior, vulgo Sæmundina dicta. Pars III. 4to. maj. *Kopenhagen*. 3l.
 867 Hillebrand, J. Æthetica, literaria antiqua classica. 8vo. maj. *Mainz*. 8s.
 868 Magnusen, F., Priscæ veterum borealium mythologiæ Lexicon. 4to. maj. *Kopenhagen*. 2l. 10s.
 869 Perlet, F. C. G., Animadversa in Terentii Comædiæ. 8vo. maj. *Leipzig*. 3s. 6d.
 870 Terentii, P. Afri, Comædiæ. ed. Fr. C. G. Perlet. 8vo. maj. *Leipzig*. 15s.
 871 Moreti, M. Ant. variarum lectionum libri XIX. ed. H. Fæsius. Vol. II. 8vo. maj. *Halle*. 8s.

- 872 *Anecdota Græca*, ed. L. Bachmann. Vol. II. 8vo. maj. *Leipzig*. 11. 8s.
 873 *Prisciani Grammatici, de laude imperatoris Anastasii*, ed. S. L. Endlicher. 8vo. maj. *Wien*. 7s.
 874 *Wyttenbachii, D. Opuscula Selecta*; ed. F. T. Tiedemann. Vol. II. gr. 8vo. *Braunschweig*. 7s.
 875 *Schnurrer, Dr. C. Fr. Orationum academicarum delectus posthumus*, ed. Dr. H. E. G. Paulus. 8vo. maj. *Tübingen*. 6s.
 876 *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica*, ed. A. Wellauer. 2 vols. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 19s.
 877 *Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantinæ* ed. Niebuhr. Pars XX. 8vo. maj. *Bonn*. 18s.
 878 *Collections des Romans Grecs, Livraison VII.—Aventures de Hysminé et Hysminias—La Luciade*, trad. par Courier. 2 vols. 16mo. *Paris*. 10s.
 879 *Bibliotheca Classica Latina*, curante Lemaire, Livraisons L. et LI. *Plinii Hist. Naturalis*, Tom. II. p. 1. et Tom. IV. — *Ciceronis Orationes*, Tom. IV. — *Terentius*, Tom. II. p. 2. 8vo. *Paris*.
 880 *Nouveau Choix de Pensées de Platon, suivi de notes historiques, critiques et grammaticales*, par Alex. Pellon. 12mo. *Paris*.
 881 *Claudianus ex editione Bipontina prima ad opt. lect. ut ad exemplar Burmann*. 8vo. *Paris*. 5s. Fine paper, 6s.
 882 *Cornelii Nepotii Vitæ Imperatorum*; edit. post Bipontinam II. accurate revisa, &c. 8vo. *Paris*. 4s. Fine paper, 5s.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

- 884 *Massmann, H. F. Denkmäler deutscher Sprache und Literatur aus Handschriften des 8ten bis 16ten Jahrhunderts*. 1r hft. gr. 8vo. *München*. 8s.
 885 *Pichler, C. Sämmtliche Werke*. 1r—5r bdchn. 16mo. *Wien*. 8s.
 886 *Struve, Dr. L. K. über den politischen Vers der Mittelgriechen*. 8vo. *Hildesheim*. 3s. 6d.
 887 *Ittner, J. A. von, Schriften, herausgegeben von Dr. H. Schreiber*. 3 bde. 8vo. *Freiburg*. 14s.
 888 *Lichtwert, M. G. Schriften*. 16mo. mit 1 kupfer. *Halberstadt*. 4s.
 889 *Paul Jean das Schönste und Gediegenste aus seinen verschiedenen Schriften*. 6 bdchn. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 1l.
 890 *Schwarz, J. L. Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben eines Geschäftsmannes Dichtere und Humoristen*. 2 abthl. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 10s.
 891 *Weber, C. Maria von, Hinterlassene Schriften*. 2 thle. 8vo. *Dresden*. 11s.
 892 *Encyclopädie der Freimaurerei von C. Lening*. 3r bd. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 1l.
 893 *Schmidt, Dr. C. die Kunst Hieroglyphen zu lesen*. 1r hft. 8vo. *Breslau*. 5s.
 894 *Niebuhr, B. G. Kleine Schriften. 1ste Sammlung*. gr. 8vo. *Bonn*. 14s.
 895 *Mongellaz (Mme.), De l'Influence des Femmes sur les Mœurs et les Destinées des Nations, &c.* 2 vol. 8vo. *Paris*. 16s.
 896 *Triomphe de l'Amour sur le Fanatisme et le Materialisme*. 3 vol. 8vo. 19s. 6d.
 897 *Œuvres de F. B. Hoffman, ornées du portrait de l'auteur et précédées d'un notice sur sa vie*. Tom. I. 8vo. *Paris*. 9s. (To be completed in 10 vols. published monthly.)
 898 *Chasles et Saint-Marc-Girardin, Tableaux de la Marche et des Progrès de la Langue et la Littérature Françaises au XVI. Siècle*. 8vo. *Paris*.
 899 *Gerfaux, Grammaire de la Langue Grecque et de ses differens Dialectes*. 4to. *Paris*.
 900 *Pantini et Monaci, Nouvelle Grammaire Italienne*. 12mo. *Paris*. 4s.
 901 *Jarry de Mancy, Atlas Historique et Chronologique des Littératures anciennes et modernes*. Livraison IX. folio. *Paris*. 10s. 6d.
 902 *Feletz, Melanges de Philosophie, d'Histoire et de Littérature*. 4 vol. 8vo. *Paris*. 2l.
 903 *Salgues, Des Erreurs et des Préjugés répandus dans les 18me et 19me Siècles*. 2 vol. 8vo. *Paris*. 18s.
 904 *Allou, Essai sur l'Universalité de la Langue Française, &c.* 8vo. *Paris*. 8s.
 905 *Catalogue des Livres imprimées sur vélin, de la Bibliothèque du Roi*. Tom. VI. 8vo. *Paris*. 10s.
 906 ————— dans les Bibliothèques publiques et particulières. Tom. IV. 8vo. *Paris*. 10s.

- 907 Auger, *Mélanges Philosophiques et Littérales*. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1l.
 908 Mery, *Histoire Générale des Proverbes, Apophthegmes, &c.* Tom. III. 8vo. Paris. 9s.
 909 Villemain, *Cours de Leçons sur la Littérature Française* (2d cours). Livraison I. et II. 8vo. Paris.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

- 910 Klaproth, *Chrestomathie Mandchou ou Recueil de Textes Mandchou destiné aux personnes qui veulent s'occuper de l'étude de cette Langue*. 8vo. Paris.
 911 *Élégie sur la Prise d'Edesse par les Musulmans*, par Kleietsi, Patriarche d'Arménie, en Arménien, publié par Zohrab. 8vo. Paris. 6s. 6d.
 912 Reinaud, *Description des Monumens Musulmans du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*. Tom. II. 8vo. Paris. 12s.; pap. velin, 20s.
 913 Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*. Tom. III. 8vo. Paris. 15s.
 914 Abel-Remusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris. 1l.
 915 Bianchi, *Vocabulaire Française-Turk, à l'Usage des Commerçans, des Navigateurs et autres Voyageurs dans le Levant*. 8vo. Paris.
 916 Bocthor et Caussin de Perceval, *Dictionnaire Français Arabe*. Livraisons I. II. et III. 4to. Paris. 2l. 8s. (To be completed in 6 livraisons.)
 917 Wilson, *Chefs d'œuvre du Théâtre Indien, traduit par Langlois, avec notes et éclaircissemens*. 2 vol. 8vo. Paris. 20s.
 918 *Biblia Hebraica manualia ad præstantiores editiones accurata*, ed. J. Simoni. Edit. 4ta. 8vo. maj. Halle. 1l. 2s. 6d.
 919 Makrizii, Taki-eddini, *Historia Coptorum Christianorum in Ægypto*. Gr. 8vo. Suisbach. 10s.
-

INDEX

TO THE

THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A.

Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, proceedings of, 342.

Agathias, one of the Byzantine historians, account of, 334, 335.

Agriculture, low state of, in France, and its cause, 363, 364—notice of the model-farm of M. de Dombasle, 364—and of its improvements in various departments, *ib.* 367.

Aldoms, a religious ceremony of the Magyars, notice of, 74.

Alexander, Emperor of Russia, anecdotes of, 689—estimate of his character, 486.

Almanachs Français pour 1829, critical notices of, 660—662.

——— *German*, for 1829, critical notices of, 669—673.

Aloys, (Szent Miklosy,) a Hungarian poet, specimen of the productions of, 64.

Alphabet of the Magyars, peculiarities of, 34.

Androsow, (General,) his character of Sultan Mahmud, 288.

Anthemius, a Greek architect, anecdote of, 355.

Anzeo, a Hungarian poet, notice of, 48, 49.

Arabic Literature and Language, ancient state of, 2, 3—improvement of Arabic literature under the caliphs of the dynasty of the Abbassides, 3—Greek poetry why not translated into Arabic, 4—encouragement of Arabic literature by the Moorish sovereigns of Spain, 4, 5—causes of its non-improvement, notwithstanding its wide diffusion, 6—the nomadic habits of the Arabs, 7—their levity and absence of reflection, 7—the

structure of their language, 8—rhyme early introduced into their poetry, 8—absence of criticism, 9—influence of government, 10—and of religion, 12, 13—popularity and peculiar characteristic of Arabic literature, 14, 15—prevalence of the Arabic language after the conquest of Spain by the Moors, 16—its effects in improving the vulgar poetry of the free Spaniards, 17.

Arago, (M.) observations of, on the real inventor of steam engines, 679.

Arbanère, (M.) *Tableau des Pyrénées Françaises*, 223—character of his work, 225, 226—account of his successful attempt to ascend Mont Perdu, 242—248.

Asiatic Society of Paris, proceedings of, 328.

B.

Bacanyi, (Janos,) a Hungarian poet, notice of, 53.

Bausset, (L. F. I. de) *Memoires Anecdotiques* depuis 1805 jusqu' en 1815, 657—his account of the Buonaparte family, 659, 660—character of his work, 657, 658.

Beet-root, on the manufacture of sugar from, in France, 368, 393.

Berard's *Spiritual System of Philosophy*, analysis of, 191—193.

Bernard, (Duke,) of Saxe-Weimar, notice of, 630, 631—and of his *Travels* in North America, 632—his account of New England, 632—and of improvements in the state of New York, 633—condition of the southern states, *ib.* 634—state of society at New Orleans, 634, 635—and at Harmony, 635.

- Bersenyi**, (Daniel,) a Hungarian poet, notice of, 58—specimen of his compositions, *ib.*
- Blanqui** (Adolphe,) *Histoire de l'Exposition des Produits de l'Industrie Française*, &c. 359—conclusions of, respecting prohibitions, 362.
- Blind Youth**, poem on, 661.
- Bonaparte** (Louis) *Réponse à Sir Walter Scott*, 597—specimens of the insignificance of his corrections, 598—601—notice of him, 659—humane remark of, on war and on the punishment of death, 600.
- Bonaparte**, (Napoleon,) extracts from the proclamation of, to the Egyptians, in which he avows himself a Musulman, 27—anecdotes of, 598. 658—notice of the Bonaparte family, 659, 660.
- Books**, number of, in the Catalogue of the Michaelmas Leipzig Book Fair, 683—number of, published in Germany between 1814 and 1828, *ib.*
- Bosphorus**, observations on the free passage of, demanded by Russia for the vessels of all nations, 292, 293.
- Böttcher**, (Wilhelm,) *Geschichte der Carthager*, critical notice of, 665, 666.
- Brongniart's** (Adolphe,) *Nouvelles Recherches sur le Pollen des Plantes*, report to the Academy of Sciences upon, 678.
- Brönsted**, (P. O.) *Voyages dans la Grèce*, 197—character of his work, 199—discoveries made by him, 200.
- Brulov**, (Charles,) a Russian artist, notice of, 341.
- Bucsil**, (Emil,) a Hungarian poet, notice of, 65—specimen of his compositions, *ib.*
- Byron**, (Lord,) anecdotes of, 204—206. 220—222—his death, 223.

C.

- Cabanis's** system of materialism, analysis of, 189—191.
- Canals**, in France, present state of, 368.
- Carpets**, manufactures of, in France, account of, 376, 377.
- Cattle**, degenerate state of the French breeds of, 367.
- Caucasian Frontier**, observations on the new demarcation of boundaries, demanded from Turkey by Russia, 293—296.
- Champollion's** Scientific Expedition to Egypt, notice of, 328.
- Charlemagne**, points of resemblance between him and the Emperor Frederic II. 583.
- Charles I.** remarks on the policy of, 79—observations on the state of the public mind after his departure from London, 86—88—and on the state of parties at the close of the first year of the civil war, 88—90.
- Charles of Anjou**, war of, with Conradin, King of Sicily, 595, 596—causes him to be put to death, 596, 597.
- Charmoy's**, (Professor,) *Alexandroid*, notice of, 691.
- Charpentier**, (J. de,) *Essai sur la Constitution Géognostique des Pyrénées*, 223—character of his work, 227. See *Pyrénées*.
- Chemical** productions of France, present state of, 392, 393.
- Chivalry**, of Arab origin, 23—influence of, 661, 662.
- Choiseul-Gouffier**, (M. le Comte de,) *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, 197—character of his work, *ib.* 198.
- Christianity**, influence of, upon the Magyars, 75—first introduction of, into Russia, 157—embraced by Vladimir, 158, 159—how propagated by him among his subjects, 159—its effects upon the Russian character, 162.
- Clocks** and watches, cheap manufacture of, in France, 391.
- Codices Rescripti**, notice of, 682.
- Codification**, notice of the dispute among foreign jurists, concerning, 434—437.
- Coffee**, quantity of, annually produced in Cuba, 414.
- Colonies** (military) of the Russians, notice of, 283.
- Commerce** of Cuba, account of, 414—416.
- Conradin**, king of Sicily, adventures of, 595, 596—put to death by Charles of Anjou, 596.
- Constitution** of France, observations on, 399.
- Copenhagen**, account of the royal library at, 322—the university library, 323—the Clasen library, *ib.* 394.
- Copper** manufactures of France, present state of, 371, 372.
- Copyright**. See *Literary Property*.
- Cotton**, quantity of, spun in Great Britain and France, 382—amount of manufactured cottons respectively exported from those countries, *ib.*—observations on the present state of the cotton manufacture in France, 379—383.
- Cousin**, (Victor,) popularity of the lectures of, 650—analysis of his *Cours de Philosophie*, 650, 651.

Creek Indians, notice of, 634.
Crusades, notice of an Oriental work on, 690.
Csokonai, a Hungarian poet, notice of, 54—specimen of his compositions, 55.
Cuba, isle of, when first discovered, 401—its importance, 403—present state of the Havana, 404—406—extent of Cuba, 406, 407—ecclesiastical and political divisions, 407—population, 408—410—militia, 411—produce, *ib.*—particularly that of sugar and rum, 412, 413, 414—coffee, tobacco, and indigo, 414—commerce, 414—416—revenue and expenditure, 416—418—liberal sentiments of the inhabitants on the subject of slavery, 419—remarks on the probable future fate of this island, 421—424—state of parties there, 425, 426—observations on the evils arising to Cuba from the continuance of the traffic in slaves, 427—431.

D.

Damiron, (M. P.) *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Philosophie en France*, 185—plan and character of his work, *ib.*—analysis of his view of the theological school, *ib.* 186, 187—of Cabanis's system of materialism, 189—191—and of the spiritual system of Berard, 191—193—and of Virey, 193—196.
Dandolo, (M.) *Lettere su Roma, Firenze, &c.* 316—their character, 317.
D'Aranda, (Count.) wise advice of, to Charles III. king of Spain, 329.
Dayka, a Hungarian poet, notice of, 52.
Decalogue, in the Frisian language, 614.
Denmark, literary intelligence from, 322—325. 674.
Derode, (Victoire,) *Introduction à l'Etude de l'Harmonie*, 506—abstract of his theory of concords, with remarks, 509—on the constitution of chords, 511—on discords, 513—515—on relative keys, *ib.*—on passing notes, 517—521—on fundamental bass, 522, 523.
Döbrentei, (Gabor,) a Hungarian poet, notice of, 63—specimen of his compositions, 64.
Dombasle, (M. de,) notice of the model-farm of, 364.
Dragomans or interpreters to the Porte, origin of, 218, 219.
Drama of the Magyars, notice of, 69, 70—remuneration of dramatic authors in Russia, 339.

Dugonics (Andras,) a Hungarian author, notice of, 48.
Duras, (Duchesse de,) biographical notice of, 326.
Dussault, (M.) perilous adventure of, 239.

E.

Earth, analysis of mathematical researches for determining the figure of, 115—121.
Edinburgh Review, errors of, concerning the ancient Frisians, corrected, 603, 604.
Edrisi's Geography, notice of, 343, 344.
Education, state of, at Geneva, 688, 689.
Endrödi, (Janos,) a Hungarian poet, notice of, and specimen of his productions, 61, 62.
England, progress of Oriental literature in, 25.
Erdösi, (John,) a Hungarian poet, notice of, 42, 43.
Europe, table of the descent of the monarchs of, from Harold Harfager, 688.

F.

Fallmerayer, (J. Ph.) *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Träpessunt*, critical notice of 666—669.
Faludi, a Hungarian poet, specimen of the compositions of, 45—notice of him, 46.
Fidanzata Ligure, (the Genoese Betrothed,) critical notice of, 663—665.
Figures of the Earth, account of researches of eminent mathematicians for determining it, 115—121.
Flax and hemp, quantity of, cultivated in France, 379.
Florentines, character of, 317.
Fortresses, (Turkish,) character of, 286, 287.
Fourcy (A.) *Histoire de l'Ecole Polytechnique*, critical notice of, 653, 654.
France, literary intelligence from, 325—329. 675—679—state of arts and manufactures in France, 363—393—and of the wine trade, 636—648—exports and imports of, 394—observations thereon, 395, 396—state of property, 397, 398—and of the present government, 399—intercourse of the French with the Moors in Spain, 18, 19—their cultivation of Oriental literature, 26—account of the French schools of philosophy in the nineteenth century, 185—196—progress of the Reformation

in France, 302, 303—present state of the French protestants, 303—306—decline of the French language in Sweden, 687.

Frederic Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, sketch of the history of, 565—572.

Frederic II. emperor of Germany, sketch of the reign of, and of his wars with the popes, 575—592—character of his legislative administration, 580—583—his private character, 584, 585—death of, 592.

Frislanders, attachment of, to their ancient language, 602—errors of the Edinburgh Review concerning them corrected, 603, 604—account of their language, 605—608—its peculiarities, 609—625—of the historians of Friesland, 608—611—of their laws, 612—615—the decalogue in the Frisian language, 614—specimens of Frisian poetry, 617—620. 626, 629—character of the modern Frisians, 625, 626.

Frithiof Saga, a Swedish poem, by Tegner, analysis of, with extracts, 259—281.

Furniture, state of the manufacture of, in France, 388.

G.

Gamba, (Bartolommeo,) *Serie di Tassi di Lingua Italiana*, critical notice of, 662, 663.

Genova, state of education at, 688, 689.

Geology of the Pyrenees, observations on, 251—254.

Germany, progress of Oriental literature in, 25—literary intelligence from, 329—336. 680—684.

Glass, state of the manufacture of, in France, 388, 389.

Gnostics and their hieroglyphics, account of, 308, and note.

Gückingk, a German poet, notice of, 336.

Goethe's Herman and Dorothea, anecdote respecting, 331.

Gräbe, (Von,) *Grammatische Dichtungen*, 319—observations on his Essay on the Shakespeare mania, 320.

Greece, observations on the different schemes for restoring this country, 216, 217—on the independence of, claimed by Russia, 291, 292.

Gregory IX. quarrels of, with the emperor Frederic II. 578, 579—his death, 588.

Guizot, (M.) *Histoire de la Revolution en Angleterre*, 76—analysis of his work, with specimens and remarks, 78—92.

Gyöngyösi, (Stephen,) a Hungarian poet, notice of, 43.

H.

Hardware manufactures, state of, in France, 370, 371.

Havana, description of the city of, 404, 405—its population, 406.

Heydn, anecdote of, 507, note.

Hebenstreit, (W.) *Dictionary Editionum Auctorum Classicorum*, notice of, 321.

Henry Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, elected emperor of Germany, 592—his short reign, *ib.*

Hexameter verses, in various languages, specimens of, 42, note.

Historians of Friesland, notice of, 608—611.

Hohenstauffen, origin of the house of, and their progress to imperial power, 565—reign of Frederic Barbarossa, 565—572—of Frederic II. 575—592—of Manfred, king of Sicily, 593—595—of Conradin, 595—597.

Honorius, pope, conduct of, towards the emperor Frederic II. 577—578.

Horticultural Society of Paris, proceedings of 675.

Humboldt, (Alexandre de,) *Essai Politique sur l'Isle de Cuba*, 420—his personal adventures with M. Bonpland, 420—character of the work, 432, 433. See *Cuba*.

Hungary, settlement of the Magyars in, 29—sketch of their language, 31—38—*and* literary history, 39—75—revival of Hungarian literature, 75.

Huns, notice of, 30.

I.

Igor, tsar of Russia, reign of, 156—analysis of the *Expedition of Igor*, an ancient Russian poem, 183, 184.

India, observations on the possible invasion of, by Russia, 294, 295.

Innocent III. accession of, to the pontificate, 573—his tyranny over the sovereigns of Europe, *ib.*—his efforts to promote the supremacy of the Romish see, 574.

Innocent IV. elected pope, 589—convenes a council at Lyons, *ib.*—his conduct towards the emperor Frederic II. 590—whom he deposes, 591.

Ireland, intrigue of Tyrconnel, for making that Island a province of France, 102—character of the Irish in North America, 633, 634.

Iron manufacture, in France, state of 369, 370—its progress during the war, 639.

640—heavy duties on iron imported into France, injurious to her wine trade, 642—645.

Italy, literary intelligence from, 336—338. 684, 685.

Ivan III. tsar of Russia, reign of, 166.

— *IV.* auspicious early reign of, 167—account of the cruelties subsequently perpetrated by him, 167—177—his murder of his son, 178—death, 179—observations on his reign, 180.

J.

James I. remarks on the policy of, 79.

James II. situation of, at his accession to the throne of England, 95—his motives for summoning a parliament to meet, 96—he accepts pecuniary aid from Louis XIV. *ib.*—his treatment of the Duke of Monmouth, 97—his insidious attempt to introduce popery, 98—instances of his zeal for popery, 100—proofs that he foresaw and prepared for a struggle with his English subjects, 101—and that he entered into conspiracies against the life of the Prince of Orange, 103—107.

Japies, (Gisbert,) *Frische Rijmerye*, 602—biographical notice of, 616—specimens of his poems, translated into English, 617—620.

Jewellery, state of the manufacture of, in France, 391.

Jongleurs or *Jugglers*, in the eleventh century, account of, 20.

Justice, on the defects of the administration of, in England, 472—476.

K.

Karamzin, (M.) *Histoire de l'Empire de la Russie*, 148—materials collected by him for his work, 149—account of its execution, 150—See *Russia*.

Kasinczy, a Hungarian poet, notice of, with a specimen of his compositions, 50—52.

Kis, (Janos,) a Hungarian poet, notice of, 56—specimen of his compositions, *ib.* 57.

Kisfaludy, (Alexander and Charles,) Hungarian poets, notice of, and specimens of their works, 59—61.

Kilary, (Ferenes,) a Hungarian poet, specimen of, 62, 63.

Kocziusko, (General,) anecdotes of, 502.

Koenigstein's edition of the *Annals of Tabari*, notice of, 344.

L.

Lace manufacture of France, present state of, 388.

Language of the Magyars, peculiarities of, 35, 36—of the Maltese, remarks on, 321—of Friesland, 603—608—its peculiarities, 620—625—when it ceased, 627.

La Place, (Marquis,) *Traité de Mécanique Celeste*, tome v. 111—importance of this work, *ib.*—its plan, 112—notice of his researches on determining the figure of the earth, 118—121—his theory of molecular attraction, 122—128—his solution of the problem of the tides, 129—133—on the precession of the equinoxes, 134—theory of the planetary perturbations, 135—138—on the motions of the secondary planets, particularly of the moon, 139—142—importance of his discoveries and labours in advancing mathematical knowledge, 143—145—biographical notice of *La Place*, 146—148.

Laud, (Archbishop,) character of, 82.

Laws of the ancient Russians, extracts from, 161, 162—of the Frisians, account of, 612—615.

Lead manufactures of France, present state of, 372.

Leather manufacture of France, present state of, 393.

Legislation, general principles of, 438, 439, duty of a legislator in defining and observing the distinction between the several branches of sovereign authority, 445, 446—observations on the nature of law itself, with reference to the principles to be observed in its construction, 447, 448—on the non-retro-activity of a law, 448, 449—uniformity in operation an essential character of a law, 449, 450—452—particularly in its application to individual cases, 452—453—necessity of uniform publicity of procedure, 453, 454—and of uniformity of decision, 454, 455—in what manner the intervention of a supreme court ought to be introduced and regulated, 455, 456.

Libraries at Copenhagen, account of, 322—324.

Linon manufacture, in France, present state of, 379—effects of the increased duties on foreign linens imported into France, upon her wine trade, 645.

Literary Intelligence from Denmark, 322—345. 674—France, 325—329. 675—679—Germany, 329—336. 680—684

- Italy, 336—338. 684, 685—the Netherlands, 338. 685—Russia and Poland, 339—341. 686—Spain, 342—Sweden, 342. 687, 688—Switzerland, 343. 688—690—Intelligence respecting Oriental literature, 343, 344. 690—692.
- Literary property*, decree of the senate of Hamburg, respecting, 335—of dramatic authors in Russia, 339—in Saxe-Coburg Gotha, 680.
- Lithography*, progress of, in France, 394.
- M.**
- Machinery*, improvement of, in France, 373—374.
- Magyars*, a Hungarian nation, origin of, 29—their language and manners deeply rooted, 30—33—peculiarities of the Magyar alphabet, 34—and language, 35, 36—dialects, 56—character of the poetry of the Magyars, 38—notice of their principal poets, with specimens of their productions, 39—69—drama, 69, 70—periodical literature, 71—universities, 71—principal historical works relating to them, 72, 73—manners and religion of the early Magyars, 74—influence of Christianity among them, 75.
- Mahmud*, the reigning sultan of Turkey, anecdotes and character of, 288—290—difficulties under which he labours in his war with Russia, 285.
- Maulath's* (Count,) history of the Magyars, character of, 73.
- Maltese* language, observations on, 321.
- Manfred*, king of Sicily, sketch of the reign of, 592—594.
- Manufactures* of France, account of, 369—particularly those of iron, *ib.* 370—steel and hardware, 370, 371—and copper, 371, 372—lead, zinc, and platina, 372—machines, 373, 374—woolens, 374—378—carpets, 376, 377—linens, 379—cottons, 379—384—silk, 384—387—lace, 388—furniture, *ib.*—glass, 388, 389—porcelain, 390—surgical and mathematical instruments, *ib.*—clocks and watches, 391—jewellery, 391—musical instruments, 392—chemical preparations, *ib.* 393—tables of the manufactures exported from France and from the British empire in 1826, 394—remarks thereon, 395.
- Marsand's* (M.) *Biblioteca Petrarchista*, critical notice of, 675.
- Materialism*, analysis of M. Cabanis's system of, 189—191.
- Matter*, (Jacques,) *Histoire du Gnosticisme*, 307—analysis of his work, 308, 309.
- Matthew Corvinus*, king of Hungary, specimen of the poetical compositions of, 39—his encouragement of literature, 40.
- Masure*, (F. A. J.) *Histoire de la Revolution de 1688, en Angleterre*, 93—materials collected by him, 94—his account of Tyrconnel's intrigue to make Ireland a province of France, 102—and of James II.'s conspiracies to murder the Prince of Orange, 104, 105—107.
- Melling*, (M.) *Voyage Pittoresque dans les Pyrénées Françaises*, 224—character of his work, 227. See *Pyrénées*.
- Metals* imported into, and exported from, France, in 1826, 373.
- Meyer*, (J. D.) *Institutions Judiciaires de l'Europe*, 433—observations of, on the general subject of legislation, 438, 439—use of altering existing laws, 442, 443—on the institution of a new magistracy, designated by the name of Ministère Public, 458, 459—analysis of his observations on "Instruction préalable," 460, 461—on the qualifications and functions of juries, 462, 463—467—utility of advocates, 468, 469—proper basis of all plans of legal reform, 469—472.
- Michand*, (M. L. G.) *Biographie Universelle*, notice of, 655—657.
- Military strength* of Russia and Turkey, comparative view of, 283, 284.
- Molecular attraction*, account of La Place's theory of, 121—128.
- Moors* in Spain, patrons of Arabic literature, 4, 5—prevalence of the Arabic language in that country after their conquest of it, 16—its effects in improving the vulgar poetry of the free Spaniards, 17—beneficial influence of the Moors on the manners and literature of Europe, 21—23—destruction of the writings of the Moors in Spain, 24.
- Müller's* collection of Italian songs, notice of, 337.
- Musical instruments*, state of the manufacture of, in France, 392.
- N.**
- Naturalists*, proceedings of the society of, 680.
- Netherlands*, literary intelligence from, 338. 685.
- New England*, present state of, 632.

New Harmony, state of society at, 635.
New Orleans, state of society at, 634, 635.
New York, rapid improvements in the state of, 633.

Nicholas, emperor of Russia, military force of, 283, 284—probable issue of his war with Turkey, 288. 290—nature of his demands, 291—observations on them, 291—297—and on the policy which other European powers would be warranted in adopting in the present posture of affairs, 298—300.

Nicholl, (Rev. Dr.) tribute to the memory of, 682.

Niemeyer, (Rev. Dr.) biographical notice of, 336.

Nilsson, (Professor) *Petrificata Suecana*, notice of, 687.

O.

Odessa, school for Oriental languages established at, 692.

Orinski, (Michel), *Memoires sur la Pologne*, 477—after the fall of Poland he retires to Venice, 482—goes to Constantinople and tries to interest the Porte in behalf of the Poles, 483—writes to Bonaparte, 483—returns to Poland, *ib.*—goes to Paris, *ib.*—to Russia, 484—to Italy, 485, 486—revisits Paris, 488—curious interview with Duroc, 489—returns to Russia, 491—conversation with the emperor Alexander, *ib.* 492—his detection of the manœuvres of Bonaparte, 492—intercedes with Alexander for the Lithuanians, 495—account of his further interview with the emperor, 503.

Oleg, regent of Russia, death of, 156.

Olga, conversion of, to Christianity, 157.

Oprishnina, or select legion of the sovereigns of Russia, origin and formation of, 171.

Optical instruments, improved manufacture of, in France, 391.

Orange, (William, Prince of), notice of James II.'s conspiracies against his life, 103—107—effect of the prince's landing in England, 110, 111.

Orosi, a Hungarian poet, notice of, 46.

Oriental literature, cultivation of, in Italy, 24—in England, 25—in Germany, *ib.*—in France, 26—intelligence respecting its progress, 343, 344. 690—692.

P.

Panajotaky, the first dragoman to the Porte, account of, 218, 219.

Pardessus, (J. M.) *Collection des Lois Maritimes*, notice of, 325, 326.

Paris, present state of the protestant churches and establishments at, 304, 305.

Periodical literature of the Magyars, notice of, 71.

Petersburgh, proceedings of the university of, 339, 340.

Philosophy, different schools of, in France in the nineteenth century, 185—analysis of the theological school of, 185—187—of the system of materialism of M. Cabanis, 189—191—the spiritual systems of Berard, 191—193—and of Virèr, 193—196.

Pigs, number of, killed annually in France, 368.

Planets, on the perturbations of, 135—138—motions of the secondary planets, particularly of the moon, 139—142.

Plants, observations on the spermatic granules of, 677—678.

Platina, manufacture of, in France, 372.

Poetry of the Magyars, character of, 38—notice of their principal poets, with specimens of their compositions, 39—69—of the ancient Russians, 182—184.

Poland, sketch of the old government of, 478, 479—causes of its dissolution, 479, 480—duplicity of Bonaparte towards this country, 487—sketch of the events which threw the duchy of Warsaw into the hands of Alexander, 496—499—gallant conduct of the Poles in the service of Napoleon, 500—present state and constitution of the actual kingdom of Poland, 503, 504—and of those parts which remain incorporated with the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian dominions, 505, 506.

Polytechnic school, at Paris, account of, 653, 654.

Population of Turkey, 284, note—of the Havana, 406—of the island of Cuba, 408—observations thereon, 409, 410.

Porcelain, present state of the manufacture of, in France, 390.

Pouqueville, (F. C. H. L.) *Voyage dans la Grèce*, 197—character of his work, 201—instance of his want of judgment, 202—anecdote of Lord Byron, 204—206—detection of some of his blunders, 206—211—account of his interview with Ali Bey, 212—213.

Precession of the equinoxes, observations on, 133, 134.

Property, observations on the state of, in France, 397, 398.

- Protestants**, (French,) progress of the Reformation among, 302, 303—their present state, 303, 304. 306—account of the protestant churches and establishments at Paris, 304—306—government and liturgy of the French protestants, 306, 307.
- Provençal** language, origin of, 17, 18.
- Prussia**, liberality of the king of, 681—state of the Prussian universities, *ib.* 682.
- Psalmody** of the Church of England, observations on, 305, 306.
- Publications** on the Continent, list of the principal, from May to August, 1828, 344—358—and from September to December, 1828, 693—706—number of, in the Leipzig Michaelmas Catalogue, 683.
- Pyrenees**, general aspect of this range of mountains, 228, 229—their height, 229, 232, 233—direction and extent of the valleys, 229—231—basins found in these valleys, 230, 231—picturesque aspect of the Canigou, 233—description of the Col de la Perche, 234, 235—passage of a dangerous port or pass, 235—account of the smugglers in the valley of Carol, 236, 237—source of the river Garonne, 237—account of the central or high Pyrenees, 238—dangerous adventure of M. Dumas, 239—researches of M. Ramond in the Pyrenees, 240, 241—account of M. Arbennère's successful attempt to ascend Mont Perdu, 242—248—notice of various Pics, in the central Pyrenees, 248, 249—prominent features in this chain of mountains, 249, 250—particularly in their geological construction, 251—254.
- Q.
- Quartermen**, condition of, at New Orleans, 634, 635.
- Quatromanni**, (Cavalier,) *Itinerario delle Due Sicilie*, notice of, 684.
- R.
- Radey**, a Hungarian poet, notice of, and specimen of his compositions, 46, 47.
- Ráiny**, a Hungarian poet, notice of, 49.
- Ramond**, (M.) notice of the researches of, in the Pyrenees, 240, 241.
- Raumer**, (Frederick Von,) *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, 559—laborious researches of, and preparations for his work, 560—importance of the period comprised in it, *ib.* 561, 569—character of his work, 563, 564.
- Reformation**, progress of, in France, 302, 303.
- Religion** of the Magyars, notice of, 74.
- Reveil**, (M.) *Musée de Peinture et Sculpture*, critical notice of, 652.
- Revenues** of the isle of Cuba, 416—418.
- Ries**, (Jacobvsky,) *Histoire Moderne de la Grèce*, 197—his qualifications as an historian, 218—his account of the origin of the dragomans or interpreters to the Porte, 218, 219—and of Lord Byron, 220—223—observations on his work, 223.
- Rous**, (J. M. F.) *Liturgie des Eglises Reformées de la France*, 302—plan and character of his work, 306, 307.
- Runic inscription**, translation of, 674.
- Rurik**, the first sovereign of Russia, reign of, 155.
- Russia**, account of the ancient inhabitants of 151—155—origin of the name Russians, 151, 152, note—state of this country in the ninth century, 153—Rurik, a Scandinavian chief, the first sovereign of northern Russia, *ib.*—reign of Igor, 156—conversion of his widow Olga to christianity, 157—reign of Vladimir, 157—circumstances which led him to become a christian, 158, 159—his method of converting his subjects and of destroying paganism, 159, 160—remarks on his government, 160—extracts from the first code of written laws in Russia, 161, 162—effects of christianity upon the Russian character, 162—invasion and domination of the Tartars in Russia, 163, 164—state of Russia during this period, 165—reign of Ivan III. who threw off the Tartar yoke, 166—auspicious commencement of the reign of Ivan IV. 167—account of the cruelties subsequently perpetrated by him, 167—177—he murders his son, 178—his death, 179—remarks on his reign, 180—state of society among the early Russians, 181, 182—their funerals, 182—analysis of the *Expédition of Igor*, an ancient Russian poem, 183, 184—military force of Russia, 283, 284—observations on the probable issue of her war with Turkey, 285—290—and on the consequences which may result from it, 290—on the independence of Greece as demanded by Russia, 291, 292—on the free passage of the Bosphorus, demanded by Russia, for vessels of all nations, 292, 293—on

3 2044 058 183 153

